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The Nyāyavārttika of Uddyotakara and the Vādanyāya of Dharmakīrti

Dr. Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana was the first to touch on the relation between the Nyāyavārttika and the Vādanyāya. His suggestions became the subject of a lively discussion by several scholars. The facts which have provoked it are as follows:—

1. The Nyāyavārttika contains a quotation from a work named Vādavidhi, whose author is not named. Uddyotakara Bhāradvāja, when quoting and rejecting current definitions of what a right logical Thesis (*pratijñā*) should be, comes to discuss its definition as given in the treatise called Vādavidhi. He says,—

यदपि वादविधौ साध्याभिधानं प्रतिज्ञेति प्रतिज्ञालक्षणमुक्तम्[1] etc.

In commenting upon this passage Vācaspatimiśra does not name the author of this treatise.

2. A few lines above Uddyotakara considers the right definition of what the Subject, or Minor Term of a syllogism (*pakṣa*) should be and quotes on this occasion from another work named Vādavidhānaṭīkā. But again neither he himself nor his commentator gives the name of its author. This second quotation contains, as is seen from the context, an interpretation of a definition of *pakṣa* several times mentioned by Uddyotakara (पक्षो यः साधयितुमिष्टः). It has the following form:—

यदपि वादविधानटीकायां साधयतीति शब्दस्य स्वयं परेण च तुल्यत्वात् तिरस्कर्यमि विशेषणं। साधयतीति किलायं शब्दः प्रयोज्ये प्रयोक्तरि च तुल्यरूपो भवतीति॥[2]

[*N.B.*—For abbreviations used in the footnotes, see p. 31.]

1 NV[1] p. 121, 2; NV[2] p. 117, 20. 2 NV[1] p. 120, 6; NV[2] p. 117, 1.

It means—"As regards (the qualification "by himself" added to the verb "to establish" we find) in the Vādavidhānaṭīkā (the following explanation): the verb "to establish" (alone) may equally be referred to the disputant and to his adversary, therefore (in defining a thesis as that proposition which is desired to be established we must add) the qualification "by (the disputant) himself", (not by the opponent). Indeed, the verb "to establish" appears in the same form whether it be referred to something established by the disputant or the opponent" etc.

3. Uddyotakara moreover quotes and rejects a definition of *vāda*, controversy. In contradistinction from the two above-mentioned cases, he this time does not name the source in immediate vicinity with the quotation. He simply says,—

अपरे तु स्वपरपक्षयोः सिद्ध्यसिद्ध्यर्थं वचनं वाद इति वादलक्षणं वर्णयन्ति ।[3]

i.e. "there are others who describe a controversy as a series of propositions which aim at establishing one's own opinion and discarding the opinion of the opponent."

But Vācaspatimiśra explaining this passage states that the author of it is V a s u b a n d h u[4] and Uddyotakara in criticizing its phrasing says that the treatise from which it is taken is the V ā d a v i d h ā n a.[5] It thus appeared that the author of the treatise called Vādavidhāna is Vasubandhu.

These three passages have been the starting point for a series of different hypotheses and suggestions about what the two treatises called Vādavidhi and Vādavidhānaṭīkā are, as well as who their probable authors might have been.[6]

3 NV[1] p. 15, 1, 20; NV[2] p. 150, 7. NV[1] has स्वपरपक्षसिद्ध्यसिद्ध्यर्थं which reading is contradicted by what follows in the text. Cp. below, p. 26.

4 NVTT[2] p. 317, 16; NVTT[1] p. 218, 9, has "Subandhu."

5 NV[2] 154, 25.

6 Cp. Dr. Ganganath J h a—"The Nyāyasūtras of Gautama with Vātsyāyana's Bhāṣya and Uddyotakara's Nyāyavārttika, translated into English, vol. I, Allahabad, 1915 (reprint from "Indian Thought" for 1912-1915), pp. 342, 441, 454. Dr. V i d y a b h u s a n a—"Uddyotakara, a contemporary of Dharmakīrti", JRAS., 1914, pp. 601-606; "Bilingual Index to the Nyāyabindu," Calcutta 1917, p. ix and "History of Indian Logic," Calcutta 1921, p. 124. Prof. K e i t h—articles in JRAS., 1914, p. 1103 and in IHQ., vol. IV, pp. 221-227 and "Indian Logic and Atomism," p. 28. Dr. R a n d l e—"The fragments from Diṅnāga,"

In a special paper Dr. Vidyabhusana suggested that the Vādavidhi is nothing else than the Vādanyāya of Dharmakīrti, and the Vādavidhānaṭīkā nothing else than Vinītadeva's commentary on it called Vādanyāyaṭīkā; because it seemed to him that he had discovered in the Tibetan translation of these works those very passages whose original was quoted by Uddyotakara in his Nyāyavārttika. Dr. Vidyabhusana concluded that Dharmakīrti and Uddyotakara must have been contemporaries.[7]

This hypothesis was repeated by Dr. Vidyabhusana in other papers[8] and was straight away accepted by Prof. B. Keith, who continued to insist on it notwithstanding all the very weighty objections which it provoked.[9]

It would not have been necessary to recall to memory this entirely exploded theory, if a very important point did not escape the attention of both its supporters and its opponents, a point which is nevertheless decisive for the final solution of the problem.

As a matter of fact the opinion of Dr. Vidyabhusana and of Prof. B. Keith has not only no foundations at all, because the quotations in the Nyāyavārttika are by no means taken from the Vādanyāya and the Vādanyāyaṭīkā, but—and this is the main point—it represents the real relation between the Nyāyavārttika and the Vādanyāya in an inverted way. If we therefore take up the problem once more, it is not at all in the intention to overthrow the theory of Dr. Vidyabhusana and Prof. B. Keith—this is already achieved by others—but in

London 1926, pp. 26-28, 56. Rangaswamy Iyengar—articles in JBORS., vol. XII, pp. 587-91 and in IHQ., vol. V, pp. 81-86; Prof. G. Tucci—articles in JRAS., 1928, pp. 380-383; IHQ., vol. IV, pp. 630-636; JRAS., 1929, pp. 451-488; H. Bhattacharya—"Foreward to the "Tattvasamgraha," Baroda, 1926, (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, XXX) pp. lxxviii-lxxix, lxxxi. Dr. E. Frauwallner—"Zu den Fragmenten Buddhistischer Logiker im Nyāyavārtikam,"—Wiener Zeitschrift für d. Kunde des Morgenlandes, XL. Wien, 1933, pp. 281-304.

7 "Uddyotakara, a contemporary of Dharmakīrti"—JRAS., 1914, pp. 601-603.

8 "Bilingual Index to the Nyāyabindu," p. ix; "History of Indian Logic," p. 124.

9 Cp. his article in JRAS., 1914, p. 1102 sq. Cp. Prof. Keith's "Indian Logic and Atomism," p. 28, and "Vādavidhi" in IHQ., vol. IV, 1928, pp. 221-227.

order to show the real relation existing between these two works, that real relation which till now has escaped the attention of scholars.

It seemed to Dr. Vidyabhusana that he had found in the Tibetan text of the Vādanyāya a passage identical with the quotation from the Vādavidhi, to wit—"*don-brgyad-ba gañ bsgrub-bya bstan-pai phyir-ro.*"[10]

It also seemed to him that in the Tibetan text of the Vādanyāyaṭīkā he had discovered a passage corresponding to the quotation from the Vādavidhānaṭīkā, to wit—"*bdag-ñid-ma-yin-pai ño-bo-ni bgag-ñid-kyi ño-bo-ni gzhan-gyi ño-bo ma-yin-no zhes-bya-bai don-to.*"[11]

Not enough of that Dr. Vidyabhusana imagined that he had found in the Vādanyāyaṭīkā that very definition of *rūpa*, which Vācaspatimiśra directly ascribes to Vasubandhu. Fully disregarding this very weighty testimony of Vācaspatimiśra, he has declared this definition to be identical with the following words in the Tibetan version of the Vādanyāyaṭīka:—

rgol-ba dañ phyir-rgol-ba-dag-gis rañ dañ gzhan-gyi don-grub-par-byed-pa dañ (ma) grub-pai don-du brjod-pas rtsol-pa yin-no.[12]

In the light of our present knowledge it appears quite astonishing how could Dr. Vidyabhusana and Prof. Keith have insisted upon these identifications, since even a superficial glance at the Tibetan passages clearly shows that they are very far from being identical with the quotations of the Nyāyavārttika.

They however remained firmly convinced of the rightness of their conclusions and it is only owing to the joint efforts of Mr. Rangaswamy Iyengar and Prof. Giuseppe Tucci who submitted them to an acute criticism and overthrew their untenable position.[13]

10 JRAS., 1914, p. 602; cp. VN, text fol. 399a 2.

11 JRAS., 1914, p. 602; cp. VNT, text, fol. 50a 3

12 JRAS., 1914, pp. 602-603; cp. VNT, text, fol. 41a 7.

13 Cp. the articles of Mr. Iyengar in JBORS., vol. XII, pp. 587-591 and in IHQ., vol. V, pp. 81-86; and the articles of Prof. Tucci in JRAS., 1928, pp. 380-383 and in IHQ., IV, pp. 630-636. Cp. also B. Bhattacharya's "Foreword to Tattvasaṃgraha," Baroda, 1926 pp. lxxviii-lxxix, sq. The article of Dr. Frauwallner in "Wiener Zeitschrift für d. Kunde d. Morgenlandes," XL, 1933, pp. 281-304, can also be viewed as a refutation of Dr. Vidyabhusana's opinion.

But although I fully agree with the final result of Mr. R. Iyengar and Prof. G. Tucci, namely the attribution of the authorship of the Vādavidhi to Vasubandhu,[14] I nevertheless think that their argumentation *contra* Dr. Vidyabhusana could have been far more effective if they had devoted more attention to the Vādanyāya, the work which was the subject-matter of their divergent opinions. The absurdity of Dr. Vidyabhusana's and Prof. Keith's position would have appeared to both parties most clearly, if instead of picking out from the context small bits of detached phrases, they would have perused the whole of this short document. Instead of that Mr. Iyengar and Prof. Tucci were satisfied by retranslating the Tibetan passages into Sanskrit and showing in this way a lack of literal correspondence.[15] But this want of literal agreement was known from the beginning, it was not unknown to Dr. Vidyabhusana and Prof Keith. Mr. Iyengar and Prof. Tucci are quite all right when they point to the great chronological difficulty preventing the identification of the Vādavidhānaṭīkā with Vinītadeva's Vādanyāyaṭīkā and call our attention to the fact that the titles of the work—Vādavidhi, Vādavidhāna and Vādanyāya or Codanānyāya—are different and that Dharmakīrti's theory of *nigrahasthānas* appears as quite unknown to Uddyotakara. However none of these arguments taken separately seemed decisive. They were well known to Dr. Vidyabhusana and Prof. Keith but not strong enough to induce them to change their opinion. The most decisive argument adduced by Mr. Iyengar and Prof. Tucci consists in establishing the identity of the Vādavidhi mentioned in the Nyāyavārttika with the R t s o d-p a-s g r u b-p a quoted in the Pramāṇasamuccaya of Dignāga. But this argument is weakened by the differences of their opinion, since Mr. Iyengar thinks that the right restoration of Rtsod-pa-sgrub-pa could have been Vādasiddhi(?)[16] as well as Vādavidhi, and Prof. Tucci is not quite sure of the right sanskritization of the passage of Pramāṇasamuccaya which

14 On this problem cp. my investigation in "The Logical Works of Vasubandhu" which is to appear before long.

15 Cp. Tucci, IHQ., vol. IV, pp. 632-633; Iyengar, IHQ., vol. V, p. 85.

16 Cp. his article in JBORS., vol. XII, *loc. cit.*

corresponds to the only quotation in the Nyāyavārttika where the title Vādavidhi occurs.[17]

The complicated and not always convincing argumentation of Mr. Iyengar and Prof. Tucci agaist the theory of Dr. Vidyabhusana would appear stronger if they simply had thrown a cursory glance at the whole text of the Vādanyāya; they then would have seen what real relation exists between this text and the Nyāyavārttika.

The contents of the Vādanyāya[18] is condensed by Dharmakīrti in a single stanza which is the only kārikā (*versus memorialis*) of this work. The whole of the remaining text represents its commentary. The stanza is the following one—

sgrub-pai yan-lag mi-hrjod cin| |skyon mi-hrjod-pa gāis-po-dag|
tshar-bcad-pa-yi gnas yin-gyis| |gzhan ni mi rigs phyir mi ḷdod|[19]

Prof. Tucci[20] has rightly pointed to the fact that the whole of this stanza is quoted by Vācaspatimiśra in his Nyāyavārttikatātparyaṭīkā—

17 Cp. Tucci, IHQ., vol. IV, p. 634.

18 The most probable Sanskrit title of R t s o d-p a i-r i g s-p a is in my opinion Vādanyāya, which appears in Śāntirakṣita's commentary as well as in the commentary of Vinitadeva. However in the B s t a n-ḥ g y u r the main text is called "Cotanaya" (sic!) which according to Prof. F. W. T h o m a s stands for Codanānyāya (cp. his note on Prof. Tucci's article in the JRAS., 1928, p. 381) or for Codyanyāya as suggested by P. C o r d i e r (cp. his Catalogue du fonds tibétain, III ème partie, Index du Bstan-hgyur, p. 438). I nevertheless prefer the sanskritisation as Vādanyāya for the following reasons: In the conclusion of Śāntirakṣita's commentary (cp. VNV, text, f. 431a 2 sq.) we find Rtsod-pai-rigs-pa mentioned side by side with Rtsod-pa-sgrub-pa, which work we know as Vādavidhi (cp. the translation of this passage in my "Logical works of Vasubandhu"). There is but little probability that the Tibetan translators being so exceedingly methodical should have rendered two different words *vāda* and *codya* (or *codanā*) by the same Tibetan word *rtsod-pa*. The usual redering of *codya* is *rgol-ba* and the usual rendering of *rtsod-pa* is *vāda*, cp. "Indices Verborum, Sanskrit-Tibetan and Tibetan-Sanskrit to the Nyāyabindu and the Nyāyabinduṭīkā" compiled by E. Obermiller (Bibliotheca Buddhica, XXIV-XXV), s.v. *codya* and *rtsod-pa*. Cp. also Mahāvyutpatti (Japan edition) nn° 4446 and 4535.

19 VN f. 384a 3-4.

20 Prof. G. Tucci "Pre-Diṅnāga Buddhist texts on Logic from Chinese sources," Baroda, 1929, part II, p. 12 (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, XLIX). I must add that it is not the only quotation from the VN in the NVTT. Vācas-

असाधनाङ्गवचनमदोषोद्भावनं द्वयोः ।
निग्रहस्थानमन्यत्तु न युक्तमिति नेष्यते॥[21]

This means: "Defeated are (in a controversy) those two: (1) who does not give the right logical reason, (2) who fails to discover a fallacy. All other theories are wrong. We therefore reject them."

The Vādanyāya is thus exclusively devoted to the theory of *nigrahasthānas* or Points of Defeat.

The whole work in accordance with the phrasing of this stanza is divided in two parts. In the first part[22] Dharmakīrti explains his own theory that there are only two kinds of *nigrahasthānas*. He explains in due order what is an *asādhanāṅgavacanam*[23] and what an *adoṣodbhāvanam*.[24] In the second part[25] he submits to a detailed critique the 22 varieties admitted by the Naiyāyikas and rejects them as false ingenuities.

Even a cursory perusal of this second part proves most clearly and convincingly that the Vādanyāya could not have been quoted in the Nyāyavārttika, since on the contrary Dharmakīrti in the polemical part of his work quotes himself the Nyāyavārttika with remarkable detail almost on every page.

In criticizing the *nigrahasthāna*-theory of the Naiyāyiks Dharmakīrti not only adduces in strictly regular order all the 22 *sūtras* of the second *āhnika* of the fifth *adhyāya* of the Nyāyasūtra where the definitions of all *nigrahasthānas* are given,[26] but *also* adduces long and exhaustive references from the comments of Vātsyāyana in the

patimiśra several times quotes VN. Thus, we find in NVTT[2] p. 700,24-701,1 a quotation from the VN f. 398b 1-2; in the NVTT[2] p. 703, 2-5 we find another quotation from the VN f. 399a 5 etc. etc.

21 NVTT[1] p. 511, 10-11; NVTT[2] p. 723, 8-9. Both editions read "असाधनाङ्गवचनम्".

22 The first part of VN is contained in fol. 384a 4-397b 3.

23 VN, fol. 384a 4-395b 4 (including the introduction).

24 VN, fol. 395b 4-397b 3.

25 VN, fol. 397b 3-416b 5 (including the conclusion).

26 NS, V, 2 2—14, 17-25.

N y ā y a b h ā ṣ y a, and—what is most important—from Uddyotakara's Nyāyavārttika itself. He pedantically emphasizes all the changes and additions which were introduced into the original theory by the last author.

In beginning the criticism of the views of his opponents, Dharmakīrti repeats the end of his initial stanza, the phrase— अन्यत्तु न युक्तमिति मेष्यते = Tib. *gzhan ni mi rigs pḥyir mi ḥdod*,[27] and explains it in the following manner—

gaṅ-du ḥdir ji-skad bśad-pai tshar-bcad-pai gnas-kyi mtshan-ñid-med-pa gaṅ yin-pa de ni tshar-bcad-pai gnas-ñid-du rigs-pa-ma-yin-pai-phyir/ kho-bo-cag-gis ma brtan-to zhes smras-pa-yin-no.[28]

This means—"(In this stanza the following view) is expressed: (the facts) which do not agree with the definition of a "Point of Defeat" as it is here given, cannot be rightly regarded as a "Point of Defeat" and therefore we do not dwell on them."

Immediately after this declaration he quotes *in extenso* the second *sūtra* of the 2nd *āhnika* of the 5th *adhyāya* of the *Nyāyasūtras*, introducing it by the word *de-la = tatra*, i.e. "among them." He points to the first *nigrahasthāna* among the 22 admitted by the Naiyāyikas, namely *pratijñāhāni* or Forlorn Thesis.[29] The first *sūtra* of this *āhnika* is omitted, evidently because it contains a mere enumeration.[30]

Having quoted the definition of *pratijñāhāni*, Dharmakīrti, before considering the views of the commentaries, makes a very important remark. He himself points to the sources from which he takes the definitions and explanations which he will discuss.

As is well known there is a serious divergence in the interpretation of *pratijñāhāni* between Vātsyāyana and Uddyotakara. The *sūtra* says—

प्रतिदृष्टान्तधर्माभ्यनुज्ञा स्वदृष्टान्ते प्रतिज्ञाहानिः

i.e. "A Forlorn Thesis consists in admitting that one's own example contains that very feature which is contained in the contra-example (of the opponent)." Vātsyāyana[31] interprets the term *dṛṣṭānta* literally as

27 VN, fol. 397b 3. 28 VN, fol. 397b 3-4.

29 NS, V, 2, 2; VN, fol. 397b 4.

30 NS, V, 2, 1 is quoted in full by Śāntirakṣita in VNV, fol. 84a 2-4.

31 NBh, p. 512.

"an example," whereas Uddyotakara objects on the score that in such a case the Forlorn Thesis will have a metaphorical sense, it will be abandoned indirectly, because there is merely a "forlorn example but not thesis."[32] He suggests that we should interpret this term not as an example, but as referring to the subject of the syllogism. The term *dṛṣṭānta* will then mean a Thesis (*svadṛṣṭānta=svapakṣa*); *pratidṛṣṭānta* will mean *pratipakṣa*.[33] For Vātsyāyana the Forlorn Thesis will consist in admitting the eternity of the jar which serves as an example in a syllogism establishing the non-eternal, transient character of all sounds,[34] whereas for Uddyotakara the Forlorn Thesis will consist in admitting the eternity of the sound (the subject-matter of the debate).

Vācaspatimiśra does not conceal the divergence between *Bhāṣya* and *Vārttika;* he, on the contrary, puts an emphasis on it. He pedantically points at first to the passage of the Nyāyavārttika interpreting the *sūtra* from the standpoint of the Bhāṣya (तदेतत् सूत्रं भाष्यमतेन तावद् व्याचष्टे)[35], then to the passage where Uddyotakara rejects this interpretation (तदेतद् भाष्यव्याख्यानमुपन्यस्य वार्त्तिककारो दूषयति),[36] finally to the passage where "he having refuted the interpretation of the Bhāṣya and wishing to give his own opinion, puts a question" (तदेवं भाष्यकारीयं व्याख्यानं दूषयित्वा स्वमतेन व्याचिख्यासुः पृच्छति).[37]

Dharmakīrti having quoted the *sūtra* begins his criticism with the following introductory remark:

"*ḥdi-la ḥgrel-pa-byed-pai bsam-pa sun-phyuṅ-nas[rnam-ḥgrel-byed-pa-la gnas-pai phyogs-la zurtas-pa de-ñid bstan-par-byao.*"[38]

I.e. "We will give here the opinion of the Vārttikakāra (Tib. *rnam-ḥgrel-byed-pa*) which he expressed after having rejected the opinion of the Bhāṣyakāra (Tib. *ḥgrel-pa-byed-pa*)."[39]

32 NV[1] p. 559, 2-8; NV[2] p. 551, 22 — 552. 5.
33 Cp. the text of NV, quoted below.
34 Cp. NBh, *ibid.*
35 NVTT[1] p. 493,15; NVTT[2] p. 699, 3.
36 NVTT[1] p. 493,16; NVTT[2] p. 699, 4.
37 NVTT[1] p. 494, 3; NVTT[2] p. 699, 23.
38 VN fol. 397b 4-5.
39 The Tibetan *rnam-ḥgrel* is always the exact translation of *vārttika*, but *ḥgrel-pa* corresponds usually to *vṛtti*, although in a general sense it may mean every

The quotations which follow leave no doubt about who the Bhāṣyakāra and the Vārttikakāra are, but nevertheless in order as it were to repudiate even the slightest possibility of a doubt the celebrated Śāntirakṣita in his commentary upon the Vādanyāya[40] writes with reference to this passage:—

"rnam-bsad-byed-pai sun-dbyuñ-nas rnam-ḥgrel-byed-pa-la-gnas-pai phyogs-la smras-pa de-ñid bstan-par-bya-ba-ni/ Bhāra-dvājas bśad-pa sun-phyuñ-nas/ kho-bo-cag ḥdi-ñid re-zhig ñes-par-byas-nas brjod-par-byao zhes dgoñs-so."[41]

I.e. "(The remark) that we will give here, the opinion of the Vārttikakāra which he expressed after having rejected the opinion of the Bhāṣyakāra, means that we will first of all expound this (former) opinion, since Bhāradvāja[42] has rejected the Bhāṣya."

commentary. The usual rendering of *bhāṣya* is *bśad-pa*. But we also find in the Bstan-ḥgyur the rendering *bhāṣya=ḥgrel-pa*, cp. Mahāyānasaṃgrahabhāṣya=Theg-pa-chen-po-bsdus-pai-ḥgrel-pa, Bstan-ḥgyur, Mdo, di (LVI), etc. In the commentary of Śāntirakṣita we find *bśad-pa* and *rnam-bśad* (=literally *vyākhyāna*) instead of *ḥgrel-ba* of the main text.

40 Two commentaries of the VN are preserved in Tibetan translation in the Bstan-ḥgyur. The one is by Śāntirakṣita and is preserved in full. Its title is "Rtsod-pai-rigs-pai-ḥgrel-pa-don-rnam-par-ḥbyed-pa-zhes-bya-ba." There are even two quite identical copies in vol. CVIII and CXII, Mdo. The second commentary is by Vinītadeva; its title is "Rtsod-pai-rigs-pai-ḥgrel-pa." But only a very small part of it is preserved, and it contains the explanation of only the first eight folios of the VN, namely f. 384a 3 — 391b 5 (according to the Narthang edition). It stops in the middle of a phrase. Whether the work has never been finished, or a part of it lost at the time of the translation is difficult to decide. Its translator is not mentioned and in certain catalogues of the Bstan-ḥgyur we find the direct indication, that this work "is devoid of its end." (*-gśam-ma-tshaṅ-ba*), cp. P. Cordier, "Catalogue du fonds tibétain de la Bibliothèque Nationale 3ème partie, Index du Bstan-ḥgyur," p. 449. The celebrated Bu-ston Rin-chen-grub (1290-1364 A.D.) in his review of all Buddhist works translated into Tibetan also mentions that this work represents only the beginning (*stod*), a first part. Cp. his great work, "Bde-bar-gśegs-pai-bstan-pai-gsal-byed-chos-kyi-ḥbyun-gnas-gsun-rab-rin-po-chei-mdsod," ed. in Bkra-śis-lhun-grub, fol. 191a 2. For the second, polemical part of the VN, I thus can make use only of the main text and of the commentary of Śāntirakṣita.

41 VNV fol. 84a 5-6.

42 Instead of Bhāradvāja we find in the first copy of the Tibetan translation of VNV everywhere the mistaken *Dvaradvaja* (sic!). But the second copy in the

After that Śāntirakṣita quotes literally the whole of the Bhāṣya on *pratijñākāni*[43] and then all objections of the Nyāyavārttika in full.[44]

In accordance with his initial remark Dharmakīrti quotes the introductory phrase of the Nyāyavārttika, omits the polemics against the Bhāṣya, and then cites a long passage which contains Uddyotakara's own opinion. The passage is cited with some immaterial abbreviations. The repetitious, questions and superfluous introductory words, so characteristic of Uddyotakara's style are sometimes omitted. I here adduce both texts *en regard*. The words omitted in the Vādanyāya are put in square brackets.

Nyāyavārttika	Vādanyāya
(NV[1] 568, 17-18; NV[2] 551, 15-16)	(VN 397b 5-6)
प्रतिदृष्टान्तस्य यो धर्मस्तं यदा स्वदृष्टान्ते[45] ऽभ्यनुजानाति तदा निगृहीतो वेदितव्यः ।[46]	*mi-mthun-pai-dpei chos gaṅ yin-pa de gaṅ-gi-tshe raṅ-gi-dpe-la khas-len-par-byed-pa dei-tshe tshar-bcad-par-bya-ba-yin-pa brjod de.*
(NV[1] 559, 10-16; NV[2] 552, 7-14)	(VN 397b 6-398a 1)
दृश्यासावन्ते व्यवस्थित इति दृष्टान्तः [स्वयासौ दृष्टान्तश्चेति] [स्व]दृष्टान्तशब्देन स्वपक्ष[47] [एवाभिधीयते ।] प्रतिदृष्टान्त-	*mthoṅ-ba yaṅ de yin-la/ mthar yaṅ-rnam- par- gnas- pa- yin- pai- phyir mthoṅ-bai-mtha-ste/ mthoṅ-bai-mtha-ni raṅ-gi-phyogs-so// mi-*

Bstan-ḥgyur, Mdo, CXII, gives everywhere the more correct reading *Bharadhvaja* which evidently is nothing but Bhāradvāja, cp. Bstan-ḥgyur, Mdo, Ze (CXII) fol. 133a 7, *passim*.

43 Cp. NBh p. 512 and VNV f. 84a 6-84b 2. Śāntirakṣita introduces this quotation by the words—"*'di-la rnam-par-ḥdod--pai ḥdod-pa-ne*," and then transcribes in full the whole of the NBh on the NS V, 2, 2.

44 Cp. NV[1] p. 559, 2-8 (=NV[2] p. 551, 22-552,5) and VNV f. 84b 2-4 where this passage of NV is quoted in full and introduced by the words—*rnam-ḥgrel-byed-pas ḥdi-dag smra-dbyuṅ-ba-ni*.

45 Instead of स्वदृष्टान्ते we read in NV[2] स्वपक्षे दृष्टान्ते. But the reading of NV[1]: स्वदृष्टान्ते, =Tib. *raṅ-gi-dpe-la*, is more correct and it is supported by the commentary of Vācaspatimiśra, cp. NVTT[1] p. 493, 15-16; NVTT[2] p. 699, 3-4.

46 The Tibetan translation suggests an original उच्यते instead of वेदितव्यः which is usually rendered by *rig-par-bya-ba*.

47 We have in NV[1] स्वदृष्टान्तशब्देन स्वपक्षः, in NV[2] स्वदृष्टान्तशब्देन पक्षः. The Tibetan suggests the reading दृष्टान्तशब्देन स्वपक्षः. All the three readings do not change the meaning.

शब्देन च प्रतिपक्षः [प्रतिपक्षश्चासौ दृष्टान्तश्चेति] [एतदुक्तं भवति] परपक्षस्य यो धर्मस्तं स्वपक्ष एवानुजानातीति यथाऽनित्यः शब्द ऐन्द्रियकत्वादिति[48] द्वितीयपक्षवादिनि सामान्येन प्रत्यवस्थिते इदमाह—यदि सामान्यमैन्द्रियकं नित्यं दृष्टमिति शब्देऽप्येवं भवतीति, एषा प्रतिज्ञाहानिः । प्रागनेन प्रतिज्ञातमनित्यः शब्द इति ।

mthun-pai-dpe-ni mi-mthun-pai-phyogs-te/ mi-mthun-pai-phyogs-kyi cho, ran-gi-phyogs-la khas-len-pa-pham-pa-ste/ dper-na sgra mi-rtag-ste/ dbaṅ-pos-gzuṅ-bar-bya ba-ñid-yin-pai-phyir-ro zhes smras-pa-la/ phyir-rgol-ba spyii-sgo-nas phyir-zlog-pa-na/ yal-te deitshe spyi dbaṅ-pos-gzuṅ-par-bya-ba-yin-pas/ sgra yaṅ rtag-par ḥgyur-ro zher-bya-ba smra-ba-ni/ dam bcaḥ-ba-la-gnod-pa-ste/ ṡar sgra mi-rtag-pa-ñid-du dam-bcaḥ-ba-btaṅ-bai-phyir-ro.

Notwithstanding the slight difference between the Tibetan translation and the text of the Nyāyavārttika which is now in our possession, their identity is beyond every possibility of doubt. The slight difference is explained by Dharmakīrti's care of abbreviation and by the circumstance that we must here compare the translation of a passage with the original.

Next in order comes the Point of Defeat called *pratijñāntara*. Dharmakīrti gives in short its condensed interpretation by the Nyāyabhāṣya,[49] but a remark of Nyāyavārttika explaining the reason why this is regarded as a *nigrahasthāna* he reproduces quite literally. We give here the original as well as the translation.

Nyāyavārttika (NV[1] 560, 13; NV[2] 553, 13)	Vādanyāya (VN 398b 5.)
साधनसामर्थ्यापरिज्ञानात्	*sgrub-par-byed-pai nus-pa yoṅs-su-mi-śes-pai-phyir-ro.*

Although short it is a quotation.

The third *nigrahasthāna* is called *pratijñāvirodha*. Uddyotakara remarks that it embraces many varieties, such as an immanent contradiction in the thesis, its contradiction with the logical reason, with the

48 NV[1] omits इति.

49 Cp. NBh and NV on NS V, 2, 3 with VN f. 398b 3-6 where an abridged quotation from NBh is found, which is followed by a phrase from the NV and concluded by explaining Dharmakīrti's own opinion.

example etc. Dharmakīrti quotes in full the definition of the Nyāya-sūtras, adds an example taken from the Nyāyabhāṣya and gives a long and exhaustive quotation from the Nyāyavārttika, containing the above-mentioned remark on the varieties of *pratijñāviroḍha*. I give here both the texts *en regard*:

Nyāyasūtra
(NS, V.2.4)

प्रतिज्ञाहेत्वोर्विरोधः प्रतिज्ञाविरोधः

Nyāyabhāṣya
(NBh 515, 4-5)

गुणव्यतिरिक्तं द्रव्यमिति प्रतिज्ञा, रूपादितोऽर्थान्तरस्यानुपलब्धेरिति हेतुः, सोऽयं प्रतिज्ञाहेत्वोर्विरोधः ।

Nyāyavārttika
(NV[1] 561, 1-11; NV[2] 553, 21-554, 8)

एतेनैव प्रतिज्ञाविरोधोऽप्युक्तः—यत्र प्रतिज्ञा स्ववचनेन विरुध्यते यथा श्रमणा गर्भिणी । हेतुविरोधोऽपि—यत्र प्रतिज्ञा हेतुना विरुध्यते यथा सर्वं पृथक् समूहे भावशब्दप्रयोगादिति । एतेन प्रतिज्ञया दृष्टान्तविरोधोऽपि [वक्तव्यः] हेतोश्च दृष्टान्तादिभिर्विरोधः प्रमाणविरोधश्च[53] प्रतिज्ञाहेत्वोर्वक्तव्यः । परपक्षसिद्धेन गोत्वादिनाऽनैकान्तिकदेशनाद्विरोधः—यः परपक्षसिद्धेन गोत्वादिना व्यभिचारयति तद्विरुद्धमुत्तरं वेदितव्यम् । स्वपक्षानपेक्षं च तथा—यश्चस्वपक्षानपेक्षं हेतुं प्रयुङ्क्ते, अनित्यः

Vādanyāya
(VN 400a 1)

dam-bcaḥ-ba daṅ gtan-tshigs ḥgal-ba-ni dam-bcaḥ-ba-daṅ-ḥgal-ba-ste|

Vādanyāya
(VN 400a 1-2)

dper-na yon-tan-las ma-gtogs-pai rdsas zhes-bya-ba-ni dam-bcaḥ-bao|| gzugs-la-sogs-pa-las don gzhan[50] mi-dmigs-pai-phyir ro zhes-bya-ba-ni gtan-tshigs yin-te| de-ni ḥdir dam-bcaḥ-ba daṅ gtan-tshig-dag-tu ḥgal-bao||

Vādanyāya
(VN 400a 2-400b 1)

de-nid-kyis-ni dam-bcas-pa-daṅ-ḥgal-ba yaṅ bstan-te| gaṅ-la dam-bcaḥ-ba raṅ-gi-tshig-daṅ ḥgal-bar-ḥgyur-ba-ni dper-na dge-spyod-ma shruṃ-ma [ḥam bdag-med-do[51] zhes-bya-ba ltu-bu. gtan-tshigs-la ḥgal-ba yaṅ| gaṅ-la dam-bcaḥ-ba gtan-tshigs-la gnod-pa-ni dper-na thams-cad tha-dad-pa yin-te tshogs-pa-la dhos-poi sgra sbyor-bai-phyir-ro zhes-bya-ba-ltabu de-dag-gis-ni dam-bcaḥ-ba-daṅ-dpei-ḥgal-ba daṅ| gtan-tshigs daṅ dpe-la-sogs-poi-ḥgal-ba daṅ| tshad-mai-ḥgal-ba dam-bcaḥ-ba-daṅ-gtan-tshigs-dag-la yaṅ brjod-

50 The word "*gzhan*" is omitted in the text of VN. I have supplemented it from the commentary of Śāntirakṣita, where it is contained, cp. VNV f. 86b 3.

51 The second example "*bdag-med-pa*" is evidently an interpolation. It is absent in the text of NV and in the commentary of Śāntirakṣita.

52 In NV[1] misprint प्रमाणाविरोधश्च, cp. NVTT[1] p. 498, 11; NVTT[2] p. 705, 16.

शब्द ऐन्द्रियकत्वादिति स खसिद्धस्य[54] गोत्वादेरनित्यत्वविरोधाद्विरुद्धः।[55] उभयपक्षसम्प्रतिपन्नस्त्वनैकान्तिकः—यदुभयपक्षसम्प्रतिपन्नं वस्तु तथात्वेन तेनानैकान्तिकदेशनेति।

par-byao|| gzhan-gyi-phyogs-la ba-laṅ-ñid-la-sogs-pa [*raṅ-la*][53] *grub-pai-sgo-nas ma-ûes-par-bstan-pai-phyir ḥgal-ba-ste| gzhan-gyi-phyogs-la* [*raṅ-la*][53] *grub-pai ba-laṅ-ñid-la-sogs-pas ḥkhrul-par-brjod-pa gaṅ-yin-pa de-ni lan ḥgal-ba-yin-par rig-par-byao|| raṅ-gi-phyogs-la ltos-pa-med-par yaṅ-ste| yaṅ raṅ-gi-phyos-la ltos-pa-med-par-yaṅ gtan-tshigs shyor-ba-ste| ngra mi-rtag ste| dbaṅ-poḥi-gsuṅ-ba-ñid-yin-pai-phyir-ro zhes-bya-ba-la| de-ni raṅ-la-grub-pa ba-laṅ-ñid-la-sogs-pa mi-rtag-pa-daṅ-ḥgal-bai-phyir ḥgal-ba-yin-zhiṅ| gûi-gai-phyogs-kyis-khas-blaṅs-pa-yin-na-ai ma-ûes-pa-yin-te| gaṅ gûi-gai-phyogs-kyis-chos-khas-blaṅs-pai dṅos-po-yin-pa dei-phyir ma-ûes-par-brojd-do||*

This long quotation strikes us by the perfect literacy and precision of the translation. It clearly shows that Dharmakīrti quotes not from

53 The Tibetan translation suggests an original "खसिद्ध०" instead of "सिद्धि०" which we find in both editions of NV and in the NVTT (cp. NVTT[1] p. 498, 16-17; NVTT[2] p. 705, 22). The interpolation of the word "रव = Tib. *raṅ-la*" does not affect at all the meaning, because the reading "*gzhan-gyi-phyogs-la raṅ-la-grub-pa*" only emphasizes the author's idea that he speaks of notions whose validity is accepted by one party alone.

54 We must read खसिद्धस्य just as in the Tibetan. In the NV[2] we find प्रसिद्धस्य which is evidently nothing but a corruption of the word खसिद्धस्य. The reading समूहसिद्धस्य which is contained in the NV[1] is still more remote from the meaning than प्रसिद्धस्य. The eternity of the Universals (गोत्वादि) can not be said to be generally admitted (प्रसिद्ध) or accepted by whole assembly (समूहसिद्ध) since the opponent is a Buddhist who does not admit neither the reality of Universals, nor any eternal substances in general.

55 The reading of both editions गोत्वादेर्नित्यत्वविरोधात् is a mistake instead of गोत्वादेरनित्यत्वविरोधात्. The author evidently wishes to state that the disputants, e.g. a **Prabhākara** (according to the commentary of Vācas-

memory or hear-say, but by placing a copy of the original before his eyes.[56]

As regards the six following varieties of *nigrahasthāna*, namely *pratijñāsaṃnyāsa*,[57] *hetvantara*,[58] *arthāntara*,[59] *nirarthaka*,[60] *aviji-ñātārtha*[61] and *anārthaka*,[62] the Nyāyavārttika adds nothing to their explanations as given in the Bhāṣya.[63] Therefore Dharmakīrti only occasionally inserts expressions which show that here also he had all the time the text of the Nyāyavārttika before his eyes.[64] But these are *minutiae* which need not detain us.

patimiśra) has disregarded his own principle which admits the existence of eternal substances. He contradicts himself, "since the Universals, cow-ness etc. are in contradiction with the tenet of non-eternity or momentariness of sound." Having forgotten his own principle he takes his stand on the contrary principle of his adversary, the V a i b h ā ṣ i k a. Cp. NVTT[1] p. 498, 17 etc; NVTT[2] p. 705, 23 etc.

56 Śāntirakṣita having explained this quotation and its following repudiation by Dharmakīrti, again mentions the name of Uddyotakara i.e. Bhāradvāja. He mentions him twice, cp. VNV f. 87a 6 and f. 92a 1.

57 NS V, 2, 5 quoted in VN f. 404a 7.

58 NS V, 2, 6 quoted in VN f. 404b 5.

59 NS V, 2, 7 quoted in VN f. 405a 4.

60 NS V, 2, 8 quoted in VN f. 405b 2.

61 NS V, 2, 9 quoted in VN f. 406a 3.

62 NS V, 2, 10 quoted in VN f. 406b 1.

63 Dharmakīrti quotes in full NBh V, 2, 5. cp. VN f. 406a 3-4; also in full the beginning of NBh V, 2, 7. The grammatical examples are here given not only with translation, but in transliteration also, e.g., NBh (p. 518) says,— हेतुनाम हिनोतेर्धातोस्तुनि प्रत्यये कृदन्तपदम्. This is quoted in the following manner: *gtan-tshigs zhes-bya ba yan skad-kyi-byiñ-la hi-no-ste tuo rkyen byas-pai-mtha-can-gyi tshig-ni* etc., cp. VN f. 405a 4-6. He quotes concisely NBh V, 2, 6, cp. VN f. 404b 5-405a 2, etc. etc.

64 E.g. in his comment on NS V, 2, 7 Dharmakīrti uses an expression which is not to be found in NBh, but is contained in NV. to wit अभ्युपगतार्थासङ्गतत्वात् = *khas-blaṅs-pai-don ḥbrel-pa-med-pa-ñid-kyi-phyir*, cp. NV[2] p. 554, 23 and VN f. 485b 2. In his interpretation of NS V, 2, 8 he evidently hints at its explanation by NV—न साधनमुपादत्त इति निगृह्यते, he says *bsgrub-par-byed-pa ma-bstan-pai-phyir/ tshar-bcad-par-bya-ba-yin-pai-phyir*, cp. NV[2] p. 555, 4, and VN f. 485b 2. The example illustrating NS V, 2, 10 is given by Dharmakīrti exactly in that form as it has in NV: दशादाडिमादिवाक्यम् = *seu-bcu zhes-bya-ba-la-sogs-pai ṅag lta-buo*, whereas in NBh the word वाक्यम् = *ṅag* is absent and the example is one in a series of several examples, cp. NV[2] p. 555 10 and VN f. 406b 2.

The definition of the next, tenth, *nigrahasthāna*, the *aprāptakāla*[65] has provoked an opposition which Uddyotakara mentions and discards. His own explanation is here limited to the rejection of objections. In the *Vādanyāya* we again find a long quotation from the Nyāyavārttika. Dharmakīrti, after having as usual quoted the Nyāyasūtra, gives a summary of its explanation in the Bhāṣya and then proceeds to a long quotation which Śāntirakṣita in his commentary directly ascribes to Uddyotakara.[66] We give here the original text of the Nyāyavārttika and Dharmakīrti's quotation in its Tibetan form.

Nyāyavārttika
NV[1] 563, 9-13; NV[2] 555, 22-556, 5)

यत्तावन्न, एवमपि[67] सिद्धेरिति प्रयोगापेतशब्दवदेतत्स्यात्। यथा गौरित्यस्य पदस्यार्थं गवीति[68] प्रयुज्यमानं पदं ककुदादिमन्तमर्थं प्रतिपादयतीति। न च शब्दान्वाख्यानं व्यर्थम्। अनेन शब्देन गोशब्दमेवासौ प्रतिपद्यते गोशब्दात् ककुदादिमन्तमर्थम्। तथा प्रतिज्ञावयवविपर्यासेनानुपूर्वीं प्रतिपद्यते आनुपूर्व्या चार्थमिति।

Vādanyāya
(VN 406b5-7)

gal-te de-ni ma-yin-te/ de-lta-bus kyaṅ grub-pai-phyir-ro zhe-na/ ma-yin-te sgra-yi-sbyor-ba-daṅ-bral-bar-mtshuṅs-pa-ñid-kyi-phyir-ro// dper-na ba-laṅ zhes-bya-bai tshig ḥdir don-la/ gavī[69] zhes-bya-bai rab-tu-sbyor-bar-byed-pa-na/ nag-la-sogs-pa-daṅ-ldan-pai don ston-par-byed-pai-phyir/ sgra-rjes-su-ḥchad-pa don-med-pa ma-yin-te/ tshig ḥdir ba-laṅ-gi sgra khoṅ-du-chud-par-ḥgyur zhiṅ/ ba-laṅ-gi-sgra-las nog-la-sogs-pa-daṅ-ldan-pai don yin-no// de-bzhin-du ḍam-bcaḥ-ba-la-sogs-pai-yan-lag-bzlog-pas go-rim-daṅ/ go-rim-las don khoṅ-du-chud-par-ḥgyur-ro//

Śāntirakṣita adds here (NS V, 2, 10) his own refutation of Uddyotakara's objection to those opponents, who admit no difference between *nirarthaka* and *apārthaka*. In this place he likewise quotes Uddyotakara by name, cp. VNV f. 100b 7 and *ibid.*, f. 105a 4.

65 NS V, 2, 11 quoted in VN f. 406b 4.

66 VNV f. 101b 6—*ma-yin-te/ de-lta-bus kyaṅ grub-pai-phyir-ro// zhes-bya-ba Bhāradvājaio//*

67 In NV[1] misprint तत्तावतँवम् (sic!).

68 Both editions of NV read गवी but in both editions of NVTT we find गावो, cp. NVTT[1] p. 504, 8 and NVTT[2] p. 713, 16.

69 In the text of VN we have a mistaken reading, a Tibetan word go-rim

Referring to the next, the eleventh *nigrahasthāna*, the *apārthaka*,[70] Dharmakīrti gives a summary of its explanation from the Nyāyavārttika, to wit—

Nyāyavārttika (NV[1] 564, 2-4; NV[2] 556,13-15)	Vādanyāya (VN 408b 4-5)
यस्मिन् वाक्ये प्रतिज्ञादीनामन्यतमो ऽवयवो न भवति तद्वाक्यं न्यूनं [वेदितव्यम् । तत्कथं निग्रहस्थानम् ।] न [साधनाभावे] साध्यसिद्धिरिति ।	*ṅag gaṅ-la dam-bcaḥ-ba-la-sogs-pa-rnams-kyi yan-lag geig med-na ṅag de-ni mi-ltshaṅ-ba yin-te[bsgrub-par-bya-ba mi-ḥgrub-pai-phyir-ro][71]*

The twelfth *nigrahasthāna* is called the *adhika*.[72] Dharmakīrti quotes here the Nyāyabhāṣya in full,[73] without mentioning the Nyāyavārttika which contains the rejection of objections.

As regards the thirteenth variety called the *punaruktа*,[74] the difference between the Nyāyabhāṣya and the Nyāyavārttika consists in this that the latter omits the introductory phrase of the Bhāṣya on the division of this *nigrahasthāna* into two sub-varieties, but their examples are all mentioned. They are the same and similarly phrased as in the Bhāṣya. Dharmakīrti follows Uddyotakara and mentions only the examples, but since here both texts of the Bhāṣya and of the Vārttika coincide, he evidently could have taken the quotations from either source. However it is clear that he also in this case had predominantly the Nyāyavārttika in view, because in his polemic against the Naiyāyiks on this variety, he mentions an argument which is contained in the polemics of Uddyotakara against those who reject this kind of *nigrahasthāna*. Some dialectitians have maintained that repetition is not a fault because it may

instead of गवोति. In the sequel in his polemic against this passage Dharmakīrti quotes this word several times and in the Tibetan translation of VN we always find it in the form *go-sai ṅgra* which evidently is nothing but a distortion of the word गवी unintelligible to the Tibetan copyists.

70 NS V, 2, 12 quoted in VN f. 408b 4.

71 In VNV f. 105b 4 we have a fuller statement—*bsgrub-par-bya-ba* (read *hgyed-pa*) *med-na yaṅ bsgrub-bya-mi-ḥgrub-pai-phyir-ro*[].

72 NS V, 2, 13 quoted in VN f. 408b 6-7.

73 Cp. NBh and NS V, 2, 13 and VN f. 408b 7.

74 NS V, 2, 14 quoted in VN f. 409a 1-2.

be made with the aim of putting an emphasis on a meaning (सुतरामर्थ प्रतिपाद्यते).[75] In answering them Uddyotakara remarks that in a logical controversy there is no teacher and no pupil, therefore there can be no instruction through repetition—न चार्य-शिष्यो न गुरुस्तस्माद्यायं पुनः प्रतिपाद्यते।[76] Dharmakīrti has evidently this remark of the Nyāyavārttika in view, when he says—*ḥdi-ni bla-ma yaṅ ma yin, slob-ma yaṅ ma-yin-pas-na* etc.[77]

Going over to the fourteenth *nigrahasthāna* called the *ananubhāṣaṇa*[78] Dharmakīrti quotes in full the definition of the Nyāyasūtra, its explanation in the Bhāṣya and also almost in full from the *Nyāyavārttika* the controversy with Dignāga who, as testified by Vācaspatimiśra, had rejected this definition.[79] I here give all the texts *en regard*.

Nyāyasūtra (NS V, 2, 17)	Vādanyāya (VN 410a 1-2)
विज्ञातस्य परिषदा त्रिरभिहितस्याप्यप्रत्युच्चारणमननुभाषणम्।	*tshogs-la lan-gsum brjod-pa śes śiṅ lan-brjod-pa-de-med-pa de-ni rjes-su-smra-ba-med-pa yin-te/*
Nyāyabhāṣya (NBh 525, 16-18)	Vādanyāya (VN 410a 2-3)
विज्ञातस्य वाक्यार्थस्य परिषदा प्रतिवादिना त्रिरभिहितस्य यदप्रत्युच्चारणं तदननुभाषणं नाम निग्रहस्थानमिति। अप्रत्युच्चारयन् किमाश्रयं परपक्षप्रतिषेधं ब्रूयात्।	*tshogs-pas rgol-ba lan-gsum-pai ṅag-gi-don śes-bzhin-du phyir-rgol-bas lan-brjod-pa-med-pa gaṅ-yin-pa de-ni rjes-su-smra-ba-med-pa zhes-bya-ba tshar-bcad-pai-gnas-yin-no// lan-brjod-pa-med-par ci-la brten-nas gzhan-gyi phyogs dgog-pa smra-par-byed//*

75 NV[1] p. 565, 9; NV[2] p. 557, 22.

76 NV[1] p. 565, 12; NV[2] p. 558,2.

77 VN f. 409a 7.

78 NS V, 2, 17 quoted in VN f. 410a 1-2.

79 तमेतं भदन्ताक्षेपं समाधत्ते, says Vācaspatimiśra when explaining the objection of Uddyotakara against the attacks on that definition, cp. NVTT[1] p. 507, 22; NVTT[2] p. 718, 11.

Nyāyavarttika
(NV[1] 565, 17-566, 8; NV[2] 558, 9-19)

(I) उत्तरेणावस्थानात् नेदं निग्रहस्थानमिति केचित्। [उत्तरेणावस्थानात्] उत्तरेण गुणदोषवता मूढत्वामूढत्वं गम्यत इति किं पुनरुच्चरिते नास्ति।

(II) अस्ति हि उत्तरे कश्चित् समर्थो दृश्यते न प्रत्युच्चारणे, नासौ[81] तावता निग्रहस्थानमर्हति। [यश्चारभ्य स्वपक्षं न निर्वाहयेत् तस्य स्यात् खलीकारमालमिति।]

(III) न, उत्तरविषयापरिज्ञानात्— यथयं न प्रत्युच्चारयति निर्विषयमुत्तरं प्रसज्यते। अथोत्तरं ब्रवीति कथं नोच्चारयति यदिदं व्याहतमुच्यते नोच्चारयत्युत्तरं च ब्रवीतीति।

(IV) अप्रतिज्ञानाच्च। नेदं प्रतिज्ञायते पूर्वमुच्चारयितव्यं पश्चादुत्तरमभिधेयमपि तु यथाकथञ्चिदुत्तरं वक्तव्यम्। उत्तरं चाश्रयाभावे न युक्तमिति युक्तमप्रत्युच्चारणं निग्रहस्थानमिति॥

Vādanyāya
(VN 410a 3-7)

(I) *gal-te lan-gyi-sgo-nas ñes-pai-phyir ḥdi-ni tshar-bcad-pai-gnas ma yin-no zhe-na* [*de-ltar-ni hgyur-na*] *lan-gyi-sgo-nas yon-tan-daṅ-skyon-daṅ-ldan-pa* (*rmoṅs-pa-daṅ*)[80] *rmoṅs-pa-ma-yin-pañid-du ñes-pai-phyir lan-brjod-pas ci-zhig bya*|

(III) *ma-yin-te lan-gyi-yul-mi-ses-pai-phyir-te*| *gal-te ḥdi lan-brjod-par-mi-byed-na lan-gyi yul-med-pa yin-la*| *hon-te lan-brjod-na ji-ltar lan-brjod-par-mi-byed*| *brjod-pamed-pa-la yaṅ lan brjod-pa daṅ*| *ḥdi-ni hgal-bar smra-ba-yin-no zhe na*|

(II) *hga-zhig-la lan-gyi ned-pa yod-pa-na yaṅ lan-brjod-pa-med-na*|*de de-srid-du tshar-bcad-pai ḥos-pa ma-yin-no zhe-na*||

(IV) *dam -bcas -pa -med -pai-phyir*| *ḥdi yaṅ daṅ-por* [*thams-cad*] *brjod-par-bya zhiṅ*| *phyis lan brjod-par-bgyo*| *zhes-bya-bai dam-bcas-pa-ni med-do*|| *hon-kyaṅ ji-ltar-yaṅ-ruṅ lan brjod-par-bgyo*|| *lan yaṅ rtsu-med-pa rigs-pa-ma-yin-pai-phyir*| *lan-ma-brjod-pa zhes-bya-ba tshar-bcad-pai-gnas-ni rigs-pa-yin-no zhe-na*||.

The difference of the quotation from the Nyāyavārttika consists, as seen from their comparison, in this that it omits one phrase and changes

80 VN omits *rmoṅs-pa daṅ* (= मूढत्व), cp. notes in both editions of the NV.

81 In NV[1] प्रत्युच्चारणे नासौ is printed jointly.

the order in the arguments, namely the second objection of Dignāga, which in the Nyāyavārttika follows immediately on the first, is transferred towards the end and is mentioned in immediate vicinity with its repudiation.[82] But this does not affect the substance of the arguments.

The definitions of the remaining varieties called *ajñāna*,[83] *apratibhā*,[84] *vikṣepa*,[85] *matānujñā*,[86] *paryanuyojyopekṣaṇa*,[87] *niranuyojyānuyoga*,[88] *apasiddhānta*[89] and *hetvābhāsa*[90] are mentioned by Dharmakīrti without such detailed and exhaustive quotations from the Nyāyavārttika. He either repeats or condenses the explanations of the Nyāyabhāṣya.[91] And this is natural, since the Vārttika also only repeats the comments of the Bhāṣya. It contains small additions in the explanation of four varieties only, namely in the explanation of *apratibhā* it gives an additional example which is absent in the Bhāṣya. In *vikṣepa* it drops the example of the Bhāṣya and replaces it by another one. In *matānujñā* it adds an example and answers to the critics which denied the necessity of establishing such a *nigrahasthāna*. In *paryanuyojyopekṣaṇa* it repeats the Bhāṣya without explanations and adds some polemical remarks against objectors. The remaining varieties provoke no remarks in the Nyāyavārttika, it either paraphrases the Bhāṣya or simply refers to it. Here the chief source for Dharmakīrti is the Nyāyabhāṣya, but he nevertheless keeps the Nyāyavārttika constantly in view and carefully notes every detail which can be borrowed from this source.

82 The Roman figures in brackets in the Sanskrit original and the corresponding Tibetan translation indicate the change in the order of passages.

83 NS V, 2, 18 quoted in VN f. 411b 7.

84 NS V, 2, 19 quoted in VN f. 412b 6.

85 NS V, 2, 20 quoted in VN f. 412b 7-413a 1.

86 NS V, 2, 21 quoted in VN f. 414a 1.

87 NS V, 2, 22 quoted in VN f. 414a 7-414b 1.

88 NS V, 2, 23 quoted in VN f. 415a 2.

89 NS V, 2, 24 quoted in VN f. 415a 6-415b 1.

90 NS V, 2, 25 quoted in VN f. 416a 7-416b 1.

91 The principal quotations from the NBh are the following: NBh V, 2, 19 in full; NBh V, 2, 22 almost in full; NBh V, 2, 23 in full; NBh V, 2, 24 almost in full, notwithstanding its considerable size, and NBh V, 2, 25 almost in full. There are moreover partial quotations in the remaining definitions because Dharmakīrti even when he paraphrases the explanations of the NBh and of the NV, as a rule, uses the expressions found in these texts.

Thus he mentions the example of *apratibhā* given in the Nyāyavārttika; it consists in this that the respondent, instead of answering the question put before him, begins to recite verses[92]; he quotes literally the beginning of the explanation of *matānujñā* and the example given there[93] etc.

Such is the contents of the second critical part of Dharmakīrti's Vādanyāya. He draws the definitions from the Nyāyasūtra, their explanations from the Bhāṣya and he devotes quite an exclusive attention to the Nyāyavārttika. He does not omit a single fresh thought of Uddyotakara, also not an important or original expression without directly or indirectly referring to it and criticizing it. The character and the length of his quotations prove beyond the possibility of a doubt that he had a dieret knowledge of this work, which he had always at hand.

If we would not shrink back before the task of going into further details, if we would like to realise the essence of the aim of Dharmakīrti's polemics against the Naiyāyika theory of *nigrahasthāna*, if we would like to collect all the innumerable quotations, references and hints, of which the whole of the Vādanyāya and its commentary by Śāntirakṣita are full, we could no doubt very much increase the number of quotations taken by Dharmakīrti from the Nyāyavārttika. I have limited my task to a direct confrontation of the second, polemical part of the Vādanyāya with the opinions which it criticizes; I have laid stress only upon the most certain, most extensive quotations which Dharmakīrti transcribes from the Nyāyavārttika with a remarkable care and scrupulous precision.

But the material collected here is sufficient for making it quite sure that the Vādanyāya quotes the Nyāyavārttika and even more than that, that the point of Dharmakīrti's critique is always directed against this

92 श्लोकपाठादिभिः etc. (NV[1] p. 566, 12; NV[2] 558, 23). cp. *tshigs-su-bcad-pa ḥdon-pa-la-sogs-pas* etc. (VN f. 412 b 7), an expression absent in NBh.

93 यः परेण चोदितं दोषमनुद्धृत्य भवतोऽप्ययं दोष इति ब्रवीति। उदाहरणं भवांधीरः पुरुषत्वादिति स तं प्रति ब्रूयात् भवानपीति। NV[1] p. 567, 1-3; NV[2] p. 559, 9-11. Cp. VN f. 414a 1-2:—*gzhan-gyis-brjod-pai skyon zun-ḥbyin-pa-med-par khyod-kyi ḥdi yañ skyon yin-na zhes-smra-bar byed-de/ dper-na khyod-kyi rkanma yin-te/ skyes-ba-ñid-gin-pai-phyir-ro zhes-smras-la des de-la star khyod kyañ-ño zhes-smra-ba-ltu-bao.* This example is altogether absent in the NBh; the beginning of the explanation of the NBh, although very similar to this one contains nevertheless such words which are absent in the NV and in the quotations in the NV.

work whose aim it was to defend, possibly by new arguments, the theory of the Naiyāyiks assailed by Dignāga.

If it is thus quite sure that the Vādanyāya contains extensive quotations from the Nyāyavārttika, it becomes clear that the inversion of this relation is impossible, the Nyāyavārttika cannot contain any quotations from the Vādanyāya.

Dr. Vidyabhusana however attempts to convince us that he has found in the text of the Nyāyavārttika a quotation from the Vādanyāya, namely the definition of a Thesis—साध्याभिधानं प्रतिज्ञा। How is this possible?

If we carefully examine the passage of the Vādanyāya,[94] which, according to Dr. Vidyabhusana, is quoted in the Nyāyavārttika, we will notice that in this place Dharmakīrti refutes the Naiyāyika definition of *pratijñāntara-nigrahasthāna*. In the process of this refutation he tries to show its internal inconsistency and if we in the phrasing of this refutation can discover some similarity with the definition of *pratijñā*, it can refer only to the definition of the Naiyāyiks, not at all to his own.

The passage adduced by Dr. Vidyabhusana from the Vādanyāya represents the end of a phrase quite arbitrarily separated from the whole of it, a phrase with which Dharmakīrti begins his refutation of *pratijñāntara*.

Having explained the manner in which the Nyāyabhāṣya and the Nyāyavārttika interpret the *pratijñāntara* fallacy, Dharmakīrti says—

ḥgir yaṅ de-skad-du smras-pas dam-bcas-pa-yzhan| sñar dam-bcas-pa sgrub-pai-phyir-ro|| bstan-par-ḥgyur-ba ma-yin-gyi| ḥon-kyaṅ gtan-tshigs khyad-par-du-byed-pa yin-te, dbaṅ-pos-yzuṅ-bar-bya-bai gtan-tshigs spyi-la ḥjug-pas ḥkhrul-par-brjod-pa-la| thams-cad-du-ḥgro-ba-ma-yin-te| dbaṅ-pos-yzuṅ-bar-bya-ba-ñid-yin-pai-phyir zhes-bya-ba-ni gtan-tshigs khyad-par-byed-pa khas-blaṅs-pas ḥkhrul-pa spaṅs-pa-yin-gyi| dam-bcas-pa-yzhan yaṅ smras-pa ma-yin-te| thams-cad-du-ḥgro-ba-ma-yin-pa-ni sgra-la sgrub-pai-phyir daṅ| dam-bcaḥ-ba yaṅ bsgrub-bya bstan-pai-phyir-ro||

gaṅ yaṅ sñar dam-bcas-pa bsgrub-pai-phyir| phyis-kyi dam-bcas-pa smras-pa-yin-no zhes dam-bcas-pa bstan-pa de yaṅ rigs-pa ma-yin-te|

94 VN f. 398a 2.

dam-bcas-pa dam-bcas-pas sgrub-par-byed-pai-phyir zhes-bya-ba brjod-pa-yis| dam-bcas-pa gzhan-du-byyur-ba ma-yin-ggi| ḥoñ Lgaṅ gtan-tshigs-la-sogs-pa gzhan-du, bsgrub-par-bya-ba sgrub-par-byed-pai-ched-du, khas-blaṅs-pai-phyir| sgrub-par-byed-pa bstan-par-byyur-ggi| bsgrub-par-bya-ba-bstan-pa-ni ma yin-no|[92]

This means: "(The disputant) who thus speaks[93] does not indicate a new thesis in order to prove the former one, he only additionally qualifies his own argument. Having adduced (in order to prove that the sound is not an eternal substance) the faulty argument of "being sensational," since this feature also appertains to universals, he excludes this fault by an additional specification of the argument, in saying that (the sound is not eternal) because it is sensational and not omnipresent. He does not assume a new thesis, since it is (sufficiently) known that sound is not omnipresent, whereas a thesis indicates that (only) which ought now to be established (the *probandum*)."[97]

"The opinion (of the Naiyāyiks) that a t h e s i s is here stated, that another thesis is here adduced, in order to prove the first one, is wrong. For if it were right that we have here a new thesis adduced as a proof for a former one, the thesis would be altered, but it is not so, because changed is the logical reason adduced for the proof of the *probandum*. Changed is the proof, not the thing to be proved."

Having quite arbitrarily torn away the concluding words of the first phrase of this refutation which aims exclusively at showing the inconsistency in the definition of *pratijñāntara* from the stand-point of the Naiyāyiks, Dr. Vidyabhusana represents these concluding words (*dam-*

95 VN f. 398b 7-399a 4.

96 This contest, as Vācaspatimiśra informs us (NVTT² p. 701, 9), is between a Vaibhāṣika and a Mīmāṃsaka. The first maintains—"sound is not an eternal substance, since it is apprehended by the senses, just as a jar (apprehended by vision)." The Mīmāṃsaka objects: "the Universals likewise are apprehended by the senses, but they nevertheless are eternal." The former answers: "jar and sound are not omnipresent, hence the objection is not valid." This answer according to the Naiyāyiks is a *pratijñāntara-nigrahasthāna*, i.e. shifting from one thesis to another.

97 It is just these last words that Dr. Vidyabhusana had mistaken for a definition of what a Thesis must be for Dharmakīrti.

bcaḥ-ba yaṅ bsgrub-bya bstan-pai-phyir-ro) as corresponding to the definition of *pratijñā* quoted from the Vādavidhi—साध्याभिधानं प्रतिज्ञा. But the context clearly shows that Dharmakīrti does not give here his own definition of a right logical thesis, since such is not his aim; he perhaps alludes, as mentioned above, to its definition by the Naiyāyiks, not by the Buddhists.

The Naiyāyika definition of a thesis is—साध्यनिर्देशः प्रतिज्ञा[98] which is always rendered in Tibetan as *bsgrub-bya-bstan-pa-ni dam-bcaḥ-ba*.

The definition of a thesis in the Vādavidhi is साध्याभिधानं प्रतिज्ञा, and this is always rendered in Tibetan as *bsgrub-bya-brjod-pa-ni dam-bcaḥ-ba*.

The way of translating Sanskrit technical terms into Tibetan is settled with a great precision; the Tibetan *brjod-pa* corresponds to Sanskrit *abhidhāna*, the Tibetan *bstan-pa* or *ston-pa* (it is the same) renders the Sanskrit *nirdeśa*. Both translations of the Pramāṇasamuccayavṛtti contain quotations from the Nyāyasūtra, and the definition of the Vādavidhi. They are quoted side by side and *sādhyanirdeśa* is translated as *bsgrub-bya-bstan-pa*, but *sādhyābhidhāna* as *bsgrub-bya-brjod-pa*.[99] We find the same correspondence in the Tibetan translation of the commentary of Jinendrabuddhi[100] etc. In the present case also, in the definition of the fallacy called *pratijñāntara*, which is criticized by Dharmakīrti we find mentioned *arthanirdeśa* which is rendered in Tibetan as *don-bstan-pa*, just as in the Vādanyāya and in Śāntirakṣita's Vādanyāyavṛtti.[101] Thus even admitting that this end of a phrase contains an allusion to a definition of *pratijñā*, this allusion refers in any case to the definition of the Naiyāyiks, not to the definition of Dharmakīrti.

98 NS I, 1, 33.

99 Cp. Pramāṇasamuccaya of Dignāga, Bstan-hgyur, Mdo Ce (XCL) f. 7a 1 (of Narthang edition); Pramāṇasamuccayavṛtti 1st translation, *ibidem* f. 45a 4 and f. 45b 4 etc; Pramāṇasamuccayavṛtti, 2nd translation, *ibidem*, f. 127a 4 etc. and f. 127b 4 etc.

100 Cp. Pramāṇasamuccayaṭīkā of Jinendrabuddhi, Bstan-hgyur, Mdo, Re (CXV) f. 172a 4 etc. and f. 174b 4 etc. (of Narthang edition).

101 NS V, 2, 3; VN f. 398b 2 and VNV f. 85b 3.

If it is thus by numerous quotations firmly established that the Vādanyāya cannot be quoted in the Nyāyavārttika it is *a fortiori* clear that its commentary the Vādanyāyaṭīkā can in no case be quoted there. However Dr. Vidyabhusana has succeeded in finding in the Nyāyavārttika a quotation even from this source.

As far as the definition of *vāda* is concerned Dr. J h a has already called our attention to the fact that Vācaspatimiśra fathers this definition upon Vasubandhu and that Uddyotakara himself indicates its source as Vādavidhāna (as is seen from the second revised edition of the Nyāyavārttika).[102] It is true that Dr. Jha ascribed its authorship to a "Subandhu"[103] but this was owing to a misreading of the first edition of the Nyāyavārttikatātparyaṭīkā.[104] Its emendation was suggested among others by Dr. Vidyabhusana himself.[105]

It is superfluous to insist that this definition could not be taken from Vinītadeva's Vādanyāyaṭīkā, since we already possess a weighty testimony that it belonged to another author and was taken from another work. Moreover Mr. Iyengar and Prof. Tucci have rightly pointed to the want of identity between this definition of *vāda* and the passage

102 Cp. Dr. Jha, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 454 (of reprint). Dr. H. N. Randle (cp. his "Fragments from Diṅnāga," pp. 26 and 55) is responsible for the legend which after him is repeated by Prof. B. Keith (IHQ., vol. IV, p. 254) and by Dr. E. Frauwallner (Wiener Zeitschrift f. d. kunde d. Morgenlandes, 1933, p. 284), the legend maintaining that Dr. Jha has himself replaced the reading वादान्विधानं of the first edition of NV by the reading वादविधानं. But this is wrong. Dr. Jha states it quite clearly. He declares that he here follows the second edition which, although appeared in 1915 (the title page has 1916), was in his possession already in 1913. On p. 269 of the first volume of his work (which corresponds to p. 329 of the periodical "Indian Thought" for the year 1913), Dr. Jha says: "From here the translation has the advantage of using the Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series edition" and then many times quotes the new edition of NV under the title "Chowkhamba edition" or "Benares edition."

103 Dr. Jha, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 454 (of reprint).

104 Cp. Tucci, IHQ., vol. IV, p. 635; Frauwallner, *op. cit.*, p. 284. Dr. Randle (*op. cit.*, p. 26) made an attempt to explain "Subandhu" as an abbreviation of Vasubandhu, on the pattern of Kīrti for Dharmakīrti etc. But this is quite impossible as pointed out by Prof. B. Keith, IHQ., vol. IV, p. 226.

105 Dr. Vidyabhusana, History of Indian Logic, p. 128.

discovered by Dr. Vidyabhusana in the Vādanyāyaṭīkā.[106] It is rather strange that Prof. Keith tried to defend a hopeless position. The definition of *vāda* occurs in the text of the Nyāyavārttika twice[107] and Vācaspatimiśra, as quite natural, informs us about its author only once. This single indication is made in connection just with that quotation which Dr. Vidyabhusana nevertheless fathers upon Vinītadeva.[108] Prof. Keith then made the suggestion that Vinītadeva may have been the author of that quotation in connection with which Vācaspatimiśra does not name the author. This suggestion was supported by a misreading in the first edition of the Nyāyavārttika where the two quotations appear in a slightly different grammatical form. In one case, when this definition of *vāda* is only occasionally mentioned in course of a discussion on the right logical reason or *hetu*, it has the quite exact form, to wit— स्वपरपक्षयोः सिद्ध्यसिद्ध्यर्थं वचनं वादः ।[109] But in another place, when this definition is quoted and discussed, it has the form of "स्वपरपक्षसिद्ध्यसिद्ध्यर्थं वचनं वादः ।" [110] This misprint is corrected in the second edition of the Nyāyavārttika where the second quotation has just the same grammatical form as the first. But Prof. Keith[111] taking his stand on the misprinted form and on the circumstance that Vācaspatimiśra refers to the name of the author

106 Cp. Tucci, IHQ., vol. IV, p. 633; Iyengar, IHQ., vol. V, p. 85. I must add that Dr. Vidyabhusana applied in this instance the same method of arbitrarily tearing out of a phrase some detached words. The passage in the Vādanyāyaṭīkā is torn out of a phrase which contains an explanation of the word *rtsod-pa-dag*, the first word with which the Tibetan text of the Vādanyāya begins and which means *vādinau* i.e. "both partners in a controversy." The passage runs thus,— *rtsod-pa-dag-la zhes-bya-ba-smras-te phyogs-sñu-ma-daṅ-phyi-ma-dag goṅs-su-ḥdsin-pa-sñon-du-soṅ-pas-rgol-ba-daṅ-phyir-rgol-ba-dag-gis raṅ-daṅ-gzhan-gyi-phyogs-grub-par-byed-pa-daṅ-grub-pai-dus-da bṛjod-nas rtsod-pa-gñis-no//* VNT f. 41a 7-41b 1.

It is not quite easy to understand how this passage must have been rearranged in order to be interpreted as the original of the quotation of NV.

107 NV[1] p. 124, 9 and p. 151, 20 (=NV[2] p. 121, 6 and p. 150, 7).

108 Cp. NVTT[2] p. 317, 16 (=NVTT[1] p. 218, 9) which is a comment on NV[2] 150, 7 (=NV[1] p. 151, 20). Cp. Vidyabhusana, JRAS., 1914, p. 602.

109 NV[1] p. 124, 9. 110 NV[1] p. 151, 20.

111 Keith, IHQ., vol. IV, p. 225.

only once, in connection with the second quotation, suggests that we have here two similar but different definitions, the one belonging to Vasubandhu (or "Subandhu") and the other belonging to Vinītadeva. He thus arrives at a conflict with Dr. Vidyabhusana, who ascribed to Vinītadeva only the second quotation, which Vācaspatimiśra fathers upon Vasubandhu. Prof. Keith ought to have seen that the second quotation must have had just the same grammatical form as the first, because in the polemic against this second quotation Uddyotakara finds fault with the form of स्वपरपक्षयोः सिद्ध्यसिद्ध्यर्थं and directly remarks—अथ समासः कस्मान्न क्रियते स्वपरपक्षसिद्ध्यसिद्ध्यर्थं वचनं वाद इति ?"[112] i.e. "Why (in his definition) the one compound word, स्वपरपक्षसिद्ध्यसिद्ध्यर्थं is not given (instead of the two separate words स्वपरपक्षयोः and सिद्ध्यसिद्ध्यर्थं) ?"

Uddyotakara insists that the purity of a scientific style requires here a compound (*samāsa*); its division in two separate words makes the definition heavy,[113] unsuitable in a scientific work (*śāstra*) as the Vādavidhāna is considered to be by its adherents.[114] Therefore it ought to have been clear to every one who looked into Uddyotakara's text that the definition he is criticizing must necessarily have had the form स्वपरपक्षयोः सिद्ध्यसिद्ध्यर्थं वचनं वादः as given in the second revised edition of the Nyāyavārttika.[115] This edition was available at the time when Prof. Keith composed his paper. But he neither paid any attention to the emended text nor to the words of Uddyotakara himself, who expressly dwells on the right grammatical form of the definition and makes it quite clear that the definition is absolutely the same. This queer attempt to find an opposition between two absolutely identical quotations can only prove that how much a scholar's preconcieved notion can lead him astray.

Now, as regards the quotation in the Nyāyavārttika from the Vāda-

112 NV[1] p. 155, 14; NV[2] p. 153, 22.

113 समासे लाघवमेवासमासे गौरवम् NV[2] p. 154, 21. NV[1] p. 156, 13 has समासे लाघव समासे गौरवम् (sic!).

114 शास्त्रत्वेन च वादविधानमभ्युपगम्यते NV[2] p. 154, 25 NV[1] p. 156, 17 reads शास्त्रत्वेन च वादाभिधानमभ्युपगम्यते ।

115 NV[2] p. 150, 7.

vidhānaṭīkā, the only quotation in connection with which the Vādavidhānaṭīkā is expressly named by Uddyotakara, it is quite incomprehensible how could it be identified with the passage picked out by Dr. Vidyabhusana from the Vādanyāyaṭīka, since the two passages have absolutely nothing in common and refer to quite different subjects. The quotation from the Vādavidhānaṭīkā contains an explanation of the definition of *pakṣa*, logical Subject, whereas the words, which Dr. Vidyabhusana identifies with it, are torn out of a context giving an explanation of the Negative Judgment (*anupalabdhi*)!

Dr. Vidyabhusana[116] himself admits that the quotation: यदपि वादविधानटीकायां साधयतीति शब्दस्य स्वयं परेण च तुल्यत्वात् स्वयमिति विशेषणम्[117] refers to the definition of *pakṣa*. Moreover, Uddyotakara in his attack on this remark states expressly to what kind of *pakṣa*-definition it refers. He says that there is no need to add to this definition the qualification "by himself" (स्वयं) because it is quite obvious that the definition refers to what the disputant himself wants to establish and this the more so since the verb "to establish" (साधयति) has here the form of the infinitive (तुमुन्), thus leaving no doubt about who the subject is.[118] Therefore, says Uddyotakara, this definition would be more acceptable in its simple form, without adding the qualification, i.e. in the form पक्षो यः साधयितुमिष्टः।[119] This definition is several times quoted in the Nyāyavārttika[120] and Vācaspatimiśra ascribes it to Vasubandhu.[121]

But the passage from the Vādanyāyaṭīkā contains an explanation of the expression *upalabdhi-lakṣaṇa-prāpti* i.e. of "the capacity of being objectively perceived." The last theory is the foundation of Dharmakīrti's definition of the "Threefold Inference" and especially the foun-

116 Vidyabhusana, JRAS., 1914, pp. 601-602. Cp. also Keith, IHQ., vol. IV, pp. 223, 225.

117 NV[1] p. 120, 6-8; NV[2] p. 117, 1-2.

118 NV[1] p. 120, 9-17; NV[2] p. 117, 4-13.

119 अत एवं वक्तव्यं—पक्षो यः साधयितुमिष्ट इति। NV[1] p. 120, 10-11; NV[2] p. 117, 5-6.

120 Cp. NV[1] p. 116, 14-15; p. 119, 16-17, 22; p. 120, 10-11; p. 152, 16 etc. Cp. NV[2] p. 113, 6; p. 116, 9-10, 15; p. 117, 5-6; p. 151, 1 etc.

121 तथा पक्षो यः साधयितुमिष्ट इत्यत्रापि च वसुबन्धुलक्षणे... etc., NVTT[2] p. 273, 8-9. NVTT[1] p. 186, 15-16 read वसुबन्धुलक्षणे।

dation of his definition of a Negative Inference. He expounds this theory in almost every work of his, it is also found in the Nyāyabindu.[122] Here, in the Vādanyāya, it is developed in connection with the first kind of *nigrahasthāna*, the *asādhanāṅgavacana*. In order to explain the meaning of the word *sādhana* Dharmakīrti was obliged to give a succinct account of his theory of Judgment and Inference. As he has done in the Nyāyabindu, Dharmakīrti explains here also the expression "the capacity of being objectively perceived" (*upalabdhi-lakṣaṇa-prāpti*) as "the possession of a particular essence" (*svabhāva-viśeṣa*) and "the complement of all remaining causes" (*pratyayāntara-sākalya*). In explaining the words "the possession of a particular essence" (*svabhāva-viśeṣa*) Dharmakīrti in the Vādanyāya uses the words *bdag-ñid-ma-yin pai-ṅo-bo=anātmarūpa;* the passage from the Vādanyāyaṭikā is nothing but an explanation of this expression. It has absolutely nothing to do with the definition of *pakṣa*.

Dharmakīrti says—

de-la dmigs-pai-rig-byar-gyur-poi don-ni| raṅ-bzhin-khyad-par-can daṅ rgyu-gzhan-tshogs-pao|| raṅ-bzhin-khyad-par-can-ni gaṅ bskal-pa-rnam-pa-gsum-gyis ma-bskal-pa bdag-ñid-kyi-ṅo-bo-ma-yin-pai sṇaṅ-ba-daṅ-bral-ba| sgrub-pa-poi mṅon-du ·naṅ- bai ṅo-bo de-ḍra-ba dmigs-pai-rgyur-gyur-pa-gzhan de-ltar ma-dmigs-pa-ni med-pai-tha-sñad-kyi-yul-yin-no||[123]

This means—"Here (an object) capable of being objectively perceived is that which possesses a particular essence of its own and the complement of all other causes (creating perception). The possessor of one's own particular essence is (an object) devoid of the absence of the

122 Cp. "Nyāyabindu of Dharmakīrti with the Nyāyabinduṭīkā of Dharmottara" ed. by Prof. Th. Stcherbatsky (Bibliotheca Buddhica, VII-VIII), Sanskrit text, p. 22 sq. and Tibetan text, p. 48 sq. where the *anupalabdhihetu* is explained and in connection therewith the *upalabdhi-lakṣaṇa-prāpti* is mentioned. Cp. also the explanation of this theory in Vinītadeva's commentary of the Nyāyabindu, ed. by Prof. L de la Vallée Poussin, Calcutta 1908 (Bibliotheca Indica), p. 60 sq. A detailed account of this theory is found in Prof. Th. Stcherbatsky's "Buddhist Logic" (Bibliotheca Buddhica XXVI), vol. I, p. 363 sq. and vol. II, p. 61 sq.

123 VN f. 386a 2-4.

three conditions (of time, space and particular content),[124] (an object) which does not appear as something which it is not, and which appears as the thing imagined as present by the perceiving subject. But (an object) which, although all remaining causes be present, does not possess such objective perceptibility, can be designated as absent."

In his comment Vinītadeva quotes the beginning of this passage. He says—

de-yaṅ raṅ-bzhin-khyad-par-can bstan-pa-ni| gaṅ bdag-ñid-ma-yin-pai snaṅ-ba zhes-bya-ba-la-sogs-pa smos-te | bdag-ñid-ma-yin-pai-ño-bo-ni bdag-ñid-kyi-ño-bo-ni gzhan-gyi-ño-bo-ma-yin-no zhes-bya-bai don-to||[125]

This means—"As regards the condition (of an object) which possesses a particular essence of its own, (the author) delivers himself thus: "(The possessor of one's own particular essence is an object) which (does not appear) as that which it is not." "(The object which does not appear) as that which it is not" means "an object which appears as its own self, which does not appear as something else." "

Having quite arbitrarily torn out of their context these last words of Vinītadeva, without caring to consult in the text of Dharmakīrti the corresponding passage showing what it refers to, and fully disregarding the available indication of Vinītadeva, Dr. Vidyabhusana stated that these words contain a translation of the explanation concerning Vasubandhu's definition of the logical Subject (*pakṣa*) as quoted from the Vādavidhānaṭīkā.

We hardly can meet in the history of our science a confusion more complete!

The short lived, but quite incredible commonplace mystification of an identity of the Vādavidhi with the Vādanyāya and of the Vādavidhānaṭīkā with the Vādanyāyaṭīkā owes its existence to that simple

124 *bskal-pa-rnam-pa-gsum-gyis ma-bskal-pa* = *trividhāviprakarṣavipra-kṛṣṭa* = *tribhir deśa-kāla-svabhāva-viprakarṣair viprakṛṣṭa*. Cp. Nyāyabindu-ṭīkā of Dharmottara, *ed. cit.*, p. 39, 21. Cp. also Vinītadeva's commentary to the Nyāyabindu *ed. cit.*, p. 62, 7 sq.

125 **VNT f. 50a 2-3.**

circumstance that neither Dr. Vidyabhusana who made the discovery nor Prof. B. Keith who hurried up to his rescue, did give themselves the trouble of reading the text with which they were identifying the quotations found in the Nyāyavārttika.

ANDREW VOSTRIKOV

ABBREVIATIONS

NS Nyāyasūtras of Gautama. Quoted according to "Nyāyadarśana of Gautama with the commentary of Vātsyāyana and the gloss of Viśvanātha-Nyāyapañcānana," Benares 1920, (Kashi Sanskrit Series, 43).

NBh Nyāyabhāgya of Vātsyāyana. Quoted according to the same edition.

NV[1] Nyāyavārttika of Uddyotakara, ed. by Vindhyeswari Prasad Dwivedi, (in Bibliotheca Indica).

NV[2] Nyāyavārttika of Uddyotakara, ed. by Vindhyeswari Prasad Dwivedi and Laksmana Sastri Dravida, Calcutta 1915 (1916), (Kashi Sanskrit Series, 33).

NVTT[1] Nyāyavārttikatātparyaṭīkā of Vācaspatimiśra, ed. by Gaṅgādhara Śāstri Tailaṅga, Benares 1896, (Vizianagram Sanskrit Series, XIII).

NVTT[2] Nyāyavārttikatātparyaṭīkā of Vācaspatimiśra, ed. by Rajeswara Sastri Dravid, Benares 1925-1926, (Kashi Sanskrit Series, 24).

VN *Vādanyāya of Dharmakīrti. Tibetan translation: "Rtsod-pai-rigs-pa," Bstan-ḥgyur of Narthang, Mdo, Ce (XCV), fol. 384a 2-416b 7.

VNV *Vādanyāyavṛtti of Śāntirakṣita. Tibetan translation: "Rtsod-pai-rigs-pai-ḥgrel-pa-don-rnam-par-ḥbyed-pa." *Ibidem*, Mdo, Tshe (CVIII), fol. 21b 3-131b 7. Bstan-ḥgyur contains a second copy of this work but it does not differ materially from the first. Cp. *ibid.*, Mdo, Ze (CXII), fol. 65b 4-186a 7. References given from the first copy.

VNT *Vādanyāyaṭīkā of Vinītadeva. Tibetan translation: "Rtsod-pai-rigs-pai-ḥgrel-pa." *Ibidem*, Mdo, Ze (CXII), fol.39b 1-65b 4.

The Eastern Cālukyas*

VI

Amma I, Viṣṇuvardhana, Rājamahendra, Sarvalokāśraya
(A.D. 918-925.†)

Amma I was also known as Viṣṇuvardhana. He assumed the titles of Rājamahendra, and Sarvalokāśraya. Three inscriptions of his reign are known to us.

(i) *The Ederu inscription.*[1]

The plate containing the inscription was discovered in the village of Ederu near Akiripalle, in the Kistna District, 15 miles north-east of Bezwada. It was issued during the coronation ceremony of the king. It records the grant of the village of Gonturu together with twelve hamlets, in the Kaṇḍeruvāḍi-Viṣaya, to his general Bhaṇḍanāditya also known as Kuntāditya, who belonged to the Paṭṭavardhini family. The village granted was bounded on the east by Goṅguva; on the south by Goṇayūru; on the west by Kuluceruvulu, and on the north by Maḍapalli. The boundaries of the hamlets are—on the east Poturūyu; on the south-west Peruvāṭi and Kuruva; on the west Pālaguṇṭa and Paḍumaṭikaṭṭa; on the north-west, Polakuṅgoṇḍa, Monadurga, and Bhagavatā; on the north, Maḍapalliparru; on the north-east, Cāmireṇiguṇṭa.

(ii) *The Masulipatam inscription.*[2]

The inscription records that the king granted the village of Druj-jūru, in the Pennāṭavāḍi-Viṣaya, to his general, Mahākāla. In connection with the boundary line of the village granted, a number of other villages viz., Tūlugummi, Goṭṭiprolu, Malkaporāmu, and Adupu are mentioned.

* Continued from vol. X, p. 99.

† I previously stated that Cālukya-Bhīma I ruled from A.D. 888-922 (*IHQ.*, vol. X, p. 96), and Vijayāditya IV in A.D. 918. (*Ibid.*, p. 99). It should be corrected as—Cālukya-Bhīma I ruled from A.D. 888-918 and Vijayāditya in A.D. 918.

1 *SII.*, vol. I, p. 36. 2 *EI.*, vol. V, p. 131.

Drujjūru is to be identified with the village of Zuzzuru, Joodjoor of the Indian Atlas Map, in the Nandigrama Taluk of the Kistna District, and Gottiprolu may be identified with the modern Gooteemookola.

(iii) *The Pulivarru inscription.*[3]

The inscription registers that the king granted the village of Pulivarru, in the Velanāṇḍu Viṣaya to Indaparāja, the grandson of Indaparāja of the Mahāraṭṭa vaṃśa, who was the lord of the city of Mānyakheṭa. Indaparāja appears to have been Indra III, who flourished in the first quarter of the 10th century A.D. His grandson Indaparāja seems to have been the son of his son Amoghavarṣa II. It may be when Amoghavarṣa II was overthrown by Govinda IV, his family took shelter under Amma I. It has been noticed above that Guṇaga-Vijayāditya killed Mahendra of Nolambarāṣṭra. Mahendra was succeeded by Ayyapa. Ayyapa declared hostility against Amma. On this occasion he seems to have received help from Tūḍapa, the son of Yuddhamalla, and grandson of Viṣṇuvardhana V. But Amma rose equal to the occasion and successfully repulsed his enemies. An inscription[5] of Ayyapa's reign states that Ammarāja was the enemy of Ayyapa. Amma's inscription,[6] which was issued during his coronation, reports that "having destroyed from afar his enemies, as the rising sun (destroys from afar) the darkness, and having drawn his sword, which broke the dishonest heart of his feudatory relatives, who had joined the party of his natural adversaries,—won affection of the subjects, and of the army of his and of his grandfather by his might, which was backed up by the three (royal) powers." The same inscription mentions that the commander Bhaṭṭāditya fought with the enemies of the Cālukyas. An inscription[7] from Pithāpuram records that Amma's enemies were driven from the Viṣaya, and their bodies were empaled on stakes. The war between the Nolambas and the Cālukyas, however, continued for sometime.

Ammarāja ruled for seven years, and closed his reign in 925 A.D. He had two sons Vijayāditya and Bhīma, of whom the former succeeded him on the throne.

3 *SE.*, 1924, pp. 10, 98.
4 *SE.*, 1911, p. 65.
5 *EI.*, vol. IV, p. 240, V. 13.
6 *SII.*, vol. I, p. 42.
7 *Ibid.*

Vijayāditya V, Kaṇṭhikā-Beṭa; Tāḍapa; Vikramāditya II; Bhīma III; Yuddhamalla II (A.D. 925-934).

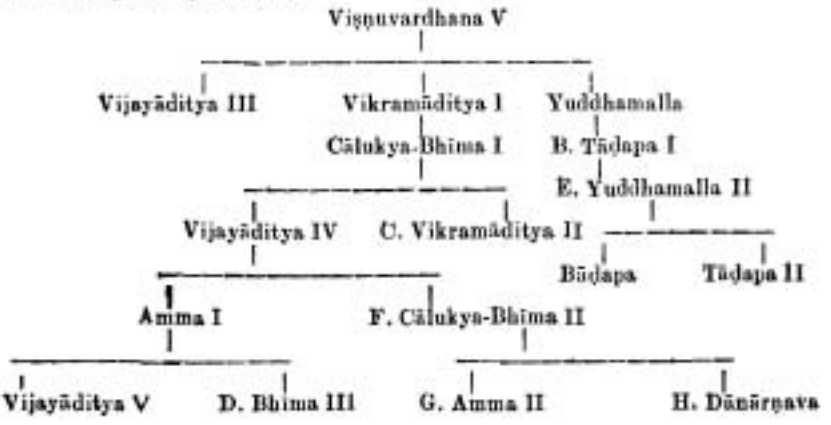
Vijayāditya was a mere boy at the time of his accession. A necklet (kaṇṭhika) and a tiara (paṭṭabandha) were tied round his neck during his coronation[8]. Hence he was also known as Kaṇṭhika-Vijayāditya. The king also assumed the title of Beṭa.[9]

Civil war in the Andhra country

A civil war broke out in the Andhra country after the accession of Vijayāditya. It continued for a long period. It has been suggested above that Tāḍapa also known as Tāla, Tālapa, and Tāha, the son of Yuddhamalla I, and the grandson of Viṣṇuvardhana V,[10] in alliance with Ayyapa, the king of Nolambarāṣṭra, and an ally of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the Deccan, made a fruitless attempt to wield the sovereignty of the Andhra country. It has been noticed that Amma I antagonised Govinda IV, king of Mānyakheṭa, by giving shelter to the family of Amoghavarṣa II. The infant king Vijayāditya V had hardly been on the throne for a fortnight when Tāḍapa with the help of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas made him a prisoner, and declared himself king of the Andhra country. Vijayāditya, however, managed to escape from the prison, and took refuge under the Cālukya Arikeśarin II, successor of Baddega, and the ruler of Puligere, modern Lakshmeshwar, in the Miraj State of the Bombay Presidency. Arikeśarin, who was a vassal of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, incurred the displeasure of Govinda IV by giving

8 *SII.*, vol. V, p. 138. 9 *Ibid.*, vol. IV, pp. 240, 241.

10 Their genealogical table:—



shelter to Vijayāditya. An inscription[11] of Amma II records that the young Vijayāditya V ruled for a fortnight. Tāla, the son of Yuddhamalla, who was the uncle of Cālukya-Bhīma I, attacked Vijayāditya V, threw him into prison, and himself became king and ruled for one month. The Kanarese poet Pampā states that[12] "Arikeśarin II was an ocean to suppliants in the might with which he protected his suppliant Vijayāditya when Gojjiga the universal emperor contended (against the latter)."

Tāḍapa occupied the throne only for a month. Though he was supported by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, he was not a match for Vikramāditya II, the son of Cālukya-Bhīma I, another claimant to the throne. He lost his life at the hand of Vikramāditya. The Maliyapundi grant[13] of Amma II states that "having slain at the head of a rough battle this Tālarāja together with crowds of different vassals who were joined by superior army (and) had troops of furious elephants, the glorious king Vikramāditya II, the son of Cālukya-Bhīma I, of very fierce power, righteously ruled for one year the earth surrounded by the girdle of the oceans." A grant[14] of Cālukya-Bhīma II reports that Vikramāditya II ruled over the country of Veṅgi together with Trikaliṅga. The inscriptions variously assign to Vikramāditya the reign of nine months, eleven months, and one year.[15] Vikramāditya II was overthrown by Bhīma III, who was the son of Amma I, and the younger brother of Beṭa-Vijayāditya V.[16] Some inscriptions do not mention the name of Bhīma III.[17] Bhīma ruled only for eight months when Yuddhamalla II, son of Tāḍapa I, killed him and usurped the throne.

Yuddhamalla II was known also as Malla and Mallaparāja.[18]. The Kalacumbra grant[19] of Amma II describes him as the son of the elder

11 *IA.*, vol. XIII, p. 249; cf. *EI.*, vol. IX, p. 55; *SE.*, 1918, p. 132.

12 *EI.*, vol. XIII, p. 329. 13 *Ibid.*, vol. IX, p. 55.

14 *SII.*, vol. I, p. 46.

15 *SII.*, vol. I, p. 46; *SE.*, 1917, p. 117; 1918, p. 132; *EI.*, vol. VII, p. 181; vol. IX, p. 55.

16 *IA.*, vol. XIII, p. 214, V. 28, 29.

17 *EI.*, vol. IX, p. 55; *SII.*, vol. I, p. 46.

18 *SE.*, 1917, p. 117; *IA.*, vol. XIII, p. 214.

19 *EI.*, vol. VII, p. 187, l. 32.

brother of Tāḍapa I. The Chellur plate,[20] dated 1143 A.D., represents him as the son of Vikramāditya II. But all other inscriptions in this connection are unanimous in stating that he was the son of Tāḍapa I.

Yuddhamalla was a protége of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda IV. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa king posted an army in the Veṅgi country for the protection of Yuddhamalla from the onslaught of his rivals. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa army, as a matter of fact, was at that time the *de facto* ruler of the Andhra country. An inscription[21] of Amma II states that "the Śabara chiefs, the commanders of the Vallabha forces (i.e. the Rāṣṭrakūṭa armies) and others apportioned among themselves the (Cālukyan) territory for seven years." But Kaṇṭhika Vijayāditya V, Rājamayya, Rājamārtaṇḍa, Cālukya-Bhīma II, who were claimants to the throne, tenaciously fought against Yuddhamalla for a long period. The situation became worse during the latter part of the reign of Yuddhamalla when the allies and the feudatories of Govinda IV rushed to the Veṅgi country for the defence of the cause of Yuddhamalla. But it was of no avail. Cālukya-Bhīma II eventually succeeded in defeating all these odd forces and in capturing the throne for himself. The Maliyapundi grant[22] tells us that "at the setting (i.e. death) of Vikramāditya II, the kinsmen princes, who were desirous of the kingdom (viz.), Yuddhamalla, Rājamārtaṇḍa, Kaṇṭhika-Vijayāditya etc., were fighting for supremacy, oppressing the subjects like Rākṣasas (at the setting of the sun). In mere war five years passed away." Then "Cālukya-Bhīma II slew Rājamārtaṇḍa in a battle, made Kaṇṭhika-Vijayāditya, and Yuddhamalla go to the foreign country, despatched to the abode of death many others, who though respectable kings had shown themselves puffed up by evil conduct (and) causing distress to the country." An inscription[23] of Amma II's reign states that "having conquered Yuddhamalla (II), and having driven him out of the country, and having made the other claimants to assume the appearance of stars absorbed in the rays of the sun.....Bhīma ruled the earth for twelve years." The Kalacumbra inscription[24] of Amma's rule reports that Cālukya-Bhīma

20 *IA.*, vol. XIV, p. 56.
21 *SE.*, 1917, p. 117.
22 *EI.*, vol. IX, p. 55; cf. *SII.*, vol. I, p. 46; *EI.*, vol. VII, p. 190.
23 *IA.*, vol. VII, p. 18.
24 *EI.*, vol. VII, p. 190.

"having unaided slew the glorious Rājamayya, the mighty Dalaga or Vulaga, the fierce Tātabikki, Bijja, who was always ready for war; the very terrible Ayyapa; a great army that was sent by Govinda (IV); Lovabikki, the ruler of the Colas; and Yuddhamalla, with his array of elephants." Tātabikki is mentioned in another inscription as Tātabikyana.[25] Ayyapa was evidently the successor of Mahendra, the king of Nolambarāṣṭra, and also an enemy of Amma I.[26] An inscription[27] in the Bangalore Museum states that the Western Gaṅga Ereyapparasa ordered the Nāgattara, together with his tributary chiefs, to supply army to Ayyapadeva for the purpose of fighting with Vīra-Mahendra. Mahendra was an epithet of Cālukya-Bhīma II.[28]

Yuddhamalla II ruled only for seven years.[29] He built the temple of Malleśvara-svāmi at Bezwada, and erected a monastery adjoining to that.[30]

Cālukya-Bhīma II, Viṣṇuvardhana VII, Rāja-Bhīma, Sarvalokāśraya, Gaṇḍa-Mahendra, Rāja-Mārtaṇḍa, Tribhuvanāṅkuśa.

Cālukya-Bhīma was the son of Vijayāditya IV, and half-brother of Amma I. He had the second name Viṣṇuvardhana. He was also known as Bhīma and Rāja-Bhīma. He bore the epithets of Sarvalokāśraya, Tribhuvanāṅkuśa, Rājamārtaṇḍa, and Gaṇḍa-Mahendra.[31] Three inscriptions of the King's reign have been discovered.

(i) *The Paganavaram inscription.*[32]

The inscription was discovered at Paganavaram, in the Madras Presidency. It records that the king granted the village of Diggubarru, in the Pāgunavara-Viṣaya, to a Brahman named Viddhamayya: In connection with the boundary of the village granted, the villages Krañca, Karanūru, and Paluko(?kau)nu are mentioned.

Pāgunavara is evidently the same as Pagunavaram where the record was discovered.

25 *SII.*, vol. I, p. 43.
26 *EC.*, vol. XII, Si. 39.
27 *Ibid.*, vol. VI, p. 49.
28 *Ibid.*, p. 47.
29 *SII.*, vol. I, p. 49.
30 *EI.*, vol. XV, p. 150.
31 *IA.*, vol. XX, p. 209.
32 *Ibid.*, vol. XIII, p. 213.

(ii) *The Masulipatam (?) plates.*[33]

This inscription designates the king as Viṣṇuvardhana, the son of Vijayāditya and Melāmbā. The name of Cālukya-Bhīma (II) is not mentioned in it. It records the grant of a field, in the village of Akulamannaṇḍu, in the Gudravāḍa Viṣaya to the name Viddamayya. The donee is mentioned as an inhabitant of the village of Vaṅgiparru. The land granted was bounded on the west by Kraṅkaṭavvā.

Vaṅgiparru is the modern Vangipuram,[34] and Akulamannaṇḍu is Ankulamanand.[35]

(iii) *The Kolavennu inscription.*[36]

The inscription was discovered at the village of Kolavennu, in the Bezwada Taluk. It registers that Cālukya-Bhīma, at the request of the king Vijjaya of the Pānara dynasty, granted the village of Kodhatalli, in the Kanderuvāṭi Viṣaya to a Brahman named Kommana, an inhabitant of Abharadvasukālmādi.

Malliya, an ancestor of the Velanāṇḍu chief, was an important official of the king. The king had two wives Lokamahādevī and Aṅkidevī.[37] The first queen gave birth to his son Amma II, and the second queen to Dānārṇava. Amma was younger than Dānārṇava. The third son of the king was Kāma. The king ruled for twelve years,[38] and was succeeded by Amma in Śaka 867-945 A.D.[39]

Amma II, Vijayāditya VI, Rājamahendra, Tribhuvanāṅkuśa, Samastabhuvanāśraya (A.D. 945-970).

Amma had another name Vijayāditya. He assumed the epithets of Rājamahendra, Tribhuvanāṅkuśa, and Samastabhuvanāśraya.[40] Fourteen inscriptions of his reign have been brought to light.

33 *EI.*, vol. V, p. 134.
34 *Ind. Atlas*, Map 76 long. 80° 27' E, lat. 316° 8' N.
35 *Ibid.*, Map 95, long. 81° 10' E, lat. 16° 15' N.
36 *SII.*, vol. I, p. 43.
37 *IA.*, vol. VII, p. 18; *SE.*, 1917, p. 117.
38 *SE.*, 1917, p. 117. 39 *EI.*, vol. IX, p. 47.
40 *IA.*, vol. VII, p. 18; *EI.*, vol. V, p. 139; *SE.*, 1918, p. 132.

(i) *The Paḍaṃkalūru inscription.*[41]

It records that the king granted the village of Paḍaṃkalūru, in the Pennāṭavāḍi Viṣaya, to a Brahman named Pāṇḍiya, an inhabitant of Kalavatorru. The boundaries of the village granted are Marupaḍuva, Eṇḍalūru, Kāṇḍru, Alapūru and Dṛṭhamapuṇḍi, and Nandigrāma. The executor of the grant was Kaṭakarāja. The record was composed by Mādhavabhaṭṭa, and was written by Jontūcārya. It was issued shortly after S. 867=945 A.D., the year of the accession of the king.

(ii) *The Pamulavaka inscription.*[42]

The inscription was discovered at the village of Pamulavaka, in the Narasīpaṭaṃ Taluk of the Vizagapatam District. The king, through this inscription, informed the people of the Bārupunāṇḍu Viṣaya, in the Elamañci-Kaliṅga, that he granted some lands, in the Cāvadaviṣaya, and in the Bārupunāṇḍu Viṣaya, to one Kucena.

(iii) *The Masulipatam plates.*[43]

The inscription registers that the king granted some lands in the village of Pāmbarru, in the Gudravāḍa Viṣaya, to the yuvarāja Ba(llā)-ladeva-velābhaṭa, also called Boḍḍiya, son of Pammavā of the Paṭṭavardhini family.

(iv) *The Yelivarru grant.*[44]

The plates were discovered in the village of Yelivarru, in the Repalle Taluk. They report that the king granted the village of Elavarru, in the Velanāṇḍu Viṣaya, to Koramiya, who was the head of the Śrīkaraṇa or the Writing Department of the treasury of gold (*Savarṇabhāṇḍāgāra*). The boundaries of the village are the villages, Gomaduvu, Ḍaggumbarti, Iṭhūri, Prempati, Turimiṇḍi, and Aṃtunūri. The inscription was composed by Potanabhaṭṭa.

41 *IA.*, vol. VII, p. 15.
42 *JRAS.*, vol. II, p. 242.
43 *EI.*, vol. V, p. 139
44 *IA.*, vol. XII, p. 91.

(v) *The Guṇḍugolanu plates.*[45]

The inscription records that the king, at the request of his wife's parents, Nṛpakāma, and Nāyanāmbā, granted some lands in the village of Guṇḍugolanu, in the Veṅgināṇḍu Viṣaya, to a Brahman inhabitant of Kalluru. Nṛpakāma is described as the king of Sara.

The village Kalluru still retains its ancient name, and is situated in the Repalle Taluk of the Guntur District.

(vi) *The Tāluppru (?) plates.*[46]

The object of the inscription is to record that the king granted the village of Tāluppru (?), in the Gudravūra Viṣaya, to his family-priest.

(vii) *The Kalacumbarru grant.*[47]

The inscription registers that the king, at the request of the lady named Cāmekāmbā of the Puṭṭavardhini family, made a gift of the village of Kalacumbarru, in the Attilināṇḍu Viṣaya, for meeting the expenses of the repair of a Jaina temple called Sarvalokāśraya-Jinavallabha. The village granted was bounded by Āruvilli, Korukolanu, Yiḍiyūru, Yallikodamaṇḍru.

Of the localities mentioned above Attilināṇḍu is identical with the modern town of Attili, in the Tanuka Taluk of the Godavari District. Kalacumbarru is the modern Kunsamurroo, 3 miles south-west from Attili. Āruvilli is the modern village of Etdooroo, 1½ mile west north-west from Kunsamurroo.

(viii) *The Maliyapāṇḍi grant.*[48]

The plates were discovered in the Rāmaliṅgeśvarasvāmi temple at Madanur, a village, about ten miles from Ongole, in the Nellore District. The object of the inscription is to record that the king, at the request of his official Durgarāja, made a gift of the village of Maliyapūṇḍi, in the Kammanāṇḍu Viṣaya, for the maintenance of a Jaina temple on the south of Dharmapurī. The boundaries of the hamlet are Muñjunyuru, Yinimiṭi, Kalvakuru, and Dharmavuramu. The inscription also refers

45 *IA.*, vol. XIII, p. 248.
46 *SII.*, vol. I, p. 46.
47 *EI.*, vol. VII, p. 177.
48 *EI.*, vol. IX, p. 47.

to the villages of Malkaparru and Kalvakuru while defining the boundaries of some of the fields of that village.

Dharmavuramu, mentioned above, is the Telugu form of Dharmapuri. Both Dharmapuram and Kalvakuru are now in the Addanki Division of the Ongole Taluk. This part of the Ongole Taluk was anciently known as the Karmarāṣṭra Viṣaya.

(ix) *The Vandram plates.*[49]

The plates were found in the village of Vandram, in the Bhimavaram Taluk of the Kistna District. It gives the date of the accession of the king as Ś. 867. The object of the inscription is to record that the king granted the two villages of Tanderu, and (Beṭi)-pūṇḍi, which belonged to the Prāndoru Twelve of the Pāvunavāru Viṣaya, to his minister Kuppana. Kuppana founded a temple of Śiva at Drākṣārāma. Drākṣārāma is the place of the same name in the Rāmacandrapuram Taluk of the Godavari District.[50]

(x) *The Nammur grant.*[51]

The inscription records that the king granted a field in the village named Nammūru, in the Gudla-Kaṇḍeravūḍi Viṣaya to the learned Viṣṇuśarman, a resident of Geraṇḍa. Paṇḍi-Pedderi and Kroṇperu are the villages referred to while defining the boundary.

(xi) *The The Vemalurpadu plates.*[52]

The object of the grant is to record that the king granted two villages of Tumiva and Veṇiyapūṇḍi, and some lands in the villages of Anumaṇaṅguru and Aṇḍeki, in the Karmarāṣṭra Viṣaya, to one Musiyanaśarman, a resident of Kāraṇceḍu. The villages Medalkoṇḍa, Gaṭṭipūṇḍi, and the river Guṇṭeru are mentioned in connection with the boundary.

(xii) *The Masulipatam grant.*[53]

The inscription registers that the king made a gift to some Jaina temples at Vijayavāṭika i.e. Bezwada.

49 *EI.*, vol. IX, p. 131.
50 *Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 32, note 3.
51 *EI.*, vol. XII, p. 61.
52 *EI.*, vol. XVIII, p. 226.
53 *SE.*, 1909, p. 109.

(xiii) *The Bezwada plates.*[54]

The inscription records that the king granted the village of Tāṇḍikoṇḍa and three others for the maintenance of a Śiva temple known by the name of Samastabhuvanāśraya, which was erected by Narendra-Mṛgarāja at Vijayavāṭa. The inscription makes an error by stating that the king ascended the throne in Ś. 880=958 A.D.

(xiv) *The Māṅgallu plates.*[55]

The inscription was issued by Dānārṇava on behalf of his younger brother the king Amma II. It records that, at the instance of the chief named Kākatiya-Guṇḍyana, he granted the village of Māṅgallu, in the Naṭavāḍi Viṣaya, to a Brahman Dommana. Māṅgallu is identical with the modern village of Māṅgallu, in the Nandigama Taluk of the Kistna District.

Amma II was appointed Yuvarāja when he was eight years old. He ascended the throne at the age of twelve[56] in Ś. 867=A.D. 945. He is described as the ruler of both Veṅgi and Kaliṅga.[57] Durgarāja, the son of Vijayāditya, the grand-son of Niravadyadhavala, the great-grand-son of the famous warrior Pāṇḍuraṅga, was his general. Kuppanayya, who bore the title of Vipranārāyaṇa, was his minister. The minister's father was Turkkiya-Yavana.[58]

The early years of Amma's reign was peaceful. But sometimes about 956 A.D. Bāḍapa, the son of Yuddhamalla II, invaded Veṅgi with the help of the Raṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III (A.D. 940, 956), the son and successor of Vaddiga. At this juncture Amma II, peaceful king as he was, left the throne of Veṅgi in charge of his elder brother, Dānārṇava, and retired to Kaliṅga. Dānārṇava, however, could not withstand the attack of the enemy. Bāḍapa captured the throne of Veṅgi, and declared himself king of the country. The Māṅgallu grant, referred to above, reports that "Amma II, after he had ruled for eleven years, proceeded to the Kaliṅga country in wrath against Kṛṣṇa (i.e. Kṛṣṇa III)." The Arumbaka plates of Bāḍapa[59] records that "Ammarāja ruled well the

54 *SE.*, 1915, p. 90.
55 *Ibid.*, 1917, p. 117.
56 *EI.*, vol. XVIII, p. 227.
57 *EI.*, vol. XIX, p. 146.
58 *EI.*, vol. IX, p. 131.
59 *EI.*, vol. XIX, p. 146.

Veṅgi country with Trikaliṅga according to the injunctions of Dharma. Bāḍapa with the Vallabha (king), called Ka(ṛṇa) rāja, drove away from the country the prosperous (king) called Ammarāja. Having defeated the *dāyas* (agnates) and crushed the multitudes of enemies, given a heap of things to supplicants and honoured his relations, the adhirāja Bāḍapa, son of the king Yuddhamalla, lord of Veṅgi, rules the earth." Here the reading of the word Karṇa is doubtful. It appears to be Kṛṣṇa.

In this struggle for supremacy, Makariyarāja of the Pallava family seems to have lost his life fighting on the side of Bāḍapa. It is stated in the inscription[60] of Tāla II, brother of Bāḍapa, that Makariyarāja suffered and died for the family of Tāla II.

It has been noticed above that Amma II was deprived of his throne of Veṅgi in the eleventh year of his reign. But a number of records assign him a reign of twentyfive years.[61] This suggests that Amma after the loss of Veṅgi ruled for fourteen years in Kaliṅga. There he was succeeded by his elder brother Dānārṇava in 970 A.D.

Amma II married the daughter of Nṛpakāma, the lord of Sara. Nṛpakāma and his successors ruled in the Velanāṇḍu Viṣaya.

Dānārṇava, A.D. 970-973.

Dānārṇava had by his wife Āryā two sons Śaktivarman and Vimalāditya.[62] All the inscriptions except one, which assigns the king a reign of thirty years, state that he ruled for three years. After the close of the reign of Dānārṇava in 973 A.D., Kaliṅga seems to have been annexed to the kingdom of Bāḍapa.

Bāḍapa, Vijayāditya, Samastabhuvanāśraya.

Bāḍapa was also known as Vijayāditya. He assumed the title of Samastabhuvanāśraya.[63] An inscription of his reign is known to us.

The Arumbaka plates.[64]

The plates were discovered in the village of Polamuru, in the Tanuka Taluk of the Kistna District. The inscription reports that the king

60 *EI.*, vol. XIX, p. 154.
61 *SII.*, vol. I, p. 59; *EI.*, vol. VI, p. 358; *JARS.*, vol. II, p. 287.
62 *EI.*, vol. VI, p. 359; SE., 1918, p. 132.
63 *EI.*, vol. XIX, p. 146. 64 *EI.*, vol. XIX, p. 146.

granted the village Arumbaka, in the Velanāṇḍu Viṣaya, to a famous archer named Gaṇḍanārāyaṇa, son of Nṛpakāma, lord of Sara. Gaṇḍanārāyaṇa, in his turn, made a gift of that village to his cousin Candena. The boundaries of the village granted are Cerakumballi, Sripundi, Kāvūru, and Gomaḍuvu.

Of the localities mentioned above, Arumbaka is identical with the village of the same name in the Repalle Taluk of the Guntur District. Nṛpakāma, the father of Guṇḍanārāyaṇa, was evidently the father of Amma II. He earned the appellation of Kārmukārjuna, and the title of Satyavallaṭa. He appears to have joined Bāḍapa against his son-in-law Amma II because the latter showed exceptional favour to a harlot named Cāmekā.[65]

Bāḍapa had a brother named Tāla, who succeeded him on the throne.

Tāla II, Viṣṇuvardhana.

Tāla bore another name Viṣṇuvardhana. An inscription of his reign has been discovered.

The Sripundi plates.[66]

The plates were discovered in the village of Sripundi, in the Guntur District. The inscription registers that the king granted the hamlet of Sripundi, in the Velanāṇḍu Viṣaya, to his minister Kuppanaya, son of Makariya-rāja, grandson of Kalivarma of the family of Pallavamalla. It is further stated that the hamlet of Ādūru was given as *mānya* to the same donee. The king is designated in this record as mahārājādhirāja.

Tāla II was succeeded by Yuddhamalla III, who appears to have been his son.

Yuddhamalla III.

An inscription[67] in the temple of Malleśvarasvāmi at Bezwada states that Yuddhamalla added a front tower to the temple, which his grandfather Mallaparāja had erected. The king appears to have been over-

65 *IA.*, vol. VI, p. 191.
66 *EI.*, vol. XIX, p. 148.
67 *EI.*, vol. XV. p. 150.

thrown by Śaktivarman, son of Dānārṇava. The kings Bāḍapa, Tāla II, and Yuddhamalla III ruled between the years A.D. 956-1003, the last date being the first year of the reign of Śaktivarman. The period from A.D. 973 to 1003 was considered by Śaktivarman and his successors as one when Veṅgi was without a ruler.

D. C. Ganguly

A Sanskrit Version of Kəm-nā Mazdā[1]

The Avestic hymn, with which I intend to deal in this paper, runs in its original form in the Zoroastrian scriptures as follows:—

I

Line 1 Kəm-nā, Mazdā, mavaite pāyūm dadāṭ
,, 2 hyaṭ mā drəgvā dīdarəšatā aenaŋhe ?
,, 3 anyəm θwahmāṭ Āθras-cā manaŋhas-cā,
,, 4 Yayå šyaoθanāiš ašəm θraoštā Ahurā ?
,, 5 tānm mōi dānstvām daēnayāi frāvaocā.

II

,, 6 Kə vərəθrəm-jā θwā pōi səŋghā yōi həŋti?
,, 7 ciθrā moi dānm ahūm-biš ratūm cīždī,
,, 8 aṭ hōi Vohū Sərəošō jaṇtū manaŋhā,
,, 9 Mazdā, ahmāi yahmāi vaši kahmāi-ciṭ.

III

,, 10 Pāta-nō ṭbišyaṇtāt pairi Mazdåš-ca Ārmaitiš-ca,
,, 11 Spəṇtas-ca, nase daēvī druxš, nase daēvō-ciθre,
,, 12 nase daēvō-frakaršte, nase dūēvō-fradāite,
,, 13 apadruxš nase, apadruxš dvāra, apadruxš vinase,
,, 14 apāxədre apanasyehe, ma mərəŋainīš gaēθå astvaiṭīš ašahe

IV

,, 15 nəmas-cā yā Ārmaitiš Ižā-cā.

The present hymn is called *Kəm-nā Mazdā*, because, as can be observed from the text above, it begins with these words. The whole hymn, excepting the last line of Salutation, occurs almost *verbatim* in Fargard XII,20 and 21 of the Vendidād which might be called the Zoroastrian book of Law and Justice.

1 The following abbreviations have been used:
Kanga: K. E. Kanga, 'Avesta Dictionary', A.D. 1900.
Jack: A. V. William Jackson, 'Avesta Grammar', A.D. 1892.
Besides, the figures such as 2/1 etc. imply the case or person with the number as the case may be.

The hymn, taken as a whole, is formed by taking some portions from different chapters of the 'Yasna' and connecting them with Vendidād XII,21.

The composition of the present hymn stands thus :—

(I) Lines 1 to 5 from Yasna, XLVI, 7.

(II) Lines 6 to 9 from Yasna, XLIV, 16.

(III) Lines 10 to 14, in prose form, from Vend. XII, 21.

(IV) Line 15th is a salutation to some of the Holy ones. This is the third line of Yasna, XLIX, 10. The preceding two lines which are left out here, are :—

'tae-ca Mazdā θwāhmī ādəm nipāŋhē
manō Vohū urunas-cā uśāunām.....'

Like the Hindus, especially the Brahmins, the Zoroastrians too have to recite some hymns (Skt. *mantra*, Av. *manθra*) while performing their daily duties or on particular sacred occasions. Such recitals always have some definite purpose behind them.

The most famous hymns often repeated by the Zoroastrians are *Ahuna Vairya* ; *Ašəm Vohu* ; and *Yeŋhe hātāṁ*. We come to learn from the Avestan scriptures (Yasna, IX, 14-15; Vend. XIX, 2, etc.) that Zarathustra used the '*Ahuna Vairya*' *mantra* to fight the evil demons. Yasht. XXI, 4 tells us that "the recital of *Ahuna Vairya* increases strength and victory in one's soul and piety." In the same way, the recital or repetition of other holy hymns is believed to do some good in the end.

Perhaps next to the above mentioned three prayer-hymns, stands the *Kəm-nā Mazdā*. Every dutiful Zoroastrian repeats it while untying '*kusti*' or the girdle. Practically before every Zoroastrian ceremony, a hymn called '*Sraoša Bāj*' is recited. It is a sort of confession by a mortal being and homage to Ahura Mazda and other Holy Ones, specially Sraosa. The *Kəm-nā Mazdā* forms an integral part of this '*Sraoša Bāj*'. It is expected of every Zoroastrian that he or she should try his or her utmost to abstain from defiling any one of the elements, specially water and earth as well as fire by a dead body or any other impure article. It becomes a medium of infection when defiles or makes impure by dead matter. Vendidād deals at length with the problem of purifying the defiled elements wherever possible and also with the type and amount of punishment for a person who actually defiles the elements knowingly.

The purification of the defiled element or a person made impure by coming into contact with impure matters, is carried out in various ways, the most common of which are the use of

'*gomaez*', Skt. *gomaya* (cf. *pañcagavya* of the Hindus) and the repetition of some special mantras according to the respective injunctions in the Vendidād.

In the eighth chapter of the Vendidād, where the funeral ceremonies of the Zoroastrians are dealt with, it is stated that (Vend. XII, 14-15) no road by which a dead body is carried to the 'Dakhmā' or the Tower of Silence, should be used by any person, until it is purified. Nowadays this purification is carried out by the repetition of *Kəm-nā Mazdā* and *Ahuna Vairya* hymns.

Generally the mourners follow the bier up to the Tower of Silence. But, according to the above mentioned injunction of Vendidād, the mourners should not tread the path already defiled by the preceding dead-body. In order to comply with the religious injunction which has a scientific basis for it, two priests intervene the bier and the mourners' group, repeating continuously both *Kəm-nā Mazdā* and *Ahuna Vairya*. Thus they drive away the brood of demons defiling the way.

The present hymn, as has been already said, is made up of different parts. These component parts differ in their age of composition. We can point out this from the variety of forms found therein, e. g., the forms typical to Gāthic or the older portion of the Avesta (e. g. the lengthening of final vowel etc.) and to the later forms of younger Avesta in this hymn.

Those portions of the present hymn, which are taken from the Gāthās, form an ardent prayer of Zarathustra to Ahura Mazda for guidance through the Divine Fire and Divine Mind and also for help through good words and a Teacher like Sraosa.

The last line of Salutation is repeated thrice at the Tower of Silence after the dead body has been placed inside it.

Now I shall try to give a literal Sanskrit translation of the present hymn. Nairyosang Dhaval in the fifteenth century freely translated the whole of Yasna into Sanskrit. It is more or less an exposition of the Lore of Avesta, specially the Gāthās, in Sanskrit. It is, as said by the learned author himself, done from Pahlavi and Pazend versions of the Zoroastrian scriptures.[2]

For the sake of convenience, the hymn is divided into four parts and the Sanskrit text for each part is given together with the original. An English translation and short notes on different words have also been added.

2 इदं इजिस्निजदं पुस्तकं मया निरिश्रोसंघेन धवलसुतेन पहलवीजंदात् संस्कृत-भाषायां अवतारितम् ।

I

Kəm-nā, Mazdā, mavaite pāyūm dadāṭ
hyaṭ mā drəgvå didarəšatā aenaŋhe ?
anyəm θwahmāṭ Āθrəs-cā manaŋhas-cā,
Yayå šyaoθanāiš ašem θraoštā Ahurā ?
tānm mōi dānstvāṃ daēnayāi frāvaocā.

SANSKRIT

को ना महद्भ्यो मावते पायुं ददात्
यत् मा द्रोघवाग्रदिदृक्षत एनसे
अन्यस्तवस्मादधरश्च मनसश्च
यो अस्मैत्रैर्ऋतमक्षत्तासुर
तां मे दंसतां दीनायै प्रवोचथाः ॥

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

"Which man, O Mazdā ! hast thou bestowed upon persons like myself, as protector, in case the infidel ventures on attacking me for injuring ? Who else than Thy Fire and Thy Mind, by whose activities the 'divine order in creation' is preserved ? O Ahura ! reveal unto me that enlightenment for the sake of religion."

NOTES

Kəm-nā, 1/1 for *Ko-nā*, Skt. *Ko nā*. In Skt. we find compounds with the same interrogative pronoun as the first part and retaining the final *m*. But the meaning is changed, e. g. *Kinnara* = *Kim* + *nara*; *Kimpuruṣa*. The present compound is to be taken in the literal sense i. e. which or 'what man'. *nā*: 1/1 enclitic form of *nar*, Skt. *nṛ* 'man.' Nair renders *Kəm* as *Ke* in Skt. evidently taking it as 1/3.

Mazdā, 8/1. Various scholars have interpreted this word differently, the difference arising from the variety of explanations attached to the verbal part of this compound word i. e. *-dā*. With the traditional meaning of 'Mazdā' '*mahājñānin* as taken by Nair, we may connect the word √*dā* 'to know' corresponding to Skt. √*dhyā* or √*dhī*. Mills has taken '*Sumedhas*' for *Mazdā*. Barth derives it from √*man* + √*dhā*. However, I have adopted here the Skt. rendering of 'Mazdā' given by Pandit Vidhushekhar Bhattacharya (Vasanta Silver Jubilee Volume).

mavaite, 4/1 of *mavant*, Skt. *mādvat*, *māvate* 'like me' i. e. 'those who are your followers like myself'. Also found in Rv. I, 8. 9 ; IV, 16, 16; VI, 65, 4 etc.

pāyūm, 2/1 of *pāyu*, Skt. *pāyu* 'protector' in Vedic Skt. Rv. II, 2, 4 ; VI. 5, 8 etc.

dadâṯ, 3/1. subj. pres. parasm. of √*dā*, Skt. √*dhā* 'to bestow' (Jack, §545). But there is another reading viz. *dadā* 2/1 impt. ātm., Skt. *adadhāḥ*. The latter gives a better sense, i.e. "hast thou bestowed."

hyaṯ mā, Skt. *yat mā*. *h* in *hyaṯ* has no value. Some mss. read *yyat*.

drəgcā, 1/1 of *drəgvant* as generally held. Drs. Taraporewala and Modi say that this is the Gāthic form of *drvant* <√*dru* 'to run'. But as it does not account for the *g* in the present word, the above interpretation is open to doubt. I think, it is derived from √*druj*, Skt. √*druh*, originally √*drugh* 'to deceive'. For the change of original *u* to *ə* (see Jack, §31). I think the Avestan word should be translated by '*droghavant*' in Skt. Mills has translated Avestan *drəgvaite* (Yasna, XXI. 15) 4/1 into Skt. *dvārate* apparently from Skt. √*dvṛ* 'hide', Avestan, *dvar*. *drogha*<√*druh* is found in Ṛv. also in the same sense (Ṛv. VI, 62,9).

dīdarəšatā, 3/1 imp. ātm. intensive form of √*darəš*, Skt. √*dhṛṣ* 'to dare'. The Skt. root is found only in parasm. and hence the correct Skt. parallel will be *adidhṛṣat* ; **adidhṛṣata*. Nair gives *dveṣam dadhāti*.

aēnaŋhe, Skt. *enase*, dative infinitive with *mā* 2/1.

anyəm, 1/1, but looks like 2/1 due to case-attraction with *Kem* at the beginning. Nair: *anyāḥ*, 1/3.

θwahmāt, 5/1 of *θwa*, Skt. *tvat* or *tava*, 2nd personal poss. pron. (Kanga, p. 236) in apposition with *āθras-cā* below. Nair, *tvattaḥ*.

Āθras-cā, 6/1 of *ātar*. The case required here is ablative *āθrat* but often in G. Av. "as in Skt., genetive is used with ablative force" (Jack, §222). The Skt. parallel is found in the obsolete *athar* meaning 'fire,' 'flame' from which *atharvan* is formed.

manaŋhas-cā, 6/1 of *manaŋh*, Skt. *manas-manasaśca*. It is used here with ablative force as the preceding word. *Vohumano*, the first of the seven Holy Immortals—*Ameśaspands*—is referred to here.

yaŋ̊, 6/2 of *ya*, Skt. *yad*—*yayoḥ*.

šyaoθanāiš, 3/3 of *šyaoθna* <√*šyu*, Skt. *cyautna* from √*cyu* or *cyut* 'action,' 'deed,' 'movements.'

aš̊əm, Skt. *ṛtam*, 1/1 from √*arət* 'Truth' or 'the Divine Law of Creation' by which the existence of the universe is main-

tained. This word in the Zoroastrian theology signifies what Skt. *dharma* (√*dhṛ* 'to hold') does in Hindu theology. The idea is then personified as the 3rd of the *Ameśaspands*.

θrauždā, 3/1, aor. subj. ātm. of √*θru*. Kanga takes the three Av. roots viz. √*θrā*, √*θruš* and √*θru* to be the same as Skt. √*trā* 'to nourish', 'thrive,' 'protect,' which in Skt. is originally regarded as √*trai*. Barth (W. B. 801) explains it in a different way accepting a root *θraos* 'reifen,' 'to ripe,' 'to come to fruition,' which is however not given by Kanga. The present form occurs in Yasna, XXIV, 3 where Kanga takes it to be from √*θrus*, of which the other form is √*θrā*, Skt. √*trā*, as past. pass. participle (Gāthā Ba Maeni, p. 81). The variant *θraeštа* is noted by Geldner. Here, the parallel Skt. is *atrāsta*.

Ahurā, 8/1 of *Ahura*, Skt. *asura* literally in the Vedic texts 'one who gives soul' derived from *asu* + √*rā*. In the Avesta it means 'the Supreme God.' Later on in Skt. literature, it came to mean 'demon.'

tānm, Skt. *tām* 2/1 of *tad*, to be taken with *dānstvām*.

moi, 4/1 (Gāthic) of *azəm*, Skt. *aham* ; Y. Av. forms are *māvoya*, *me*, *māvaya* (with *cit* or *cā* suffix), Skt. *me* or *mahyam*.

dānstvām, 2/1 of the fem. abstract noun '*dānstva*' from *daŋs* 'to see,' 'to be wise' (Kanga, p. 245), hence 'enlightenment,' Skt. *dans* (*dansayate*) 'to shine.' The Skt. equivalent may be **dansam* 2/1 in masculine or again forming abstract noun **dansatva* or *dansatā* by adding the suffix *-tva* or *tā*. The Vedic *dansah* means 'wonderful deed.'

daenayāi, 4/1 of *daenā*, derived from √*di* 'to see,' 'to think', 'discriminate,' Skt √*dhi* (*dhyai*) from which we have '*dhira*.' We may have *dhenā* from √*dhi* as the Skt. equivalent. However, Dr. Taraporewala suggested to me to consider *dīnā* as a loan-word in Skt. In that case too, we may derive *dīnā* from the Vedic √*dī* 'to shine,' with the primary suffix *na* (fem. *nā*). This word is variously interpreted as 'faith,' 'religion', 'conscience', 'soul', 'heart' etc. It is the positive faith in, or knowledge of, something that inspires in a person the power of discriminating good from evil for the adoption of the former. Skt. *dhenāyai*, or *dīnāyai*.

frāvaocā, 2/1 imp. aor. *frā* + √*vac*, Skt. *pra* + √*vac*, *pravocathāḥ*.

11

Kə vərθrəm-jā θwā pōi səŋghā yōi həṇtī ?
ciθrā nōi dānm ahūm-biš ratūm cīždī
at hōi Vohū Sraošō jaṇtū manaŋhā
Mazdā, ahmāi yahmāi vasī kahmāi cit.

SANSKRIT

को वृत्रहा त्वा पातुं शंसा ये सन्ति
चित्रा मे ध्यावन्तमसुभिषजमृतावन्तं चिकिद्धि ।
अथ तस्मै वनु स्रध्रोषो गच्छतु मनसा
महदधा अस्मै यस्मै वक्षि कस्मैचित् ॥

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

"Who, the smiter of foes (is there) to protect those that are with your mandates? Clearly do thou reveal unto me, a thoughtful and soul-healing leader. Then let Sraosha approach him, unto him, O Mazda! whosoever (he be) whom thou dost like, with Vohumanah (good-mind)!"

NOTES

Kə, 1/1 'who', Gāthic form for *ko*, Skt. *kaḥ*; Nair: Skt. *ke*, 1/3.

Vərəθrəm-jā, 1/1, *Vərəθra*+√*jan*, Skt. *vṛtra*+√*han*. Note that the accusative form of the first word in this Upapada compound is retained in Avesta here. See also *ahūm-biš* below. But in its Skt. equivalent *vṛtrahā*, it does not so happen. Otherwise, it would have been *vṛtramhā*.

θwā, 3/1 of Gāthic poss. pron. *θwa* (Jack, § 439), Skt. *tvā*, 3/1 of *tva* which is an old form used only in compound such as *tvā-datta*, *tvā-hata* (Whitney § 494). It qualifies *Səŋghā*.

pōi, infinitive from √*pā*, Skt. √*pā*, 'to protect', *pātum* (Jack, § 720,6) Av. *ōi*=Skt. *e* (old *ai*). The present word is Av. infinitive in *-e*.

səŋghā, 2/1 of *səŋgha* < √*səŋgh* 'to teach' (Kanga, p. 530). Skt. parallel will be √*śaṃs* with a different but cognate sense. We can have * *śaṃsa*; its 3/1 will be *śaṃsā* (for *śaṃsena* as Vedic *devā* for *devena*), 'by the mandates (which are like blessings)'.

yōi həṇtī, Skt. *Ye santi*; = *Yoi* = *Ye* (see *poi* above).

ciθrā, Skt. *citrā* (for *citrena*), clearly to be construed adverbially. Cf. *ciθrā-avanh* 'helping clearly'. Barth explains 'by a vision'.

dānəm, 2/1 of *dā* 'wise' (Kanga, p. 257). It is connected with Skt. √*dhyai* and the meaning may be expressed by *dhyā* (Vedic, 'meditation', 'thinking')+*vat*. *dhyāvantam* or by (*pra-*)*dhyam* from (*pra-*)*dhī* 'of superior intelligence.'

ahūm-biš, 1/1 for 2/1, adjective of *ratūm* which follows it (see Jack, § 233). It is generally taken as a compound word. But Kanga and Nair take it as one word in 3/3, meaning thereby 'in both the worlds' (*bhuvana dvaye'pi*). The explanation offered by Barth is however much more convincing; 'the leader who is wise or thoughtful and healer of soul.' Skt. *asu*+√*bhiṣaj* (cf. *bheṣaja*). The accusative ending of the first word of the compound is retained as in *Vərəθrəm-jā* (see above).

ratūm, 2/1 of *ratu*. The creation is twofold, viz. spiritual and material. With reference to the former, Ahura Mazdā is regarded as *ahu* 'the spiritual Lord', while with reference to the latter, He is *ratu* 'the Lord of the material creation.' Av. *ratu* is Skt. *ṛtu* (connected with *ṛtāvat*) meaning 'just,' 'truthful.' It also means 'high priest' (Yasna, XXVII. 13, XXXIII. 1).

cišdī, impr. present, 2/1 from √*ciš*, Skt. √*cit*, *cikiddhi* (Whitney, §681).

hōi,, 4/1 (Gāthic) of *hō* (*sa*) third personal pronoun (Jack, §394), Skt. *tasmai*.

Vohū-manaŋhā, 3/1 of *Vohu-manaŋh*, the second of the seven Ameśaspands. In Gujerati and Pahlavi works on Avesta this word has taken the form '*bahman*.' Nair: *uttamena manasā*.

Srəvōiō, Gāthic form for *Sraoša* who is an angel of exalted rank, the highest of the Yazatas. He always guards the humanity looking after its welfare. The word is derived from Av. √*sru*, Skt. √*śru*, 'to hear' i. e. 'to obey'. Nair gives *Sraośah* 'obedience personified.' One, carrying out the law of Ahura Mazdā with obedience, is *Sraośa*.

jantū, 3/1 impr. of √*jam* <√*gam*, Skt. √*gam* 'to go.' Vedic *gantu*, Skt. *gacchatu ahmāi*, *yahmāi*, *kahmāi*, Skt. *asmai*, *yasmai*, *kasmai*.

vaēī, 2/1 present parasm. of √*vaš*, Skt. √*vaś* 'to like', 'to desire,' Skt. *vakṣi*.

III

Pāta-nō ṭbiṣyaṇṭat pairi Mazdåṣ-ca Ārmaitiṣ-ca spəṇtas-ca, nase daevī dhruxṣ, nase daēvō-cifre, nase daēvō-frakarəte, nase daēvō-fradāite: apadruxṣ nase apadruxṣ dvāra, apadruxṣ vīnase, apāxəḍre apanasyehe, ma məraṇcainīṣ gaēθå astvaitīṣ aŝahe.

SANSKRIT

परिपात नी द्विषतो मद्दसपाथ श्वयदरमते च।
नश्य दैविध्रुक्, नश्य देवचित्ते,
नश्य देव प्रकृष्टे, नश्य देव प्रधिते,
अपनश्य ध्रुक्, अपद्वर ध्रुक्, अपविनश्य ध्रुक्,
अपाक्षेत्रे ऽपनश्यसे, मामर्चयो गयमस्थिवन्तमुतस्य ॥

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

"(O Ye !) Maxdā and bountiful Armaiti ! Completely protect us from the enemies. Perish, fiendish Druj ! Perish, ye of the breed of devil. Be destroyed, (thou) devil's creation. Perish, (thou) follower of devil's laws. Vanish, O Druj ! Run away, O Druj ! Be completely annihilated, O Druj ! Vanish (thou) in the North. Mayest thou not destroy the corporeal creation of the Divine-Law."

NOTES

pairi-pāta, 2/3 impr. pres. parasm., Skt. *pari* + √*pā*, *paripāta*. Strictly speaking, we expect here dual number *(paripātam)* as two persons are addressed.

ṭbiṣyaṇṭat, 5/1 of *ṭbiṣyaṇṭ* pres. part. of √*ṭbiṣ*, Skt. √*dviṣ*, *dviṣatah*. J. Av. *dv* = Y. Av. *ṭb* when initial (Jack. §96).

nō, Skt. *nah*, *asmān*.

Spəṇta-Ārmaiti. She is the fifth of the seven Ameśaspands. "She rules over the earth and womankind and typifies wisdom and obedience." The Skt. equivalent for *Ārmaiti* is *āramati* used in Rv. II, 38, 4; X, 64, 15 etc. Sāyaṇa takes it to mean *pṛthivī*. Grassmann interprets as 'Andacht, genie der Andacht' i. e. 'Devotion or Genius of Devotion.' *Spənta*, Skt. *śvayat*, present part. from Av. √*spaŋ*, Skt. √*śvī*. The Skt. equivalent for the word may be *śvayat* + *āramati*, i.e. *śvayadāramati*. Kanga gives Skt. *āramati*.

nase, 2/1 impr. pres. parasm. of √*nas*, Skt. √*naś* 'to perish,' Skt. *naśya*.

drusī, 8/1 of *druj*, Skt. *druh*, *dhruk*. For the final *s* see Jack, §156, § 192.

daevo-cibre, 8/1 of *daevo-cibrā*, Skt. *devacitrā* 'of the brood of Daevas—the devils' as opposed to Skt. *deva* 'god'.

daevo-frakarəte, 8/1 f. Skt. *deva prakṛṣṭe*.

daevo-frədāite, 8/1 f. Skt. **pradhite* (*dhita*=*hita*) from *pra*+ √*dhā*. The Avestan word *dāta*, Skt. **dhāta*, has developed a special sense of 'Law' i. e. that which is fixed. cf. *vendidād*=*vi*+*daeva*+*dāta*.

apa-dvarə, 2/1 impr. pres. parasm. of *apa*+ √*dvar*, Skt. *apa*+ √*dvṛ* 'to cover up,' 'hide.' Skt. equivalent : *apadvara*. This is a *daeva* word. *Daeva* words are those which are particularly used to say something relating to the Daevas 'devils'.

apāxedre, 7/1 of *apa*+*axtara* (Persian. *akhtar* 'star') meaning 'away from the Zodiac stars' i. e. 'north', according to Kanga. But one may be inclined to read Skt. *apākṣetre* (=*apa*+*akṣetra*) for the Avestan word under discussion, although phonetically it can hardly be supported. Yet, there being no other appropriate word, I have chosen to use it in the Skt. version. The devil is asked to vanish in the North, perhaps, because in the South of Persia there was, then, "the Vara of Yima" where the followers of the Zoroastrian faith had settled. North was the source of Evil. Contrast this idea with that of the Hindus who believe that the South direction is inauspicious where they locate *Narakas* (*a*+*kṣetra*, 'uncultivable i. e. marshy (?) land).

apa-nasyehe, Skt. *apanaśyase*. We rarely find Skt. √*naś* in ātmanepada.

mərəŋcainīš, 2/1 augmentless. impt. parasm. with impt. force (Jack, §442, §445) √*marək*, *mahrk*, Skt. √*mṛc*, *marc*. cf. Guj. macadavum 'to twist' (see Jack, § 565 note). According to Barth this word is 3/1 impt. parasm. of √*marek* in 7th conjugation.

gaēθā́, 2/3 of *gaēθā* <√*gi*, Skt. √*ji* 'to live', cf. Skt. *gaya* 'creation' and *saṃgaya*, 'what has been conquered or acquired' i. e. 'a house', 'household', 'family', 'property', 'wealth.'

astvaitīš, 2/3 of the f. form of *astvant*, *asta* or *asti*+*vant*, Skt. *asthi*+*vant*. Fem. 2/3 will be *asthivatīḥ*. But the equivalent Skt. word for *gaēθā* (f.) being taken as *gaya* in 2/1 in a collective sense, the present adjective will stand in apposition with *gayam* in mas-

culine gender i. e. *asthivantam*. We may also have the Vedic form *asthanvantam* (Rv. I, 164,4) as accepted by Mills.

aŝahe, Skt. *ṛtasya*.

IV

nəmas-cā yū Armaitiš. Iźā-cā.

SANSKRIT

नमश्च वेऽरमतिरीहा च ।

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

"And salutations (to you both) who (are) Holy Piety and Holy Zeal."

NOTES

yū, 1/2 neuter, Skt, *ye* in impersonal sense.

Armaitiš, originally the word was *āra* 'perfect'+*maiti* 'intelligence.' She is personified in the form of *Spenta-ārmaiti* (see above) who is also called the 'Daughter of Ahura.'

Iźā, Av. *z*=Skt. *h* e.g. *azəm*=Skt. *aham*. So *īzā* will be *īhā* in Skt. Skt. *īhā*, originally meaning 'attempt' or 'wish' may, in secondary sense, be taken to mean 'zeal' or 'prosperity.' The present form is 1/1.*

PINAKIN TRIVEDI

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Bombay and English Constitutional Law

It is the practice in dealing with the constitutional law of India to treat the issue without reference to the question of that law in its application to other oversea possessions of the Crown. The practice is doubtless convenient, and it is of long standing. It will be found that, while Lord Mansfield in his statements on the legal powers of Parliament and on the extent of the royal prerogative, both in Parliament[1] and in the famous case of *Campbell* v. *Hall*,[2] draws inferences from history affecting very different aspects of oversea government, he refrains from adducing Indian precedent, despite its appositeness. Doubtless the reason was that the precise facts which would have been in point were unknown to Lord Mansfield, and indeed they have only recently been made generally available. Writers on Indian history have to a remarkable degree failed to bring out salient matters of legal history, and in the question which here will briefly be discussed the *Cambridge History of India* affords no assistance. Yet the matter is interesting and well deserves greater publicity than it has so far achieved.

The East India Company, to use a convenient if not then accurate title, in its earlier dealings in India had nothing to do with territory which was unquestionably part of the dominions of the Crown of England. But in the case of Bombay the island was unquestionably in the legal position of a colony by cession. The Portuguese title to the island by cession in 1534 from Gujarat was internationally valid, and absolute, and in transferring it to the King of England, &c., the King of Portugal conferred on the latter undisputed sovereign power. Now there is no doubt of the extent under English constitutional law of the authority which the Crown can exercise over ceded territory. It has always been law, and it is attested by the decision in *Calvin's*[3] case and that in *Campbell* v. *Hall*, that it rests entirely with the Crown to do what it

1 See Keith, *Constitutional Law of the First British Empire*, pp. 355 ff.
2 *Ibid.*, pp. 15-17.
3 (1608) 7 Coke, Reports 1.

pleases as regards the government of a territory acquired by cession or conquest. There are, however, limits to this plenitude of power. On Lord Mansfild's view the King's power is subordinate to his own authority as part of the supreme legislature and Parliament; he cannot make laws contrary to fundamental principles, he cannot exempt an inhabitant from the laws of trade or the authority of Parliament, or give him privileges exclusive of his other subjects, and so forth.

But, apart from action by the Crown, what is the effect of cession on the existing system of laws in a colony? The answer is given in full by Lord Mansfield and is perfectly satisfactory. The laws of a conquered or ceded country remain in force until altered by the conquering or cessionary power. This dictum, of course, must not be unduly extended. The change of sovereignty necessarily implies a change in the constitution; the new sovereign carries with him the essential attributes of sovereignty as understood in his law. But private law remains unaltered unless and until the new sovereign determines to alter it.

In the light of these principles it is interesting to examine the course of procedure in regard to the constitutional development of Bombay. The King decided, not unnaturally, to devolve authority on the Company, and this was accomplished by a charter, whose terms therefore *prima facie* govern the position. But it is well to note that the Company, at the time when the new charter was granted, had power under earlier charters (1600-61) to make laws and ordinances for the government of the Company, not contrary or repugnant to the laws, statutes or customs of the realm of England, and that the Governor and Council of each factory had been authorised by the charter of Charles II in 1661 to judge "all persons belonging to the said Governor and Company, or that shall be under them, in all causes, whether civil or criminal, according to the laws of this kingdom, and to execute judgment accordingly." These general powers were not affected by the charter of 1668, and it is important that that charter should be read with reference to the existing authority of the Company, which the new charter amplified and further defined, with regard to the novel circumstance that the Company was at last to exercise sovereign power, derived from the King, over territory in India.

The new charter gave power to the Company to make in General Court or through the Court of Committees laws, orders, ordinances, and constitutions for the good government of the port and island, and of its inhabitants, and such measures were to be engrossed under the common seal before publication. The laws and the penalties thereunder were to be "consonant to reason, and not contrary or repugnant to, but as near as may be agreeable to, the laws of England." The Company was further authorised to appoint judges and other officers to judge and determine all actions, suits and causes whatsoever, and to award punishments according to such laws, orders, ordinances, and constitutions as were made by the Company; and it was provided that the courts and their proceedings should be "like unto those that are established and used in this Our Realm of England." These powers were supplemented by the authority given to the chief Governor of the island in the exercise of his power of government and command "to use and exercise all these powers and authorities in cases of rebellion, mutiny, sedition, of refusing to serve in wars, flying to the enemy, forsaking colours or ensigns, or other offences against law, customs or discipline military, in as large and ample manner to all intents and purposes whatsoever as any captain general of our army by virtue of his office has used and accustomed, and may or might lawfully do."

From the principles set forth above it follows clearly that it was entirely for the Crown to decide at pleasure whether or not it would continue in operation the laws of Portugal as established in Bombay. But, in the absence of such determination, the Portuguese laws remained in operation. This appears very clearly during the period prior to the grant of the island to the Company. The curious ignorance of history which has often been seen in Indian judgments is well exemplified by the doctrine laid down in 1845 in *Advocate General* v. *Richmond*[4] that neither Portuguese law nor Portuguese courts survived in the island after the cession to Charles II. Portuguese rule had treated the island as a mere dependency, and the settlement of judicial matters was carried out, by a judge (*Ovidor*) at Thana, and a higher court (*Relaçao*) at Bassein. When, therefore, Humphrey Cooke on February 8, 1665 took

4. Perry, *Oriental Cases*, 573.

over the island from the Portuguese authorities, after long delays caused by local reluctance to surrender the territory, he had to provide a judiciary of a make-shift character. His understanding of the position was perfect, when he wrote on March 3, 1665: "In this island was neither government or justice, but all cases of law was carried to Tannay or Bassin; now it is in his Majesties jurisdiction there must be a settlement of justice, according to such laws as his Majestie shall think fit." He clearly realised that it did not rest with him, but with the King, to prescribe the law, and he clearly respected the existing legal rules, while setting up himself as judge, acting on reports from a local justice of the peace and a bailiff.[5] Sir Gervase Lucas, who succeeded him in 1666, followed his example; he as judge administered Portuguese law, suppressing the irregular authority which hitherto the landowners had exercised. On his death Henry Gary, his successor, continued the same practice, asking consistently for the despatch to Bombay of a Judge Advocate, i.e. an officer skilled in Civil Law (as opposed to Common Law),[6] a request repeated by Aungier in his letter of March 30, 1670; an expert was obviously desirable to deal with Portuguese law, but this request was refused by the Company, doubtless with adequate reason, for the charter, as we have seen, evidently was based on the view that English law would be made operative in Bombay by the Company.

The question naturally arises, what law governed during this period the British forces. The answer must be that in civil matters they must have been subject to Portuguese law, but all that we seem explicitly to know is that Cooke on December 23, 1665 mentions that Civil Law was applied on the island, and "among ourselves is marshall law, and for religion liberty of conscience is given to all," a stipulation in favour of the Roman Catholic religion of the inhabitants having been included in the instrument of cession (art. II). This use of martial law was continued under his successors, and it seem to have been applied not only to Englishmen and military offenders but also on occasion to natives accused of capital crimes, for it is recorded that a man accused of the murder of his wife was tried by court martial in 1668.[7]

5 Fawcett, *First Century of British Justice in India*, p. 4.

6 Not (as Fawcett, p. 6) 'trained in English and Roman law.'

7 Foster, *The English Factories in India*, 1668-9, p. 51.

It is interesting to note that the legality of the use of martial law was early questioned by no less an authority than Sir George Oxenden,[8] President at Surat, to which Bombay on its handing over to the Company on Sept. 23, 1668 became subordinate. It appears that there had been adopted in Bombay Articles of War, based on those issued for the garrison of Tangier by Lord Peterborough in 1662; such action was very natural since Tangier was surrendered also by the Portuguese Crown. Apparently they were revised after the surrender to the Company, and made less severe, the death penalty being excised from about twenty-five articles. The legal validity of these Articles was naturally questioned by Oxenden, who pointed out that they appeared to have been adopted without express royal order or the authority of the Company. The common law, he insisted, did not permit of such Articles, and those who applied them must answer to that law, should they be called to account in England for their action. There seems to be no doubt that Oxenden was right. The case of Tangier was no real authority; there the garrison was in a constant condition of war with the Moors, and the royal authority might be held, consistently with the Petition of Right, 1628, to extend to making Articles to govern the forces during a state of virtual war.[9] In the case of Bombay it was dubious if this plea could be advanced, and in any case there was lacking any intimation of royal approval of the Articles. It is not, therefore, surprising that Oxenden wrote on June 21, 1669: "I would the Articles were quite taken away, but if there be a necessity of them, use them onely in publicke things to keep the garrison in awe." It was in fact obvious that some code must be applied to the garrison, and the Company must have later adopted the Articles in their revised form.

While the status quo was at first maintained by Aungier, it soon gave way to a prudent resolution formed by the Company to introduce a code of laws into Bombay under the powers of the charter. Laws were duly framed, by Thomas Papillon, the famous rival of Sir Josiah Child, and the Solicitor of the Company, revised by the Court of Committees and the Solicitor General, duly engrossed and sent to India on

8 Fawcett, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-11.

9 Ridges, *Constitutional Law* (ed. Keith), pp. 375-7.

March 12, 1669, reaching Surat on Nov. 17. In addition to specific enactments of law, they provide for the creation of a Court of Judicature with civil and criminal jurisdiction, subject to appeal to the Governor and Council, and for trial by jury of twelve Englishmen, except when any party was not English, when in accordance with contemporary English law half the jury was to be non-English. It is significant that provision was duly made for a code regulating military offences, which should clearly have superseded the Articles of War. But the rules laid down were moderate in terms; minor offences by soldiers were not to be tried by jury but by the Governor and Council, and the punishments to be inflicted were only as a rule corporal punishment and fine up to two months pay; the death penalty was restricted to sedition and mutiny by soldiers, and to insurrection and rebellion, and in these cases trial by jury was necessary. It is easy to understand that the local authorities deemed utterly inadequate these provisions and begged permission, which the President and Council at Surat conceded, to use the Articles of War on necessary occasions.

Some delay took place in making these laws effective, but from Aug. 1, 1672 the Portuguese laws were definitely superseded, the English laws established in lieu, and the commissions of peace in Portuguese hands were vacated, while English became the judicial language. It is clear that the English law introduced was that law, common and statute, as modified by the laws of the Company, which, though based on English law, in various respects—and especially in the humane treatment of theft—deviated in detail, though not in essentials, from English law. Aungier[10] himself in announcing his introduction of English laws refers to "that excellent abridgment of them recommended by the Hon'ble Company," and the Court in practice applied English law whenever the Company's law was silent, a practice which was later judicially approved in *Perojeboye* v. *Ardaseer*[11] by Perry C. J., who held that the charter provision that the Company's laws should be "as near as may be agreeable to the laws of England" had the effect of introducing these laws in all cases not expressly provided for. It follows, therefore, that from Aug. 1, 1672, under the

10 Fawcett, *op. cit.*, p. 54

11 *Oriental Cases*, 63.

royal authority of the charter, and the laws passed thereunder by the Company, English law was in force in Bombay. Moreover we may assume, on the analogy of colonial constitutional law, that the law thus in force included all English statutes[12]—so far as capable of application—down to Aug. 1, 1672 or at least to the date of the charter. The point of precise date does not appear to have arisen, and was probably of no importance for the time being, while, later at any rate, the Court seems to have felt at liberty to give effect to statutes passed subsequent to 1672.

Under the regime thus established trials took place normally in the Court set up by Aungier, but in accordance with the Company's laws the Governor and Council acted in cases of military offenders and of insurrection and rebellion either with or without a jury according to the offence of the accused. Side by side with this mode of procedure, which was applied in the case of two officers tried for complicity in the mutiny of a company of English soldiers in 1674, there existed the possibility of use of martial law, by which the soldiers who mutinied were tried. To this use of martial law a wide extension was proposed to be given under the regime of Sir Josiah Child. His attitude is in perfect keeping with the impetus which he gave to develop the sovereign powers of the Company on the model of the Dutch policy in their possessions. His policy doubtless inspired the grant of a new charter by Charles II, which afforded him the ground for claiming that English law had ceased to be applicable to Bombay. This episode in his career deserves special consideration, for its importance and interest seem to have been largely ignored by historians of India.

To Sir Josiah Child with his project of Empire there was nothing attractive in the application of English law, common or statutory, with its system of trial by jury, and safeguards for liberty. For his purpose it was necessary to have prompt authority to control the servants of the Company and its forces, and to deal effectively with interlopers who injured the Company in its vital trade. Hence the charter of 1683 con-

12 We find on March 16,1726, the Court acting on the view that a contemporaneous Statute could be applied in a civil suit, i.e., that new English law should be adopted; Fawcett, p. 190.

13 Fawcett, op. cit., p. 89 note.

tains two important clauses. It empowered the Company to make war with heathen nations in Asia, and to maintain such military forces as it found necessary and to execute and use within its plantations, forts, and places "the law called the martial law" against any foreign invasion or domestic insurrection or rebellion. At the same time the Company was authorised to establish a court of judicature, consisting of "one person learned in the civil law and two assistants." The Court was empowered to hear all cases of forfeiture of ships or goods for trading contrary to the charter, and also all maritime and mercantile cases concerning persons coming to or being within the area of the charter, and all cases of trespasses, injuries and wrongs done or committed upon the high seas or in any of the regions, territories, countries or places within the limits of the charter, concerning any persons within these limits. These cases were to be adjudged by the Court according to the rules of equity and good conscience, and according to the laws and customs of merchants, by such procedure as the Court might direct. James II by his charter of 1686 gave like powers, and more explicitly allowed the exercise of martial law on the Company's ships.

The effect of the charter of 1683 was first seen in the despatch to India of Dr. St. John to act as judge in Admiralty, but he was also allowed for a time (Nov. 20, 1684-March 27, 1685) to act as judge in the Court of Judicature, which remained in existence and in full working order. But Child soon went further than this and evolved the remarkable theory that the charter authorised the supersession of English law in Bombay. On May 6, 1685[14] the Company informed their representatives at St. Helena that they had His Majesty's commission to govern their plantations by martial law, which was absolutely necessary in remote places, and Sir John Wyborne, appointed Deputy Governor of Bombay, was commissioned *en route* to try by this law at St. Helena the mutineers of 1684. Books of Laws, martial, were sent on May 6, 1685 to St. Helena and Bombay, and Sir John was commended to Bombay on the score of his familiarity with the order and government of the late garrison of Tangier, "in conformity whereto we would have

14 Fawcett, *op. cit.*, p. 113 note.

you govern in all respects our garrison of Bombay." But the civil jurisdiction was for the time being allowed to stand, and Wyborne in Sept. 1686 had to complain that Sir John Child, President at Surat and Governor of Bombay (1682-90), had ordered the retrial by the Court of Judicature of a person who had killed the gunner's mate of the *Phoenix* in a quarrel. Wyborne energetically protested, urging that a garrison could not be governed on these lines and reminding Sir John Child that Sir Josiah was a strong suppporter of the use of martial law.[15]

Sir Josiah's views had in fact already been made abundantly clear, for on July 28, 1686 the Company addressed Bombay in quite remarkable terms.[16] The Council was explicitly informed that English statutes were inapplicable to India, being confined to England, Wales, and "Barwick upon Tweed." "Your law there is, what His Majesty is pleased to constitute by himself or his East India Company, and such temporary by-laws as our General (i.e. Sir John Child) and Council shall find cause to make for the good government of the people until His Majesty or ourselves shall disapprove thereof." It was added that under the charters of 1683 and 1686 "you are to govern our people there, being subject to us under His Majesty, by the law martial and the civil law, which is only proper to India." This explicit declaration is repeated with even greater emphasis in the instructions of February 3, 1687 to the President and Council of Surat,[17] who were instructed (1) to make by-laws for Bombay, which were to be binding on the King's subjects in the island until disallowed by the King or the Company; and (2) to govern the soldiers and poeple of that island, as well English as others, by martial law, and that jurisdiction of the admiralty, lately established, "for trying controversies between party and party, in a summary way and according to the usage of the civil law, which only is proper for India, the common law of England being peculiar to this kingdom, and not adapted, in any kind to the government of India." In an earlier despatch of July 14, 1686 the making of by-laws is given wider scope as "binding to all English in India, and all natives inhabi-

15 Forrest, *Selections from State Papers in the Bombay Secretariat Home Series* 1,145, 148.

16 Fawcett, *op. cit.*, pp. 132, 133.

17 *Ibid.*, p. 133.

ting any of our colonies." Moreover, that despatch laid down the doctrine that the Company's letters "to you and all under you ought to have the nature and force of laws," a doctrine intimated also to Fort St. George on April 8, 1687.[18]

It is clear that the whole of these instructions were in large measure tainted with illegality. The Company unquestionably had the right to legislate, but the right could be used only in the manner stated in the charter of 1668, and that wholly negatived the right to legislate by letters. No doubt the directions of the Company in executive matters were binding on its servants, but they had no right to make laws except by the formal procedure prescribed, which meant, of course, that the laws made would be scrutinised by the Committees, and become known to the Company's members. Secondly, the power to make by-laws, which was granted to the President and Council at Surat, was one whose validity cannot be upheld in the form in which it was granted. No mere despatch could make law, and still less could it delegate the power to make law. If the Company had legislated in proper form to give authority to make by-laws, it is quite possible that the right would have been validly conferred. It may be that the Courts might have ruled that the power to make laws, orders, ordinances, and constitutions was wide enough to cover the grant of power to make by-laws, and that the doctrine *delegatus non delegare potest* would not apply to the legislative power of the Company.[19] The question must be left unsolved; what is clear is that the actual procedure was ineffective to confer any legal power, and very little use seems to have been made of the authority granted. The Bombay Council itself—as opposed to the Surat Council—had already made by-laws regulating public houses, and gambling and other minor matters,—but there was little real legislation involved. Rather the regulations were adaptations to local conditions of the English legislation on these topics, which was held to have been introduced in principle by the charter of 1668.

The remarks of the Company on the law to be applied were clearly unsound.

18 Fawcett, *op. cit.*, pp. 132, 245.

19 See Keith, *Responsible Government in the Dominions* (1928), i. 301 ff.

(1) The claim that civil law was to apply in matters between party and party to the exclusion of English statute or common law was clearly wholly unfounded. The charter clearly created a special jurisdiction to deal with (a) interlopers, and (b) those causes which were essentially mercantile and marine, and fell in English law under the cognisance of the Admiralty, which applied the civil law and mercantile custom.[20] The absurdity of Child's doctrine appears adequately from the fact that the Admiralty Court had patently not the slightest power to deal with issues concerning real property, and, if Child's view were correct, this side of jurisdiction would have been blotted out.[21] But, it must be added, if the King had endeavoured to supersede English by civil law, it is most improbable that the lawyers of the day would have held his action legal; they would have ruled that he was incapable by prerogative of setting up a court to proceed by civil law in matters not maritime or mercantile. Moreover, it must be remembered that the exclusion of juries under civil law would have been strongly disapproved by English legal opinion.

(2) Equally untenable was the doctrine that in other matters martial law was applicable. The King had in the view of English lawyers no power to apply martial law except in time of war, and even then his authority, on one view at least, was limited strictly to soldiers. It is significant that in 1685 orders were given, as soon as the insurrection of Monmouth was over, that trial by court martial of peccant soldiers was to cease, and their punishment left to the common law courts.[22] It must, therefore, be accepted that the King could give no general power to govern by martial law, and that his grant could not be lawfully interpreted in such a sense.

Nor, it must be added, could the Company have granted to Bombay under its legislative powers the right to apply civil law in cases not maritime or mercantile, a course suggested as possible by Sir Charles Fawcett,[23] to whose research all students of this subject are deeply indebted. This overlooks the fact that the legislative power granted to the

20 See Ridges, *op. cit.*, pp. 247-51.

21 Fawcett, *op. cit.*, p. 125 note.

22 Cf. Ridges, *op. cit.*, pp. 453 ff.; Clode *Military Forces of the Crown*, i. 478.

23 *Op. cit.*, p. 133.

Company required that their laws should not be contrary or repugnant to the laws of England, and it would have been clearly *ultra vires* to abolish the law of England in favour of the civil law in matters outside the province to which that law was permitted by English law to apply. In the same manner it would have been illegal for the Company to attempt to confer on Bombay the use of martial law for all criminal matters. No doubt the legislature of a Crown Colony, with the authority of the Crown, could now apply any system of law to any class of cases without repugnance to the law of England, but that is the outcome of the wide extension of authority by the Colonial Laws Validity Act, 1865[24] which accorded to colonial legislatures a plenitude of power far beyond what Mansfield would have allowed.

We have no evidence that the illegality of Sir Josiah Child's orders was alleged in Bombay, but all we know suggests that no serious attempt was made to give effect to them. We find, for instance,[25] in 1687 a treason trial by the Court of Judicature in which English statutes were freely relied upon as establishing the treasonable character of the action of the priest who was accused. There was, however, from 1690 a serious breakdown in the orderly administration of justice, the jury system ceased to be used, and, when a Court was regularly reconstituted in 1718-28, juries were not restored. On the other hand, English common and statute law were freely invoked,[26] while the Company's laws of 1669 had passed into oblivion, and it was necessary for the Company in 1719 to send out a copy of the charter of 1668 to show that the Court had a lawful foundation.[27] In 1726 a new charter established a fresh form of Court and definitely prescribed the application of English law; juries were again employed in criminal cases, but not in civil suits. No question, of course, arose of superseding English by civil law.

Martial law unquestionably must have remained in some degree operative as regards soldiers, though on this head there is scanty information available. It is clear that the matter raised difficulties, for in a despatch to Madras of Feb. 17, 1727 the Company alleges as one of the

24 See Keith, *op. cit.*, i. 339 ff.
25 Forrest, *op. cit.*, i. 157, 158.
26 Fawcett, *op. cit.*, pp. 185 ff.
27 *Ibid.*, pp. 176, 177.
28 *Ibid.*, p. 215.

defects, which it was hoped the charter of 1726 would remedy, the military's refractoriness, seen in desertion, in joining the enemy in attack, and in killing one another. This can only mean that grave doubts were felt regarding the legality of the application of military law to the armed forces at least in peace, and, if the assertion of the Company is pressed, even in war. No doubt regulations had been laid down in 1672 and revised in 1678 for Madras,[29] but it is probable that the invalidity of these regulations had become felt, just as Oxenden had felt doubts in 1669 in the case of Bombay. The charter gave little relief, merely reiterating the power to exercise martial law under war conditions. It seems[30] that in these circumstances steps were taken to adopt for use in Bombay by 1729 the Articles of War which the King under statutory power of 1717 laid down for the government of his forces, and that a like step was adopted for Madras in 1747. But there would remain the difficulty in these cases that the power was not exercised by the King, and the forces of the Company were not the forces of the King contemplated by the imperial legislation. It was only by an imperial Act of 1754[31] that order was introduced into the situation, by providing for the punishment of certain military offences; by giving power to the Court of Directors with royal sanction to authorise their presidents and Councils and commanders-in-chief to hold court martials; and by authorising the King to make Articles of War for the better government of the Company's forces. But it is unnecessary to follow further this issue, or to discuss the steps taken later to establish regular admiralty jurisdiction in India. It is sufficient to have stressed the illegal attempt made by Sir Josiah Child to introduce a regime of martial law and civil law into Bombay contemporaneously with his efforts to establish the Company's power as a sovereign state. In both projects the influence of Dutch policy is patent.

A. Berriedale Keith

29 Wheeler, *Madras in the Olden Time*, App. pp. 425 ff., 444 ff.

30 Fawcett, *op. cit.*, p. 11 note.

31 27 Geo. II. c. 9; amended by 1 Geo. III. c. 14.

Ādisura

Be Ādiśūra a mythical or historical personage, there is no denying the fact that he is undoubtedly one of the central figures of the social history of Bengal. The tradition that five Brahmins, conversant with Vedic rites and observances, migrated into Bengal from Madhyadeśa through his efforts is very deep-rooted in the Hindu society. The genealogical books of Bengal claim the descent of most of the important Brahmins from the descendants of the five Brahmins who are said to have been brought by king Ādiśūra. They also assert that the social structure of the Brāhmaṇical society was organised at a later period by giving higher ranks to the descendants of these immigrants. But what is more interesting is that the important Brahmin families of Bengal even now regard these immigrants from North India as their ancestors.[1]

Geographical situation, tradition and history all go to prove that Bengal received her Aryan stock of population somewhat later than the Upper Gangetic countries. It is too well-known to need repetition that Magadha, Aṅga, Vaṅga and Kaliṅga are mentioned in the later Vedic and Brāhmaṇical literatures with contempt and the spirit in them is that the Aryans should restrict their visit to these countries, so far as it is possible. This is corroborated by the Jaina *Ācāraṅga Sūtra*[2] where Lāṭa and Subbha are described as countries inhabited by wild tribes. It is very likely that Jainism, Buddhism and Brāhmaṇism were spreading in Bengal during the Maurya period. If *Divyāvadāna* is to be believed, Puṇḍravardhana was a great Jaina centre at the time of Aśoka. Yuan Chwang saw in Bengal many Buddhist stūpas which the great emperor built. But yet the fact seems to be that a vigorous movement for the Aryanisation of Bengal began with the establishment of the Gupta empire in the fourth century A. D. In some of the old land grants of Bengal the Brahmin donees are

1 For instance see P. K. Mukherjee, *Rabindra Jivani*, p. 1. The ancestry of the Tagore family is traced generally from Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, the famous author of *Veṇī Saṃhāra*, whose father Kṣitīśa is generally believed to be one of the five Brahmins brought by Ādiśūra.

2 *Jaina Sūtras* (trans. by Jacobi, SBE., 1. 8. 4), p. 84.

described as *Madhyadeśa-vinirgata* 'coming out of Midland.' Not only many people received these Brahmins well, but even the *Kulaputras* (aristocratic families) from Ayodhyā and other parts of Northern India bought land for them for Brāhmaṇical temples in Bengal.[3] This may be taken as the attempt of the *Kulaputras* to establish orthodox Hinduism and these Brahmins may be regarded as the "missionaries of Hindu Aryan or North Indian culture."

There is no doubt about the fact that these Brahmins, fresh from Madhyadeśa, influenced the society deeply. The upper classes of the society which are more susceptible to such influences could not escape them. But the Brahmins in their turn were also perhaps to a certain extent influenced by the prevalent social and religious conceptions of the country in which they permanently lived and in which they were far outnumbered. It is quite possible that they could not retain their rigid social system, and their religious rites and observances gradually began to be deviated from the orthodox system as it was laid down in the Śruti and Smṛti books. We have got at least one inscription which clearly illustrates that the Brahmins in Bengal could not keep intact the rigid caste system like their brethren in North India. The inscription is the Tippera copperplate grant of Lokanātha which, according to Dr. R. G. Basak,[4] belonged to the middle of the seventh century A. D. In it Lokanātha's paternal predecessors are described as Brāhmaṇas but his maternal predecessors were not pure Brāhmaṇas His father had a Śūdra wife and therefore is described as a *pāraśava* and Lokanātha himself as a *karaṇa* by caste which, according to Manu, is a mixed one. This inscription proves beyond doubt that the Brāhmaṇas in the seventh century married Śūdra women and there are reasons to believe that their customs and rites underwent a considerable change in the uncongenial social and religious atmosphere of Bengal.

Similar to the account of the migration of the Sāgnik Brahmins to Bengal through the efforts of Ādiśūra, there is another equally strong tradition preserved in the genealogical books of the Vaidik Brahmins that the latter came into Bengal through the efforts of Sāmalavarman of the Varman dynasty of eastern Bengal. This tradition is in a way confirmed by the epigraphic records of the Varmans. In the Belāva

3 R. G. Basak: "Damodarpur copperplates," No. 5, of 533-34 A.D. in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XV, p. 115.

4 Dr. R. G. Basak, *History of North-Eastern India*, p. 195.

plate of Bhojavarmadeva it has been forcibly and proudly asserted that the Varmans were always true to the Vedas and never deviated from the Vedic rites like the naked ascetics.[5] In the Bhuvaneśvara plate (v. 16) of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva the epithet *Dharma-vijayinī* has been applied before the name of Harivarman, one of the Varman kings. What is more important to note is that the donee of the Belāva copperplate was one Brahmin named Śrīrāmadevaśarman whose great-grandfather is described as *madhyadeśa-viniryata*[6] and the donor of the plate was Bhojavarman, son of Sāmalavarman. Though the inscriptions of the Varmans in a way go to confirm the truth underlying the popular tradition, yet it must be admitted that the account of the Vaidik Brahmins and Sāmalavarman given by the *Kulaśāstras* clearly shows how far they have been fabricated by popular imagination. The outline of the story of the importation of the Vaidik Brahmins by Sāmalavarman has not yet been corroborated by any other source and his parentage as handed down by the *Kulaśāstras* has proved to be untrue. In spite of the unreliability of the *Kulaśāstras* as historical documents, the inscriptions of the Varmans, when read with the tradition preserved in the *Kulaśāstras*, tend to show that there was another attempt about the eleventh century A. D. to reinforce the orthodox Brāhmaṇical element into Bengal.

With such epigraphic evidence about the importation of the orthodox Brahmins in the 5th and 11th centuries and with such social and religious conditions in the background in Bengal, the spirit underlying the story of the migration of five Brahmins through the efforts of Ādiśūra (which is generally placed between the 5th and 11th centuries) does not at all seem to be historically inconsistent. We have come across one inscription which, it seems, may throw some light on the vexed question of Ādiśūra. This inscription, known as the Dudhpāṇi rock inscription of Udayamāna, has been published by Kielhorn in the *Ep. Ind.*, vol. II, p. 343. The narrative in the inscription is that three brothers, Udayamāna, Śrīdhautamāna and Ajitamāna went on business from Ayodhyā to Tāmralipti and made much wealth. When they were returning home, they met in the forest the king Ādisiṃha of Magadha who came on hunting. The king Ādisiṃha was very much pleased with Udayamāna and conferred three villages on three brothers. We

5 Belāva copperplate of Bhojavarman, line 5.

6 *Ibid.*, line 43.

propose to identify this king Ādisiṃha of Magadha with Ādiśūra of Gauḍa of the *Kulaśāstras*.

As regards the names Ādiśūra and Ādisiṃha there is no fundamental difference in the meaning of these two words. It may also be mentioned here that according to Ravisena's *Kulapradīpa* and Jayasena's *Vaidyacandrikā*, Ādiśūra is not a name but a title.

Kielhorn, the editor of the Dudhpāṇi rock inscription, has assigned it palæographically to the eighth century A. D. We know that the later Guptas ruled in Magadha from Ādityasena to Jīvitagupta II. One of the known dates of Ādityasena is 672 A. D. It is now generally believed that the king of Gauḍa and Magadha who was killed by Yaśovarman is Jīvitagupta II of the later Gupta dynasty.[7] Therefore from Ādityasena to Jīvitagupta we have one continuous line of kings ruling in Magadha and king Ādisiṃha of the Dudhpāṇi inscription must have ruled after Jīvitagupta. If the identification of Jīvitagupta II with the defeated Gauḍa and Magadha king be accepted, the date of Jīvitagupta II depends on that of Yaśovarman of Kanauj. The date of Yaśovarman is again dependent on that of Lalitāditya of Kāśmīra who defeated the former between 730 and 740 A. D.[8] The invasion of Yaśovarman, therefore, took place about 730 A. D. Again, it is certain that Dharmapāla of the Pāla dynasty ruled in the second half of the eighth century A. D. The mention of Pāṭaliputra as *jayaskandhāvara* in the Khālimpur plate of Dharmapāla and Mudgagiri in the Monghyr plate of Devapāla shows that the Pālas fought with the Gurjara Pratihāras by making Magadha as the base of their operations. It is plain then that there can be no question of any independent kingdom in Magadha under Ādisiṃha either before 730 A. D. or during the last part of the latter half of the eighth century A. D. The king Ādisiṃha of the Dudhpāṇi inscription then should be placed in the period between 730 A. D. and the last part of the latter half of the eighth century.

Though it is really very difficult to arrive at any safe decision regarding the time of Ādiśūra because different *Kulaśāstras* supply different dates for the migration of the five Brahmins, yet a close study of the *Kulaśāstras* reveals the fact that the majority of them date the event in 654 S. E.=732 A. D. The *Varendra Kulapañji* records

7 Dr. R. G. Basak, *History of North-Eastern India*, p. 131.

8 Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 343. f.n.

that this event took place in *vedakalaṅkaṣaṭkavimite* i. e. in 654 Ś. E; Vācaspati Miśra in *vedabāṇāṅgaśāke* i. e. in 654 Ś. E; and *Kulārṇava* in *vedabāṇāhimeśāke*" i. e. in 654 Ś. E. The *kulaji* genealogical table of the Lāhiḍī family records that Ādigāñi Ojhā received some land grant from Dharmapāla, the second Pāla emperor and that he was the son of Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa and grandson of Kṣitīśa, one of the five Brahmins who are alleged to have been imported by Ādiśūra. Again, we have it on the authority of late Mm. H. P. Śāstrī that in the *kārikā* of Harimiśra (who flourished at the time of Danujamarddana in the thirteenth century) the migration of the Brahmins is placed before the foundation of the Pāla empire. Thus the date 732 A. D. of the *Kulaśāstras* is quite in keeping with the time of the king Ādisiṃha.

But the important point against the proposed identification lies in the fact that Ādisiṃha of the Dudhpāṇi inscription is called the king of Magadha, while Ādiśūra of the *Kulaśāstras* is known as the king of Gauḍa. The question is not so difficult as it appears in the first instance. The political history of Magadha and Gauḍa in the latter half of the seventh century and in the first half of the eighth clears the point. It is now held by competent scholars that Ādityasena of the later Gupta dynasty of Magadha ruled over some parts of northern and western Bengal and the supremacy of the latter over Gauḍa is traced from the victory of Mahāsenagupta over Susthitavarman of Kāmarūpa on the river Lauhitya. But the most important evidence on this point comes from the *Gauḍavaho* of Vākpati where the poet says that *Gauḍādhipa* was *Magadhanātha* also. The reason why in the *Kulaśāstras* Ādiśūra is called king of Gauḍa is not far to seek. The political history of the seventh century unmistakably shows that the centre of gravity of northern Indian politics was moving westwards from Magadha to Kanauj and to the east in Gauḍa. The attempt of Śaśāṅka of Gauḍa to occupy Kanauj and the transference of the capital from Thāneswara to Kanauj by Harṣa point to that conclusion. That the poet Vākpati spoke of the slaying of the Gauḍa and Magadha king in order to eulogise his patron and named his work *Gauḍavaho* goes to confirm that Gauḍa was perhaps more prominent than Magadha in the eighth century. Ādiśūra is said to have been the king of five Gauḍas but the list of the five countries which constituted five Gauḍas is, according to the *Skandapurāṇa*, Sārasvata, Kāṇyakubja, Gauḍa, Mithilā and Utkala. The name of Magadha is conspicuous by absence. The Dudhpāṇi inscription is not an official one but a private record. As Udayamāna was probably granted land in Magadha, so in this

inscription Ādisiṃha has been described as king of Magadha. But as Gauḍa and Magadha were under one political suzerain and Gauḍa was more famous at this period, the writers of the *Kulaśāstras* described him as the king of Gauḍa.

Or, more probably, the fact is that Gauḍa was directly interested in the migration of the Brahmins and it was in the western and northern Bengal that the descendants of the five Brahmins are said to have lived permanently. Not only that. All the latter Śūra kings, known from the epigraphic or other reliable records and generally supposed to be the descendants of Ādiśūra, are found to be ruling in western Bengal, i. e. in Gauḍa. Raṇaśūra of the Trimulaya inscription (*c.* 1025 A. D.) was the king of Dakṣiṇa Rāḍhā, Lakṣmīśūra of the *Rāmacarita* was the ruler of Apāramandāra, and Vijayasena of the Sena dynasty married a Śūra princess of Rāḍhā in order to strengthen his position in Rāḍhā. We know from the *Gauḍavaho* of Vākpati that Gauḍa and Vaṅga were two separate kingdoms.

But when the Khālimpur plate of Dharmapāla was issued in the 32nd regnal year Vaṅga, Gauḍa and Magadha must have formed part of the Pāla empire and it seems that Ādisiṃha or his successors were ousted from Magadha and took refuge in Rāḍhā where all the latter Śūra kings are found ruling as subordinate rulers. The *Kulaśāstras* also preserve a tradition that there was some fight between the Śūras and the Buddhist Pāla kings.

It will not be out of place to discuss here some of the criticisms that are generally laid against the existence of Ādiśūra and the importation of Brahmins by him from Upper India. Some scholars assert that in the *Kulaśāstras* Ādiśūra is claimed to be the king of five Gauḍas and nothing is known of a king of such great importance. It must be remembered that the *Kulaśāstras* were written many centuries after the event of migration and the account of Ādiśūra has been much exaggerated in them, and moreover, the fact is that the exaltation of Ādiśūra caste reflected glory on the writers of the *Kulaśāstras* or for whom these genealogical books were meant. Again, it is sometimes contended that the evidence supplied by the Bhuvaneśvara plate of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva goes against the account of the *Kulaśāstras*. The object of the Bhuvaneśvara plate was to eulogise Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva and there was no necessity to emphasise the fact that he belonged to one of the families imported by Ādiśūra. His predecessors might or might not have migrated from Madhyadeśa.

The account of the *Kulaśāstras* should not be taken to be literally and historically true. The desire to associate oneself with some great event or man is too natural. The detailed list of the families that are said to have imported by Ādiśūra should not be taken to be *ipso facto* true. But that does not disprove the fundamental fact that there may be an attempt to reinforce the Brāhmaṇical society in Gauḍa. Lastly, some scholars labour under a wrong impression that according to the *Kulaśāstras* the Sāgnik Brahmins came to Bengal for the first time in the reign of Ādiśūra. But the *Kulaśāstras* preserve one tradition that there was one class of Brahmins known as Saptaśatīs who were found incompetent to perform religious rites due to their social, religious and moral degradation. In the Dāmodarpur and Nidhānpur plates mention has been made of many Agnihotrī Brahmins and therefore the contention that there was no Sāgnik Brahmins before Ādiśūra does not deserve any serious consideration. The contention of the *Kulaśāstras* is not that there were no Sāgnik Brahmins in Bengal but that there were none fit to perform the religious observances according to strict Śāstrik principle.

The Dāmodarpur platesand Belāva plate of Bhojavarman unmistakably go to prove that the Brahmins from Upper India were highly honoured and welcome in Bengal and there can be no doubt about the fact that many Brahmins in ancient time came to settle here and many were still coming to settle. But when the peculiar social and religious condition of Bengal is taken into consideration and when in the epigraphic records it is found that the Brahmins from Upper India—significantly described as *madhyadeśavinirgata*—are granted land for the proper worship of their gods and their livelihood, it is evident that there have been attempts to add fresh orthodox Brāhmaṇical elements from time to time. The Tippera inscription of Lokanātha of the middle of the seventh century reveals the fact that the Brahmins could not preserve their orthodox social system and that is also the contention of the *Kulaśāstras* (as it is found in the account of the Saptaśatī Brahmins). If a king with an orthodox bent of mind would have made an attempt to reinforce the orthodox Hindu society, it does not seem to be at all historically inconsistent but is rather quite in keeping with the circumstances. The eighth century was the period when Hinduism was revived by Kumārila Bhaṭṭa and Śaṅkarācāryya and viewed in that light, the migration of the Brahmins in Bengal in that century becomes all the more intelligible.

PRAMODE LAL PAUL.

A Study of the Smṛti Passages in the Mahābhāṣya

The scholarship of Patañjali, the author of the *Mahābhāṣya*, was so vast that there are few subjects which he left untouched in the course of his masterly discussions on the rules of Pāṇini. I shall deal here with those passages of the *Mahābhāṣya* which are directly or indirectly connected with matters dealt with in the Smṛtis.[1] The passages naturally fall into three categories:—

A. Passages which are found with little or no change in the earlier Smṛtis.[2]

B. Passages which find their parallels in the Smṛtis, though verbally they do not agree.

C. Passages which have no parallels in any of the extant Smṛtis.

A. The *Mahābhāṣya* contains passages which are found in the Smṛtis with slight variations. In view of the uncertainty of the dates of composition of the Smṛtis, it is not possible to state definitely whether Patañjali utilized the Smṛtis which we have before us or merely drew upon the common source of all the Smṛtis.

1. The most interesting of such passages is Patañjali's definition of Āryāvarta. In two places, on Pāṇini II. 4. 10 and VI. 3. 109, Patañjali writes:—

कः पुनरार्यावर्तः। प्रागादर्शात्प्रत्यक् कालकवनाद् (v. l. कालवनाद्, कालवनात्) दक्षिणेन हिमवन्तमुत्तरेण पारियात्रम् (v. l. पारिपात्रम्)।[3]

'What is Āryāvarta? To the east of Ādarśa, to the west of Kālakavana, to the south of the Himālaya and to the north of the Vindhya'.

It has been suggested that Ādarśa is the modern Aravelli and Kālakavana the Rajmahal hills.[4] Both these identifications are

1 The following editions of the texts have been used:—

Mahābhāṣya, ed. Kielhorn, Bombay, 1880, 1906 and 1909.

Āpastamba, ed. Bühler, Poona, 1932. Boudhāyana, ed. Hultzsch, Leipzig, 1922. Gautama, ed. Ānandāśrama, Poona, 1931. Vasiṣṭha, ed. Führer, Poona, 1930. Viṣṇu, ed. Jolly, Calcutta, 1881. Manu ed. Jolly, London, 1887. Yājñavalkya, ed. Nirṇayasāgara, 1926.

2 See in this connection, Chakravarti, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. II, pp. 67 ff. Kielhorn, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIV, pp. 326-7.

3 Vol I. p. 475 and vol. II, p. 174.

4 Kunte, *Vicissitudes of Aryan Civilization*, p. 200.

probable. Bühler says that Kālakavana 'must probably be sought in Behar.'[5]

Baudhāyana, I. 1. 2. 9 reads:—

प्रागादर्शात् (v. l. अदर्शनात्, विनशनात्) प्रत्यक् कनखलात् (v. l. कालकाद्वनात्, कालचवनात्, कालकवनात्) दक्षिणेन हिमवन्तमुदक् पारियात्रमेतदार्यावर्तम्।

Vasiṣṭha I. 8-9:

आर्यावर्तः प्रागादर्शात् (v. l. आदर्शनात्, अदर्शनात्) प्रत्यक् कालकवनाद् (v. l. कालकाद्वनात्) उदक् पारियात्राद्दक्षिणेन हिमवतः उत्तरेण विन्ध्यस्य।

Baudhāyana's statement that Āryāvarta ended on the east with Kanakhala (i. e. Hardwar) would greatly diminish the extent of Āryāvarta, and it would be advisable to substitute *Kālakavana* in place of *Kanakhala*, especially when this reading is not unknown to the Mss. Hultzsch adduces reasons for his preference of *Kanakhala* to *Kālakavana*.[6]

It is difficult to agree to all that Hultzsch says. All Mss. of the *Mahābhāṣya* and the *Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra* and most of the Mss. of the *Baudhāyanadharmasūtra* read *Kālakavana* and not *Kanakhala*; and to discard these in favour of only two Mss. may not be acceptable to all. On the contrary, it would seem from the above facts that we ought to regard *Kālakavana* as the original reading and *Kanakhala* as its corruption. For the usual phenomenon of text-corruption is the substitution of the less-known by the better-known.[7] Again, to identify Patañjali's Āryāvarta with Manu's Madhyadeśa is unjustified, in view of the definite statement of Manu (II. 20-2) that the two are different. It may be argued that in Baudhāyana's time Hardwar was the eastern limit of the Aryan settlement. But even such an early text as the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* declares the land of Videha as worthy of Aryan habitation.[8]

Another point to be noted in this connection is the word *ādarśa*. The Mss. of both Baudhāyana and Vasiṣṭha have the unmistakable tendency of reading *adarśana* instead of *ādarśa*. *Adarśana* would mean the sacred place where the river Sarasvatī disappears. Even

5 *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. XIV, p. 2, n. 8.

The *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* (XIV, 25 and 9), mentions two places Adarśa and Kālaka in the northern and south-western divisions respectively.

6 *IA.*, XXXIV, p. 179.

7 Cf. *Raghuvaṃśa* IV, 67, where Mallināṭha substitutes *Sindhu* in place of *Vaṃkṣu*. See K. Chaṭṭopādhyāya, "Date of Kālidāsa" in *Allahabad University Studies*, vol. II, p. 126.

8 *S. Br.*, I. 4. 1. 14-6; Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, vol. II, pp. 402-4.

if this reading is accepted, it would not make much difference in the extent of Āryāvarta. The fact stands out that the western Panjab is definitely excluded from Āryāvarta by Patañjali, Baudhāyana and Vasiṣṭha alike.

Manu's definition of Āryāvarta (II. 22) is rather vague :—

आसमुद्रात्तु वै पूर्वादा समुद्रात्तु पश्चिमात् ।
तयोरेवान्तरं गिर्योरार्यावर्तं विदुर्बुधाः॥

Before Āryāvarta, Manu has defined Brahmāvarta, the holiest of lands, between the rivers Sarasvatī and Dṛṣadvatī (Chitrung in the Panjab[9]), Brahmarṣideśa including Kurukṣetra,[10] Matsya, Pañcāla and Śūrasena, and Madhyadeśa between the Himālaya and the Vindhya, west of Prayāga and east of the place where the Sarasvatī disappears. It is certain that Manu's Āryāvarta included all these regions, but whether it included something else to the west is not clear.

Viṣṇu's elastic definition (LXXXIV. 4) does not necessarily restrict Āryāvarta to northern India :—

चातुर्वर्ण्यव्यवस्थानं यस्मिन्देशे न विद्यते ।
स म्लेच्छदेशो विज्ञेय आर्यावर्तस्ततः परः ॥

2. We now pass on to Patañjali's definition of Śiṣṭa, whose customs and behaviour were to be, according to all authorities, the model to be followed. On Pāṇini, VI. 3. 109, Patañjali says :—

के पुनः शिष्टाः । वैयाकरणाः । कुत एतत् । शास्त्रपूर्विका हि शिष्टिर्वैयाकरणाश्च शास्त्रज्ञाः । यदि तर्हि शास्त्रपूर्विका शिष्टिः शिष्टिपूर्वकं च शास्त्रं तदितरेतराश्रयं भवति । इतरेतराश्रयं च न प्रकल्पन्ते । एवं तर्हि निवासत आचारतश्च । स आचार आर्यावर्त एव । कः पुनरार्यावर्तः । प्रागादर्शात् etc. (quoted above) । एतस्मिन्निवासे ये ब्राह्मणाः कुम्भीधान्या अलोलुपा अगृह्यमाणकारणाः किंचिदन्तरेण कस्याश्चिद्विद्यायाः पारगास्ते शिष्टाः ।[11]

"Who are the *Siṣṭas*, cultured? The grammarians. How is that? The basis of culture is the Śāstras and the grammarians know

9 *JRAS.*, 1893, p. 58.

10 But the *Mahābhārata* (ed. Krishnasastri, Bombay, III. 83. 4 and 25) would place Kurukṣetra between the Sarasvatī and Dṛṣadvatī :—

दक्षिणेन सरस्वत्या दृषद्वत्युत्तरेण च । ये वसन्ति कुरुक्षेत्रं ते वसन्ति त्रिविष्टपे ॥

'He who lives in Kurukṣetra, to the south of the Sarasvatī and the north of the Dṛṣadvatī, resides in heaven.'

11 Vol. III, p. 174.

the Śāstras. So, if culture is derived from the Śāstras, and the Śāstras are based on the behaviour of the cultured, a vicious circle is established. But (the learned) do not take recourse to a vicious circle. So (the Śiṣṭas are to be known) from their residence and customs. And (authenticated) customs exist only in Āryāvarta. What is Āryāvarta? East of Adarśa, etc. (quoted above). In this region, those Brāhmaṇas are Śiṣṭas who store grain for ten days, who are not greedy, for whose actions no (mundane) motive is perceptible and who are proficient even in the matter of anything."

Baudhāyana, I. 1. 1. 4-6 and I. 1.2.9 says:—

शिष्टाः खलु विगतमत्सरा निरहंकाराः कुम्भीधान्या अलोलुपा दम्भदर्पलोभमोहक्रोधविवर्जिताः। प्रागादर्शात् etc. (quoted above)। तस्मिन् य आचारः स प्रमाणम्।

Vasiṣṭha, I. 4-9 has:—

श्रुतिस्मृतिविहितो धर्मः। तदलाभे शिष्टाचारः प्रमाणम्। शिष्टः पुनरकामात्मा। अगृह्यमाणकारणो धर्मः। आर्यावर्तः प्रागादर्शात् etc. (quoted above)। तस्मिन् देशे ये धर्मा ये चाचारास्ते सर्वत्र प्रत्येतव्याः।

Vasiṣṭha has another definition of Śiṣṭa (VI. 42-3), which corresponds, with slight variations, to Manu, IV. 177 and XII. 109:—

न पाणिपादचपलो न नेत्रचपलो भवेत्।
न च वाग्गात्रचपल इति शिष्टस्य गोचरः॥[12]
पारंपर्यागतो येषां[13] वेदः सपरिबृंहणः।
ते शिष्टा ब्राह्मणा ज्ञेयाः श्रुतिप्रत्यक्षहेतवः॥

Apastamba has nothing to say on this point, but we may note the following passages, I. 4. 12. 8. and II. 11. 29. 14:—

आर्जवमयो ह्यगृह्यमाणकारणः। सर्वजनपदेष्वेकान्तसमाहितमार्याणां वृत्तं सम्यग् विनीतानां श्रद्धानामात्मवतामलोलुपानामदाम्भिकानां वृत्तसादृश्यं भजेत।

3. Patañjali on Pāṇini, II. 3. 35:—

दूरादावसथान्मूत्रं दूरात्पादावसेचनम्।
दूराच्च भाव्यं दस्युभ्यो दूराच्च कुपिताद्गुरोः॥[14]

"One should void urine at a distance from one's residence, should (also) wash his feet at a distance, should remain at a distance from robbers as well as the angry teacher."

12 For a partial parallel, see Gautama, I. 9. 50.

13 Manu, like Baudhāyana, I. 1. 1. 6, reads धर्मेणाधिगतो यैस्तु।

14 Vol. I, p. 457.

Manu, IV. 151 :—

दूरादावसथान्मूत्रं दूरात्पादावसेचनम् ।
उच्छिष्टान्नं निधेर्कं च दूरादेव समाचरेत् ॥[15]

Āpastamba, I. 11. 31. 2 :—

आराच्चावसथान्मूत्रपुरीषे कुर्यात्... ।

Gautama, I. 9. 39 :—

नाराचावसथात् ।

Yājñavalkya, I. 154 :—

दूरादुच्छिष्टविण्मूत्रपादाम्भांसि समुत्सृजेत् ।

4. Patañjali on Pāṇini, III. 2. 8. :—

या ब्राह्मणी सुरापी भवति
नैनां देवाः पतिलोकं नयन्ति ।[16]

"The Brāhmaṇī who drinks wine, the gods do not lead to the land of the husband (after death)."

Vasiṣṭha, XXI. 11 :—

या ब्राह्मणी च सुरापी
न तां देवाः पतिलोकं नयन्ति ।
इहैव सा चरति क्षीणपुण्या-
प्सु लुग्भवति शुक्लिका वा ॥

5. Patañjali on Pāṇini VI. 1.84 :—

ऊर्ध्वं प्राणा ह्युत्क्रामन्ति यूनः स्थविर आयति ।
प्रत्युत्थानाभिवादाभ्यां पुनस्तान्प्रतिपद्यते ॥[17]

"The vital airs of the youth jump up with the approach of an old man. He sets them right again by rising and salutation."

This is identical with Manu, II. 120.[18]

6. Patañjali writes in his Introduction :—

अविद्वांसः प्रत्यभिवादे नाम्नो ये न प्लुतिं विदुः ।
कामं तेषु तु विप्रोष्य स्त्रीष्विवायमहं वदेत् ॥[19]

'To those who are not learned and do not know the proper lengthening of the name to three moras, one, coming back from a journey, should at will say, "It is I" (without any more ceremony), as if to a woman.'

15 Noted by Kielhorn, *loc. cit.*
16 Vol. II, p. 99.
17 Vol. III, p. 58.
18 Noted by Kielhorn, *loc. cit.*
19 Vol. I, p. 3.

This verse is not found in any Smṛti, but Haradatta quotes it as belonging to some Smṛti (*smṛtyantara*) under Gautama, I. 6. 5. As Haradatta was probably a great grammarian,[20] it is not impossible that the *Mahābhāṣya* was the source of his quotation. Cf. Manu, II. 123:—

नामधेयस्य ये केचिदभिवादं न जानते ।
तान्प्राज्ञोऽहमिति ब्रूयात् स्त्रियः सर्वास्तथैव च ॥

B. In most cases under this head it seems that Patañjali has put the passages in his own words in a short form in order to suit his purpose. In some, it is possible that he has quoted from some Smṛtis unknown to us.

1. Patañjali in his Introduction *et passim*:—

यो ह्यजानन् वै ब्राह्मणं हन्यात् सुरां वा पिबेत् सोऽपि मन्ये पतितः स्यादिति ।[21]

'He, too, who kills a Brāhmaṇa or drinks wine without knowledge perhaps falls (from his caste).'

Drinking of spirituous liquor is a *patanīya*-offence according to Āpastamba, I. 7. 21. 8. But Vasiṣṭha, I. 20, would class it under the *mahāpātākas*, a category unknown to Āpastamba. Baudhāyana, II. 1. 2. 1 ff. does not mention these sins in his list of *patanīyas*. Viṣṇu XXXV. 1, like Vasiṣṭha, has them as *mahāpātakas*.

2. Patañjali in his Introduction:—

तद्यथा । भक्ष्यनियमेनाभक्ष्यप्रतिषेधो गम्यते । पञ्च पञ्चनखा भक्ष्या इत्युक्ते गम्यत एतदन्येऽभक्ष्या इति । अभक्ष्यप्रतिषेधेन वा भक्ष्यनियमः । तद्यथा । अभक्ष्यो ग्राम्यकुक्कुटोऽभक्ष्यो ग्राम्यसूकर इत्युक्ते गम्यत एतदारण्यो भक्ष्य इति ।[22]

'For example, from the rule laying down the eatable things, one can understand those things which are not to be eaten. When it is said that (only) five five-toed animals may be eaten, it is to be understood that all the rest are not to be eaten. Or by forbidding the eating of something, those that may be eaten can be known. Thus, when it is said that the village cock or pig should not be eaten, it is to be understood that the wild cock or pig may be eaten.'

20 Bühler was 'not in a position to decide' if Haradatta was identical with the author of the *Padamañjarī*, a grammatical work. (*SBE.*, vol. II, p. xlvii, n. 3, *Apastamba*, p. viii). P. V. Kane regards the identity as 'highly probable, if not certain' (*History of Dharmaśāstra*, vol. I, p. 352).

21 Vol. I, p. 2 etc.

22 *Ibid.*, p. 5 etc.

Apastamba, I. 5. 17. 29, 32 and 37 and I. 7. 21. 15 :—

पञ्चनखानां गोधाकच्छपश्वाविद्गोधाखड्गशशपूतिसत्ववर्जम् । एकशफेष्ट्गवयग्रामसूकर-शरभगवाम् । कुक्कुटो विकिराणाम् । शुनो मनुष्यस्य च कुक्कुटसूकराणां ग्राम्याणां क्रव्यादसाम् ।

Baudhāyana, I. 5, 12. 1-5 :—

अभक्ष्याः पशवो ग्राम्याः । क्रव्यादाः शकुनयः । तथा कुक्कुटसूकरम् ।...भक्ष्याः श्वाविद्गोधाशशशल्यककच्छपखड्गाः खड्गवर्जाः पञ्च पञ्चनखाः ।

Vasiṣṭha XIV. 39,47,48 :—

श्वाविच्छल्यकशशकच्छपगोधाः पञ्चनखानां भक्ष्याः ।...खड्गे तु विवदन्त्यग्राम्यसूकरे च ।... ग्राम्यकुक्कुट...क्रव्यादो ग्रामचारिणश्च ।

Gautama, II. 3.27, 29 :—

पञ्चनखाश्वाशल्यकशशश्वाविद्गोधाखड्गकच्छपाः काककङ्कगृध्रश्येना जलजा रक्तपादतुण्डा ग्राम्यकुक्कुटसूकराः ।

Manu, V. 18, 11 :—

श्वाविधं शल्यकं गोधां खड्गकूर्मशशांस्तथा ।
भक्ष्यान्पञ्चनखेष्वाहुरनुष्ट्रांश्चैकतोदतः ॥
कलविङ्कं प्लवं हंसं चक्राह्वं ग्रामकुक्कुटम् ।
सारसं रज्जुदालं च दात्यूहं शुकसारिके ॥

Yājñavalkya, I, 177, 172 :—

भक्ष्याः पञ्चनखा सेधागोधा कच्छपशल्लकाः ।
शशश्च मत्स्येष्वपि हि सिंहतुण्डकरोहिताः ॥
...सारसैकशफान् हंसान् सर्वांश्च ग्रामवासिनः ॥

3. Patañjali under Pāṇini's *Sivasūtras*, 3 and 4 :—

तैलं न विक्रेतव्यं मांसं न विक्रेतव्यम् ।[23]

'One should not sell oil and flesh.'

Apastamba, I. 7. 20. 13, 12 :—

तिलखल्लांस्त्वेव धान्यस्य विशेषेण न विक्रीणीयात् ।...धान्यं मांसमायुधं सुकृताशां च ।

Vasiṣṭha, II. 29, 26 :—

धान्यानां तिलानाहुः ।...मांसं च क्षीरं च ।

Gautama, I. 7. 9 :—

गन्धरसकृतान्नतिलशाणक्षौमाजिनानि ।

Manu, X. 88 :—

अपः शस्त्रं विषं मांसं सोमं गन्धांश्च सर्वशः ।
क्षीरं क्षौद्रं दधि घृतं तैलं मधु गुडं कुशान् ॥

23 Vol. I, p. 25.

4. Patañjali under Pāṇini's *Śivasūtras*, 3 and 4:—

लोमनखं स्पृष्ट्वा शौचं कर्तव्यम् ।[24]

'One ought to purify oneself after touching hairs and nails.'

Manu, IV. 144:—

अनातुरः स्वानि खानि न स्पृशेदनिमित्ततः ।
रोमाणि च रहस्यानि सर्वाण्येव विवर्जयेत् ॥

5. Patañjali under Pāṇini, I. 1. 56:—

गुरुवदस्मिन् गुरुपुत्रे वर्तितव्यमन्यत्रोच्छिष्टभोजनात् पादोपसंग्रहणाच्च ।[25]

'One should behave to one's teacher's son in the same way as to one's teacher, except taking the residue of his food and washing his feet.'

Āpastamba, I. 2. 7. 30:—

उच्छिष्टाशनवर्जमाचार्यवदाचार्यपुत्रे वृत्तिः ।

Gautama, I. 2. 37-8:—

तद्भार्यापुत्रेषु चैवम् । नोच्छिष्टाशनक्षापनप्रसाधनपादप्रक्षालनोन्मर्दनोपसंग्रहणानि ।

Vasiṣṭha, XIII. 54:—

...गुरुवद् गुरुपुत्रस्य वर्तितव्यमिति श्रुतिः ।

Baudhāyana, I. 2. 3. 36:—

उच्छिष्टवर्जनं तत्पुत्रेऽनूचाने वा ।

Manu, II. 207, 209:—

श्रेयःसु गुरुवद् वृत्तिं नित्यमेव समाचरेत् ।
गुरुपुत्रे च्यवार्येषु गुरोश्चैव स्वबन्धुषु ॥
उत्सादनं च गात्राणां स्नापनोच्छिष्टभोजने ।
न कुर्याद् गुरुपुत्रस्य पादयोश्चावनेजनम् ॥

6. Patañjali on Pāṇini, II. 2. 6:—

अब्राह्मणोऽयं यस्त्विहन् मूलयति ।[26]

Manu, IV. 47:—

न समुत्त्वेषु गर्तेषु न गच्छन्नापि च स्थितः ।
न नदीतीरमासाद्य न च पर्वतमस्तके ॥

7. Patañjali on Pāṇini, II. 4. 8:—

अथवा येषां गोचर्मैमात्रं राशिं हत्वा न पतति ते क्षुद्रजन्तवः ।[27]

'Small animals are those, by killing an ox-hide load of which one does not fall (from caste).'

24 Vol. I, p. 25.
25 *Ibid.*, p. 135.
26 *Ibid.*, p. 411.
27 *Ibid.*, p. 474.

Vasiṣṭha, XXI. 25 :—

अनस्थिमतां तु सत्त्वानां गोमांसं राशि हत्वा कृच्छ्रं द्वादशरात्रं चरेत् किंचिद् दद्यात् ।

Gautama, III. 4. 21 :—

अनस्थिमतामनड्वुद्धारे च (वैश्यवत्प्रायश्चित्तम्) ।

8. Patañjali on Pāṇini, III. 2. 93 :—

कर्मणि कुत्सित इति वक्तव्यम् । इह मा भूत् । धान्यविक्रायः ।[28]

In the rule कर्मण्णिन्विक्रियः, Pāṇini says that the suffix *ini* may be added to the root *krī* prefixed with *vi*, when joined with an object. Patañjali adds that the suffix is to be added only when the sale of the thing is forbidden, and that in such cases as the sale of corn (*dhānya*) the suffix is not applicable. Obviously the sale of corn is not forbidden according to him.

But Āpastamba, I. 7. 20. 12 forbids the sale of corn :—

धान्यं मांसमायुधं सुकृताशां च ।

But as this prohibition of Āpastamba is not found in any other law-book, it may be possible that Āpastamba specially forbids the sale of some grains in particular, as he himself says in the following *sūtra* :—

तिलतण्डुलांस्त्वेव धान्यस्य विशेषेण न विक्रीणीयात् ॥

9. Patañjali on Pāṇini, V. 2. 59 :—

श्मशाने नाध्येयं चतुष्पथे नाध्येयमिति...नामावास्यायां न चतुर्दश्याम् ।[29]

'One should not read on the burial ground, on the crossing of four roads, on the new-moon day and the fourteenth day of the fortnight.

Āpastamba, I. 3. 9. 6, 28 :—

श्मशाने सर्वतः शम्याप्रासात् । अहोरात्रमावास्यासु ।[30]

Baudhāyana, I. 11. 21. 4, 22 :—

पौर्णमास्यष्टकामावास्या...श्मशान...तीर्थप्रयाणेष्वहोरात्रमनध्यायः ।
हन्त्यष्टमी ह्युपाध्यायं हन्ति शिष्यं चतुर्दशी ।
हन्ति पञ्चदशी विद्यां तस्मात्पर्वेति वर्जयेत् ॥

Gautama, II. 7. 18, 35 :—

श्मशानग्रामान्तमहापथाशौचेषु । अमावास्यायां च ।

Vasiṣṭha, XIII. 13,22 :—

श्मशानान्ते । चतुर्दश्याममावास्यायामष्टकासु च ।

28 Vol. II, p. 112.
29 *Ibid.*, p. 386.
30 Haradatta adds: तासु च पूर्वेषु श्चतुर्दशीषु च ।

Viṣṇu, XXX. 15, 4 :—

न देवायतनश्मशानचतुष्पथरथ्यासु । नाधीयीताहोरात्रं चतुर्दश्यष्टमीषु च ।

Manu, IV. 116, 113 :—

...नाधीयीत श्मशानान्ते ग्रामान्ते सोत्रजेऽपि वा ।

...अमावास्याचतुर्दश्योः पौर्णमास्यष्टकासु च ॥

Yājñavalkya, I. 148, 146 :—

...अमेध्यशवशूद्रान्तरश्मशानपतितान्तिके ।

...पञ्चदश्यां चतुर्दश्यामष्टम्यां राहुसूतके ॥

10. Patañjali on Pāṇini, VI. 1. 84 :—

गर्भाष्टमे ब्राह्मण उपनेयः ।[31]

'A Brāhmaṇa (boy) should be initiated in the eighth year after conception.'

Āpastamba, I. 1. 1. 19 :—

गर्भाष्टमेषु ब्राह्मणम् ।

Baudhāyana, I. 2. 3. 7 :—

गर्भादिः संख्या वर्षाणाम् । तदष्टमेषु ब्राह्मणमुपनयीत ।

Gautama, I. 1. 6, 8 :—

उपनयनं ब्राह्मणस्याष्टमे । गर्भादि संख्या वर्षाणाम् ।

Vasiṣṭha, XI. 42 :—

गर्भाष्टमेषु ब्राह्मणमुपनयीत ।

Viṣṇu, XXVII. 15 :—

गर्भाष्टमेऽब्दे ब्राह्मणस्योपनयनम् ।

Manu, II. 36 :—

गर्भाष्टमेऽब्दे कुर्वीत ब्राह्मणस्योपनायनम् ।

Yājñavalkya, I. 14 :—

गर्भाष्टमेऽष्टमे वाब्दे ब्राह्मणस्योपनायनम् ।

11. Patañjali, *ibid* :—

त्रिर्हृदयंगमाभिरद्भिरशब्दाभिरुपस्पृशेत् ।

It seems that *upaspṛśet* means here *ācāmet*, for *upaspaṛśana* does not require the water to go down to the heart. The Vedic sense of the word was simply touching the water,[32] and it is in this sense that the word is used in the earlier Smṛtis. But later on, as in the above passage, it seems to have become synonymous with *ācamana*.

31 Vol. III, p. 57.

32 *S. Br.*, I. 1.1.1.

Apastamba, I. 5. 16.2 :—

आसीनस्त्रिराचामेद् हृदयंगमाभिरद्भिः ।

Baudhāyana, I. 5. 8. 18, 19 :—

शब्दमकुर्वन् । त्रिरपो हृदयंगमाः पिबेत् ।

Gautama, I. 1. 35 :—

...हृदयस्पृशाम्बिश्चतुर्वार आचामेत् ।

Vasiṣṭha, III. 26,31 :—

...त्रिराचामेदशब्दवत् । हृदयंगमाभिरद्भिरङ्गुष्ठोदाभिरकेनाभिर्मार्ष्टीति ।

Viṣṇu, LXII. 9 and Yājñavalkya, I. 21 :—

हृत्कण्ठतालुगाभिस्तु यथासंख्यं द्विजातयः ।

Manu, II. 60,62 :—

त्रिराचामेदपः पूर्वं द्विः प्रमृज्यात्ततो मुखम् ।...

हृद्याभिः पूयते विप्रः कण्ठगाभिस्तु भूमिपः ॥...

12. Patañjali, *ibid., et passim* :—

लोके तावत्...सुरा न पेयेति सुरामात्रं न पीयते ।

Āpastamba, I. 5. 17. 21 :—

सर्वं मद्यमपेयम् ।

Manu, XI. 95 :—

गौडी पैष्टी च माध्वी च विज्ञेया त्रिविधा सुरा ।

यथैवैका तथा सर्वा न पातव्या द्विजोत्तमैः ॥

C. The following Smṛti ideas occurring in the *Mahābhāṣya* are not found either *verbatim* or in substance in the extant Smṛtis :—

1. याज्ञिकाः पठन्ति। दशम्युत्तरकालं पुत्रस्य जातस्य नाम विदध्याद् घोषवदाद्यन्तरन्तःस्थमदृढं त्रिपुरुषानुकमनरिप्रतिष्ठितं तद्धि प्रतिष्ठिततमं भवति द्व्यक्षरं चतुरक्षरं वा नाम कुर्यान्न तद्धितमिति ।[33]

"The ritualists say : On the night of the tenth day or afterwards, the new-born child should be given a name, which should begin with a sonant, with a semi-vowel in it, which contains no long vowel, which was borne by any one within the third generation, and which is not current among the enemies. Such a name has a firm foundation. The name should contain two or four syllables and have no suffix."

The *Dharmasūtras* or *Dharmaśāstras* have no parallel to this

33 Vol. I, p. 4.

passage, but all the *Gṛhyasūtras* contain a similar rule. To quote only one, the *Hiraṇyakeśigṛhyasūtra* says:—

पुत्रस्य नाम दद्याद् द्व्यक्षरं चतुरक्षरं वा घोषवदाद्यन्तरन्तस्थं दीर्घाभिनिष्ठानान्तं यत्र वा स्त्रियुपसर्गः स्यात्। तद्धि प्रतिष्ठितमं विज्ञायते।[34]

Patañjali's above passage is obviously a quotation from some *Gṛhyasūtra*, but it seems that that text is no longer available to us.

2. य उदात्ते कर्तव्येऽनुदात्तं करोति खण्डिकोपाध्यायस्तस्मै चपेटां ददात्यन्यत्त्वं करोषीति।[35]

'The teacher slaps the student who pronounces an acute vowel as a grave one and says, "you are doing the contrary."'

The only point to be noted here is that though Patañjali speaks of slapping the student, some law-givers positively forbid any corporal punishment of the students[36]. Gautama, I. 2. 48-50:—

शिष्यशिष्टिरबधेन। अशक्तौ रज्जुवेणुचिदलाभ्यां तनुभ्याम्। अन्येन घ्नन् राज्ञा शास्यः।[37]

3. तद्यथा। माषा न भोक्तव्या इत्युक्ते मिश्रा अपि न भुज्यन्ते।[38]

'For example, when it is said that *māṣa* should not be taken, it is implied that mixed *māṣa* also is not to be taken.'

Māṣa is not a forbidden food in any of the Smṛtis. But according to the Vedic texts it is not a *yajñiya* food.[39] Even now the higher caste Bengali widows do not take *māṣa*.

4. अप्सु यायावरः प्रवपेत पिण्डान्।[40]

The term *yāyāvara* is known only to Baudhāyana, II. 6. 12. 1 etc.

5. पूर्वाह्णे दातव्या भिक्षा।[41]

Āpastamba, I. 1. 3. 25 allows begging both in the morning and evening. Similarly Viṣṇu, LIX. 14 allows giving alms at both these times. Manu, III. 94 and Yājñavalkya, I. 108 mention the gift of alms as one of the morning duties.

34 *Hiraṇyakeśigṛhyasūtra*, ed. Kirste II, 4, 10; cf. *Āśvalāyanagṛhyasūtra*, ed. Ganapati Sastri, I. 13. 5-6; *Kāṭhakagṛ.*, ed. Caland, III. 10. 2; *Pāraskaragṛ.*, ed. Stenzler, I. 17. 2; *Āpastambagṛ.*, ed., Winternitz, VI. 15. 9; *Mānavagṛ.*, ed. Benoytosh Bhattacharya, I. 18. 1. etc.

35 Vol. I, p. 41.

36 Are we to note here the hiatus between theoretical laws and actual practice?

37 Haradatta explains: हस्तादिना कोपवशेन ताडयन् राज्ञा शास्य आचार्यः।

38 Vol. I, p. 127.

39 E.g. *S. Br.*, I. 1. 1. 10.

40 Vol. I, p. 152.

41 *Ibid.*, p. 391.

6. तपः श्रुतं च योनिश्चेत्येतद् ब्राह्मणकारणम् ।
तपःश्रुताभ्यां यो हीनो जातिब्राह्मण एव सः ॥[42]

Cf. जातिब्राह्मण and जातिमात्रोपजीविन् in Baudhāyana, I. 1. 1. 16, Vasiṣṭha, III. 5 and Manu, VIII. 20 and XII. 144.

7. उपाख्यानं स्थूलसिक्तं तूष्णीगङ्गं महाह्रदम् ।
द्रोणं चेदशको गन्तुं मा त्वा तापां कृताकृते ॥[43]

'If you have been able to go to Upāsnāna, Sthūlasikta, Tuṣṇīgaṅga, Mahāhrada and Droṇa, (the bad acts) done and (good acts) not done will not be able to torment you.'

None of these places occurs in Viṣṇu's list of sacred *tīrthas*. (LXXXV). But two of them, Mahāhrada and Droṇaśarmapada, are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*.[44]

8. त्रीणि यस्यावदातानि विद्या योनिश्च कर्म च ।
एतच्छिष्यं विजानीहि ब्राह्मणाग्र्यस्य लक्षणम् ॥[45]

'Pure learning, birth and behaviour—these three are the auspicious signs of the superior Brāhmaṇa.'

There is no similar passage in the Smṛtis.

9. अष्टाशीतिः सहस्राण्यूर्ध्वरेतसामृषीणां बभूवुस्तत्रागस्त्याष्टमैर्ऋषिभिः प्रजनोऽभ्युपगतः । तत्रभवतां यदपत्यं तानि गोत्राणि ।[46]

'There were eighty thousand celibate Ṛṣis. Of them, some Ṛṣis with Agastya as the eighth obtained offspring. Their descendants form the *gotras*.'

Āpastamba, II. 9. 23. 4—5 says that the Ṛṣis who desired offspring went to damnation, while those who preferred to remain celibates attained immortality:—

अष्टाशीतिसहस्राणि ये प्रजामोषिरर्षयः ।
दक्षिणेनार्यम्णः पन्थानं ते श्मशानानि भेजिरे ॥
अष्टाशीतिसहस्राणि ये प्रजां नेषिरर्षयः ।
उत्तरेणार्यम्णः पन्थानं तेऽमृतत्वं हि कल्पते ॥

10. पूर्ववया ब्राह्मणः प्रत्युत्थेयः ।[47]

'One should rise to receive (even) a younger Brāhmaṇa.

42 Vol. I, p. 411 and vol. II. p. 363.
43 Vol. I, p. 430.
44 *Mahābhārata*, ed. Krishnasastri, III. 84. 144; III. 110. 34 and XIII. 25. 28.
45 Vol. II, p. 220.
46 *Ibid.*, p. 233.
47 Vol. III, p. 57.

There is no similar passage in the Smṛtis

11. आ वनान्तादोदकान्तात्प्रियं पान्थमनुव्रजेत् ।[48]

'One should accompany a dear traveller till the end of the forest or till one comes across water.'

This hemistich corresponds to no rule in the Smṛtis, though Vasiṣṭha, XI. 15 has a somewhat similar rule:—

आ सीमान्तमनुव्रजेदनुज्ञानाद्वा ।

But we are reminded of *Śakuntalā*, Act IV:—

उदकान्तं (v.l. ओदकान्तं) क्रियतामनुगम्यत (v.l. प्रियजनोऽनुगन्तव्य) इति सम्यतां (v.l. श्रूयते) ।[49]

The above passages speak for themselves, and it is hardly necessary to add anything by way of comment and conclusion. There is no passage in the *Mahābhāṣya* from which we can definitely say that Patañjali has borrowed from our present texts. The *Yājñavalkya-smṛti* is admittedly a late work, and any borrowing from it by Patañjali is out of the question. Patañjali's resemblance with the *Viṣṇusmṛti* is very meagre and casual, and we can be certain that Patañjali shows no acquaintance with that text. Of the rest, Āpastamba, Baudhāyana, Gautama, Vasiṣṭha and Manu, nothing can be said except without the greatest diffidence. There is one verse (classed as A 5 above) which is exactly the same in Patañjali and Manu, but it is impossible to say whether Patañjali has quoted it from the present *Mānavadharmaśāstra* or the earlier *Mānavadharma-sūtra*, which is considered to be the original of the present text.

AMALANANDA GHOSH

48 Vol. I, p. 340.

49 *Śakuntalā*, ed. Pischel, 1922, p. 53.

Prince Shah Jahan in Bengal

(as described in Baharistan-i-Ghaibi)

[In the previous issue of the Quarterly, the materials of *Baharistan-i-Ghaibi* relating to Shah Jahan's career in Bengal have been utilised by Prof. Sudhindra Nath Bhattacharya. Though the present paper traverses the same ground, it has a value of its own as Prof. Sri Ram Sharma is offering here an abridged translation of the original which will be useful to future writers on this topic. In this connection, the attention of the readers may be drawn to Prof. Sri Ram Sharma's translations of other portions of the Ms. published in the *JIH.*, vols XII & XIII—Editor].

[The rebellion of Prince Shah Jahan against Nur Jahan's domination over his father's counsels began and ended in the Deccan. But the most daring part of this struggle was Shah Jahan's capture of Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and a part of the United Provinces. The following account of this interesting episode is summarized from *Baharistan-i-Ghaibi* of Mirza Nathan (=Shitab Khan) who was an officer serving in Kamrup under Jahangir. He joined the ranks of the rebel prince who was his playmate. He rose to the governorship of Raj Mahal during this short period of confusion. He did not follow Shah Jahan to the Deccan after his departure from the province in January, 1625; but while Shah Jahan was in Bengal, he served him faithfully, so he himself tells us. His account clears up many confusions. It establishes definitely the chronology of Shah Jahan's progress and eventual discomfiture in these provinces. It adds to our knowledge of the causes of his defeat. It sheds some light on contemporary diplomacy, besides providing an account from within of this eventful period. Only one Ms. of this work is extant in the National Library, Paris. I am thankful to Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar for his kindness in allowing me access to his copies of the photographs and transcripts of this unique MS. The notes to this summary are based on all the available materials for the history of this part of Jahangir's reign printed and in manuscript. The citations from *Ma'āsir-i-Jahāngīrī*, *Sahih Sādiq*, *Bādshāh-Nāmah* by Mutamid Khan; *Pādshāh-Nāmah* by Qazvīnī, *Tārikh-i-Haqqī*, and *Kulliat-i-Qudsī*, are taken from the manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library, Bankipur. The reference to the travels of Abdul Latīf (Persian manuscript) is to Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar's transcript of the only manuscript known of this work. The edition of the *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* is the Lucknow reprint of Sir Sayyid Ahmad's edition with Mirzā Hādī's supplement. *Vīr Vinod* by Kaviraj Shyamal Dass is the D.A.V. College transcript of a part of this voluminous and authoritative work on the history of Rajputana].

Baharistan-i-Chaibi

Book III

Chapter 6

When Shah Jahan rebelled, he advanced from the Deccan to Manpur in Orissa. Here is a pass[1] where 500 marksmen could hold up 3,000 or 4,000 men but the Governor of Orissa Ahmad Beg's[2] men ran away. He left Orissa and sought refuge in Bengal.

Meanwhile Shah Jahan advanced, and Zamindars of Orissa showed him honour. He passed some days in Cuttock[3] and made arrangements for the government of that province. Chunika, the Portugese captain here, came to him and paid his respects. Shah Jahan paid him all honours as

1 The pass referred to is the Chatar Dowar Pass. Cf. *M'aāsir-ul-Umara*, 1.410; *Padshah-Nāmah*, 1.333.

2 Ahmad Beg was Ibrāhīm Khan Fatah Jang's nephew. He was governing Orissa on behalf of his uncle and had been here even before the appointment of Ibrāhīm as Governor of Bengal.

The *Iqbal-Namah* and following it most writers on the subjects (Cf. Beni Prasad's *Jahangir*, pp. 368, 369; *Riaz-us-Salātin*, p. 190; Stewart, *History of Bengal*, p. 252) try to explain away Shah Jahan's success by emphasizing that Shah Jahan's attack was all too sudden and Ahmad Beg was taken unawares. This is in direct contradiction to Jahangir's own statement in the *Tuzak*. The emperor had foreseen this natural move on the part of his rebel son, warned the Governor of Bengal and appointed Rustam Khan, Governor of Allahabad, in order to check the probable advance of Shah Jahan from Bengal to Delhi. (Cf. *Tuzak*, 281). Nur Jahan had also written to Ibrāhīm Khan, who was her brother, in the same strain. (*Tarikh-i-Haqqi*, Ms. f.78 a). The Governor of Bengal passed on the warning to Ahmad Beg and asked him to oppose Shah Jahan's march to death (*Amal-i-Sālih*, 1, 167, 168.)

It seems Ahmad Beg chose to disregard this warning though it is clear from *Baharistan* that he had posted a force to guard the way to Orissa. He set out on an expedition to Khurd and while there learnt of Shah Jahan's forcing his way into Orissa. He hastened to his capital Pipli and gathering all that he could carry away, fled to Cuttock. He did not think himself safe enough even here and fled to Burdwan. *Amal-i-Sālih* wrongly states that Ahmad Beg disputed Shah Jahan's path when he marched from Cuttock into Bengal. It has attributed Muhammad Sālih's stand against Shah Jahan at Burdwan to Ahmad Beg.

3 According to Sālih; 1, 179, Shah Jahan occupied Cuttock in the beginning of December, 1623.

an ambassador.[4] Muhammad Taqī[5] was now appointed *Subah*[6] of Orissa and created Panj-Hazari (commander of 5,000 horse) and Shāh Qulī Khān.

Ahmad Beg had tried to take Mirzā Sālih[7] from Burdwan to Raj Mahal but Sālih preferred to stay there. Shah Jahan came to Mednipur and left Muhammad Shah there. From thence he approached Burdwan. Salih opposed him there. The fort was besieged. Sayyid Feroz Jang, Raja Bhīm, Khwāja Sabar, Rao Mān Rūp, Raja Sārdūl, Sheyr Khwāja Drāz, Khwāja Ibrāhīm, Bāqū Khan and Bahadur Khan all pressed Sālih hard. But he would not submit. At last he surrendered the fort. His property was confiscated and he was carried a prisoner on an elephant. Burdwan was given as a jagir to Khan Dorān.[8] From here Shah Jahan marched to Raj Mahal. Ahmad Beg had been there beforehand and informed Ibrāhīm, who strengthened his garrisons in Jessore, Tippera, Bhalua, Sylhet and Kachar. He himself came to Raj Mahal. He left 500 horse and 1,000 marksmen in Dacca to take charge of his family under Adrak.

4 This probably refers to the negotiations of Shah Jahan with Rodrigues, the Portuguese Governor of Hugli. European accounts place this meeting at Burdwan. Rodrigues refused to draw the Portuguese into his quarrel but rather rashly chose to insult Shah Jahan by telling him that he would not help a rebel prince (*Travels of Manrique*, II, 323).

Another Portuguese, Tavares, accepted service under Shah Jahan. (Letter of Father Cabral in *Travels of Manrique*).

Manucci is responsible for the statement that the Portuguese carried away two slave-girls of Mumtaz Mahal and, despite Shah Jahan's repeated requests, refused to restore them. (*Storia do Mogor*, I, 176).

5 When Shah Jahan was put in command of the imperial expedition to Kangra in 1617, Muhammad Taqi was sent on his behalf in joint command of the expedition along with Raja Sūraj Mal. On his complaint he was recalled to become the Foidar of Malwa and commander of the garrison at Mandu. It was probably from here that he joined the rebel prince's train. (Cf. *M'āsir-ul-Umara*, III, 367.)

6 Orissa was not a province at this time. It formed a part of Bengal and was at best a sub-province.

7 Muhammad Sālih is mentioned in *Bādshah-Nāmah*, vol. I, part II, p. 307 as a commander of 1000. He died in the second year of Shah Jahan's reign.

8 Cf. *Iqbāl-Nāmah*, 218, 219. *Tuzak*, 392.

In ten days he reached Raj Mahal. Here he turned his son's mausoleum into a fort under his nephew Yusuf.[9] He himself encamped nearby. Shah Jahan sent I'timād Khan to Ibrahim promising to leave Aurangzeb with him in Bengal if he submitted. But this he would not do. The defences of his son's mausoleum were besieged and so was Ibrahim's camp.

Daryā Khan was sent to undertake this work. He defeated Ahmad Beg twice when he was despatched by Ibrahim against him. Ibrahim now moved with all his army. He also was defeated near Malda and Akbarpur and was killed. The Mausoleum-fort was mined on two sides. Shah Jahan's men entered it. The besieged dispersed on hearing of Ibrahim's death.[10]

Book IV

Chapter 1

Shah Jahan had Ibrahim's corpse searched and buried it in his son's tomb. A painter painted by order a picture of Abdullā Khan with a sword in one hand, and Ibrahim's head in the other. Bhīm[11] was left

9 The main fort of Raj Mahal had become defenceless on account of a change in the course of the river. It was also too big to be defended by the army which Ibrāhīm had been able to get together.

The mausoleum of Ibrāhīm Khan's son was better protected to withstand a siege. (Cf. *Iqbāl-Nāmah*, 219; *Amal-i-Sālih*, I, 179; *M'āsir-ul-Umarā*, I, 138.

10 Cf. the accounts of this battle in *Iqbālnāmah* 217 to 222; *M'āsir-i Jahāngīrī*, Ms. 181 b, 182 a and b; Mutamid Khan's *Bādshah-Nāmah*, Ms. 22 b; *Bādshah-Nāmah Qazvīnī*, Ms. 143 a & b *Subih Sādiq*, 1963.

M'āsir-i-Jahāngīrī (f. 182 b) records that Ibrahīm Khan was killed by Nasir Beg. Qazvīnī (f. 143 a & b) tells us that an attempt was made to murder Shah Jahan by Ibrāhīm's men when the prince was at Raj Mahal.

The battle at Raj Mahal was fought in April, 1624. In May 1624, Jahangir learnt of Shah Jahan's movements in Bengal up till the time of his letter to Ibrāhīm Khan (*Tuzak*, 392). *Amal-i-Sālih* (1, 184) places Shah Jahan's occupation of Patna early in May, 1624. *Baharistān's* account allows us to follow Shah Jahan's movements between the victory at Raj Mahal and the conquest of Patna, thus enabling us to arrive at the date mentioned above for the battle.

11 Son of Rana Amar Singh. He had been created a Raja on June 16, 1620 (*Tuzak*, 313) by Jahangir.

at Raj Mahal. This painting was sent to Patna and Mukhlis Khan was asked to surrender Patna.

Abdulla Khan was created Haft-Hazari (7,000); Daryā Khan Panj-Hazari (5000); Bahadur Khan, his son Cahār-Hazari (4000); Dalwar Khan, Sih-Hazari (3000).

Shah Jahan now moved to Malda. He sent a message to Shitāb[12] who had served under him to look after local affairs in his interest and to do what was needful and officiate as Subahdar. Orders were sent to Mirza Bahrām, Raja Lachhmī Nārāin, and Raja Satarjit to obey him.

Meanwhile in Kuch[13] there had been trouble. Shitāb Khān was for Shah Jahan. Bahrām was loyal. Shitab Khan came to Haju but would not see Bahrām. Then came the news of Ibrahim's death. Bahrām sent for Shitāb. Lachmī Nārāin, Satarjit and Madhu Sūdan became responsible for his safety and he went to Bahrām's.[14] There a copy of the Qur'ān was brought. Bahrām took the usual oath, Shitab put in an exception 'for the interest of the Aqā (master)'. They quarrelled on that, but Lachmī Nārāin acted as the peacemaker. Then came news from Kari Bari that Yakkā was coming with Shah Jahan's orders. Shitāb received him at Haju as if he were a royal messenger, became invested with the government of Haju and passed on the other Farmans to their recipients. He appointed Aqālqī as the Diwan, Bakhshi and newswriter.

Bahrām's house was surrounded by 500 men clamouring for the arrears of pay. Shitāb sent his own Diwan, Badri Dass, enlisted those men in the imperial service, and promised them the last two months' pay as well.

Shah Jahan advanced to Pathari and passed Sheykh Nūr's tomb at Pandua and paid as his offering Rs. 4,000. Devi Kot, Ghora Ghat, Badhi Bodha, and Yusuf Shahi were passed in turn and on the 9th day he reached Dacca. He had sent a messenger to Dacca to console Ibrahim's widow, who now submitted.[15] Here Shah Jahan spent a week.

12 The author of this history.

13 Kuch Bihar.

14 Lachmī Nārāin was king of Kuch Bihar from 1587 till its Mughal conquest under Jahangir. Satarjit was chief of Bhūsna and now a Mughal feudatory. Bahrām was Jahangir's commander in Haju.

15 A good deal of property and treasure fell into the hands of Shah Jahan at

Dārāb[16] Khan was created Shast-Hazari (commander of 6,000 horse) and Subahdar of Bhamati. Mulki Mirzā was appointed Diwan, Hadāyat Ullāh Bakhshi and Malik Huseyn, Treasurer, 'Alī Khān was given Jessore, Sāhib Sylhet, Bāqī Bhalva, and 'Ādāl Khan and Pahār Khan remained Mir Bahars as before.

Shah Jahan now left for Raj Mahal by boat. The first halt was made at Rasulpur where he went round the prophet's foot which Mausūm Kabuli had set up there.

An embassy from the Magh Raja[17] reached him there. He had 10,000 war boats and 1,500 elephants, 1,000,000 foot. Presents worth Rs. 100,000 were brought to Shah Jahan who also sent gifts. He gave back the Magh country to the Raja and wrote to him that he should hold himself in readiness to obey the Governor of Dacca.[18] Wazir[19] Khan was left at Dacca to prepare revenue estimates for the whole of Bengal in a week, and then re-join the emperor. The second halt was

Dacca. The *Iqbāl-Nāmah* (p. 222) estimates the cash above Rs. 4,000,000 besides elephants and horses.

16 Dārāb Khan was a son of Abdur-Rahim Khan-i-Khanan and a grandson of Bairam Khan. He had been under arrest so far. He was now released but his son, a daughter and a nephew were kept as hostages by Shah Jahan in his own train.

17 Raja of Arakan. Thirithudamma (1622 to 1628) was the Raja of Arakan at this time.

18 Of course Nathan's account of this embassy is highly coloured. The Rajas of Arakan were too strong at this time to be compelled to hold their country as a fief of the Mughal emperor. This embassy, however, seems to have provided the excuse for the Arakanese sack of Dacca in 1625. (Cf. Hervey, *History of Burma*, p. 143)

19 Born at Chiniot in the Punjab, Wazir Khan became a noted physician. His first important charge was the judgeship of Shah Jahan's entourage. He was Shah Jahan's Diwan Bayūtāt when that prince was sent by Jahangir against the Rana. During his service in Bengal under Shah Jahan he made Rs. ten to twelve lakhs but spent all that in Shah Jahan's service. He accompained Shah Jahan out of Bengal back to the Deccan. He rose to eminence after Shah Jahan's accession to the throne and died in 1640 as a commander of 5,000 horse and governor of Agra. He was governor of the Punjab for seven years from 1632 to 1639. Many spacious buildings at Lahore testify to his public spirit. He founded the town of Wazirabad in the Punjab. At Chiniot he built a protecting wall round the city, besides many of public roads, mosques, a school, a free hospital and several wells (*M'aāsir-ul-Umara*, III, pp. 933-936).

at Bikrampur, the third on the river Jatrapur, the fourth at Ali Pur, and the fifth at Raj Mahal. 'Itimad Khan[20] was left here as the governor. The Harem and the stores were left here except Mumtāz Mahal and the Begum Sahibah Muhammad Salih was appointed Bakhshi and Newswriter in Gaur as well as the Superintendent of Works and Darogha at Raj Mahal. One hundred and twenty elephants were also left here.

Shah Jahan now left for Patna. At Patna Wazir Khan rejoined him. Mukhlas Khan at Patna would not face Shah Jahan and, carrying as much as he could with him, he reached Allahabad, where Mirzā Rustam was. Zāhad Beg Bukhārī was appointed Subahdar of Kuch and was given a jagir there. He was created a commander of 3000 horse.

Shitab Khan, meanwhile, received Royal Farmans and marched towards the new emperor. He appointed his nephew Sheykh Muftah to be Subahdar of Haju and made other suitable arrangements. He sent Badri Dass in advance to Gilani. Passing Rangmatia, Patlava, he reached Dacca and learnt that the emperor had already left that place for Patna. Here he left his two sons and, borrowing Rs. 30,000 from his *mahājanas* (creditors), he set out for Patna. On the ninth stage at Khaplā Jawār he learnt that Zāhad Khan had been appointed Subahdar of Kuch. Naturally he was upset but continued his journey. The sixth day after this he reached Maltipur. Here he went to the shrine of Mir Sayyid Ahmad. It is a big place and can provide 300 men and their horses free fare. Shitāb who was a Murid (disciple) of Sheykh Farīd paid his respects here.

Afzal fell upon Shitāb's Bakhshi Badri Dass who repulsed him. At Bakti, Zāhad Khan's son Wazir Khan captured four female elephants of Shitāb. At Ghora Ghat all his elephants were taken by Zāhad Khan. Shitāb sent a message to Zahad Khan for returning the elephants which were meant for the emperor.

20 Probably I'timād Khan who died as a commander of 1,500 in the second year of Shah Jahan (*Bādshāh-Nāmah*, vol. I, part ii, p. 307.)

21 Mukhlas Khan had served as the Bakhshi and newswriter in Bengal before being appointed the deputy of prince Parvez in Bihar. He was a commander of 2,000. Patna was occupied in the beginning of May, 1624 (*Amal-i-Sālih*, I, 184).

Meanwhile Shah Jahan continued on his journey to Patna which he reached. Abdullah Khan was now sent in advance to Jaunpur where he arrived on the seventh day. Shah Jahan told Wazir Khan to give the whole of Bihar in jagir to the different officers, and he did so. The territory from Hajipur to Darbhanga was given to Abdullah Khan. An order was sent to S. Mubarak[22] at Rohtas[23] to surrender the fort, which he accordingly did and was created Cahar-Hazari (commander of 4000 horses). Rohtas was given to S. Muzaffar[24] who was created Haft-Sadi (commander of 700 horses). An order was also sent to Shitāb Khan to hurry to the emperor's side. On the receipt of this order on May, 26, 1624 at Maltipur, Shitāb Khan left at once for Patna. He reached the place in eight days and on June 3, he paid his respects to the emperor who was leaving for Jaunpur. He presented his *nazar* and wanted to go round the emperor nine times but after the third round he was prevented. Raja Bhīm asked Shah Jahan who the new man was. Shah Jahan told him that he was Nathan and a devoted old servant of his, who had grown up from childhood with him.

Abdullah now wrote to Shah Jahan that he was advancing on Allahābad and had heard nothing of Parvez or Mahābat Khan. Shah Jahan paid his respects at the shrine of Mīr Munīr, from whence he sent Muzaffar to Rohtas. Khan Dorau[25] was created Panj-Hazari, and appointed governor of Bihar and sent back to Patna. The heat was scorching. At every stage eight or ten men, four or five horses, an ele-

22 **Sayyid Mubārak** died as a commander of 500 in the 6th year of Shah Jahan's reign (*Bādshāh-Nāmah*, vol. I, part ii, 323).

23 **The fort of Rohtas was probably the strongest fort in India and the best capable of defence. It could stand a long siege, being self-sufficient in the matter of supplies and water. Cf. its description in the *Ain*, vol. II, pp. 152-153.**

24 **Sayyid Muzaffar**, son of Shujā'at Khan Barha, was commander of 1,000 (*Bādshāh-Nāmah*, vol. II, p. 735).

25 **Khwāja Sābar**, son of Khwāja Hasan, entered the Mughal service under Akbar and received a command in the Deccan. He deserted the Mughal cause, however, and joined the services of the Nizam Shahis. Here he rose so high as to acquire the title of Shah Nawaz Khan. He re-entered Mughal service by joining the establishment of Shah Jahan. Now he got the title of Nusrī Khan. He accompanied Shah Jahan in his march to Bengal, and was appointed governor of Burdwan and then of Bihar. He rose to eminence later under Shah Jahan when he became a commander of 7,000.

phant or two, and five or six camels would drop down dead. It was the month of Ramadan.[26] Very few men observed the fast. But Shah Jahan did so invariably. At Balya, Raja Nārāin Mal Ujjainya[27] paid his respects and was created Panj-Hazari and his brother, Pratap, Sih-Hazari (commanders of 5000 and 3000 horse). In Kuch, Bahram killed Jādu Nāyak. Zāhad Khan took Shitāb's elephants. Kuch despatches reached Shah Jahan at Chausa and he called in Shitāb when they were opened. He was appointed a commander of 2500 horse. An order was sent to Zāhad Khan to send to the emperor some elephants. Frantic efforts were made at this time to make the elephants cross the river. At last Shitāb succeeded in transporting them over the river with the help of boats. He was ordered to remain with the emperor. At the fifth stage the mouth of the river Gomati was reached. Abdullah's despatches announced that Allahabad had not been opened to him and he was closely investing it.[28] He had already captured Kara Manakpur.

Chapter II

Shah Jahan now reached Jaunpur. The next day he ordered Raja Bhim and other Rajputs to cross the Ganges and post a garrison at Arail. Abdullah was ordered to cross the Ganges opposite Allahabad and invest it well. Shujāāt Khan and Mútamid Khan were sent to Jhusi[29] to provide support for Abdullah. Daryā Khan, Dalwār Khan, Bahadur Khan, Heydar Khan and 2000 Afghan horse were sent to cross the Ganges opposite Kara Manakpur and close the river to the Royal troops. Another army was sent to ravage the country up to Charkhata. The artillery was now ordered to go up the river to Allahabad under Khidmat Parast Khan.

26 Ramadan fell from June 7 to July 6 this year (1624).

27 Muhammad Sādiq, author of *Subh-i-Sādiq*, was in the fort of Allahabad with his father when it was invested. Cf. his account of these events in *Subh-i-Sādiq*, MS., 1926 to 1966.

28 Jhusi is opposite Allahabad on the other side of the Ganges. Arail was a part of Allahabad named Julalabas by Akbar (*Abdul-Latif*, 44).

29 The imperial commanders left the Deccan sometimes towards the end of March or the beginning of April. Parves struck his camp at Burhanpur on March 25, 1624, but had to wait for some time in Lāl Bāgh before Mahābat Khan joined him. They did not reach Allahabad earlier than June, 1624, certainly after the fall of Patna into the hands of Shah Jahan.

Shitāb was appointed Subahdar of Gaur and a commander of 4000 horse. He was to reside at Raj Mahal. He was asked to send Shah Jahan's harem to Patna and from thence to Rohtas where they were to remain. He was in charge of the country from Bhatia to Shahzadpur, Burdwan on Orissa side, towards Kuch to Mabrian (Mala Bhanga?), and towards N. India to Patna. Passing Chausa an Ghāzīpur, he reached Patna. His Peshkash (offering on his first appointment) was Rs. 70,000 sent by Mustafā Qulī Beg and Gopal Dass. He reached Raj Mahal and reported his arrival there to Shah Jahan at Jaunpur. His Peshkash was accepted.

Meanwhile Parvez and Mahābat Khan heard the news of Shah Jahan's doings in Bengal. Making satisfactory arrangements in the provinces of Ahmad Nagar, Ahmadabad, Khandesh, Malwa and Ajmer, they set out towards Bengal.[30] By way of Kalpi they reached Charkhata[31] and advanced on Manakpur.[32] Parvez sent letters to Rustam Khan who had surrendered Rohtas and Mukhlas Khan who had evacuated Patna. Mukhlas Khan took poison in his shame and died.

Parvez and Mahābat Khan now advanced upon Manakpur. Daryā Khan who was always in his cups did not accept the suggestion that Shah Jahan's supporters should intercept their passage across the river. At Allahabad Jahangir's officers were deserting to Abdullah who was pressing the siege very hard. Zabardast Khan Dakhni and Seyāst Khan had joined him already. Meanwhile an army was sent against Gopāl Jādūn at Chaunsa[33] who invested the fort. Paharmal, son of Bir Singh Bundeyla also came over to Shah Jahan and was appointed a commander of 5000 horse, one of his brothers was appointed a commander

30 **Charkhata** is situated on the road to Allahabad, Bihar and Bengal, at the confluence of the rivers Jumna and Sakaror. Access to the city was difficult till Shitāb-ud-din Ahmad Khan turned his attention to it and made it habitable by his public works and a bridge. As he had no son, when Abdul-Latif in 1608 passed through the city on his way to Bengal, it was almost a deserted city (*Seyr-Nāmah Abdul-Latif*, MS., 41, 42).

31 On the Ganges; *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol. I, p. 165.

32 Four miles west of Buxar town.

33 Five miles north-east of Benares. It became the scene of another decisive action, when Suleyman Shikoh defeated Shuja in February, 1658.

of 3000 horse, and three more brothers of 2000 horse each. Dara Shikoh and Aurangzeb were now sent to Rohtas.

Meanwhile Mahābat Khan collected boats and crossed the river and came in front of the fort of Mamakpur. Daryā Khan did not feel strong enough to face the enemy and took refuge in the fort. Abdullah now raised the siege of Allahabad, came towards Jhusi and informed Shah Jahan of what had happened. Shah Jahan now left Jaunpur and decided to cross over to Bahadurpur, thus putting the river once again between himself and his pursuers. He reached Benares and called back Wazir Khan and his army from Chaunsa where he was about to take the fort. He reached Bahadurpur and orders were given for officers far and near to bring their forces to that place. The European marksmen were also ordered to foregather there.

Parvez and Mahābat Khan reviewed their forces. There were 80,000 horse, 1,900 elephants, 100,000 foot. When Shah Jahan heard this, he also got his troops reviewed. There were 180,000 horse, 190,000 foot, 2,400 elephants, 500 war boats, and 1,500 pieces of artillery.[35]

When Mumtaz Mahal reached Rohtas, Murad was born.[36] Shitāb Khan was ordered to supply whatever was demanded by her.

Mīr Shams, Mas'ūd 'Alī, Ma'sūm Khan and other Zamindars now brought the boats and pressed Parvez's army hard.

Every day 500 to 1,000 men, and 4,000 to 5,000 horse, elephants, and bullocks were wounded and killed. The European gunners as well proved their worth so that Parvez's army was very well invested.

Shitāb Khan had been ordered to control all communications to and from Bengal. Thus a letter of Khan Dorān to Dārāb Khan complaining against Shah Jahan fell into his hands who forwarded it to Shah Jahan. Shitāb now got Shah Jahan's permission to send for his

35 The author has exaggerated the numbers engaged on both sides. Mu'tamid Khan in his *Bādshāh-Nāmah* (MS. f. 24 b) tells us that Shah Jahan had at this time 2,000 veterans and 7,000 new recruits. Mahābat Khan's forces are placed by the same authority at between forty and fifty thousand (f. 25 a). A letter of November, 1623 from the English Factors to their principals (*English Factories*, 1622-23, pp. 314, 315) places the strength of Shah Jahan's forces in Telingana at 4,500 horse, 500 elephants, 12,000 attendants.

36 On September 17, 1624 according to *Amal-i-Sālih*, I, 186.

children from Dacca. Dārāb Khan would not let them go unless he himself received an order from Shah Jahan. Shitāb complained to Shah Jahan. Meanwhile his sister would neither come nor allow his children to join him. Shah Jahan recalled Khan Doran from Patna and sent Wazir Khan there.

Khan Dorūn wanted to attack the imperial forces at Jhusi but Shah Jahan would not hear of it. However, he had left before Shah Jahan could prevent him and attacked the imperial garrison there with the result that Khan Dorān was killed. Ibrāhim and Daūd Khan, Dorān's son, were wounded. This made things a little difficult in Shah Jahan's camp.

Dārāb Khan's letters were intercepted by Shitāb and sent to Shah Jahan who was looking out for an excuse to call Dārāb Khan from Dacca. Shitāb was ordered to supply the necessaries to the fort of Rohtas as well as Wazīr Khān's armies. He sent, during the campaign, 320,000 maunds of corn, 4,000 maunds of gunpowder, 8,000 maunds of iron and stones to Patna; 1,500 maunds of gunpowder and 400 to 500 maunds of stones for Raj Mahal were collected. Seven lakhs of rupees were also sent to Wazīr Khan. The money was sent in leather bags, tied to five pumpkins by strings 200 yards long, and put under covers in the bottom of the boats.

When the 'Id came, Shitāb had the prayers read for Jahangir and Shah Jahan both, and rewarded the reader suitably. As every Mansibdar had to be responsible for feeding elephants, Elephant Guj Dolah was entrusted to Nathan. He sent money for his upkeep to the emperor who, however, passed it on to his Vakil, Bhīm Sen.

Dārāb Khan sent his men to Raj Mahal so that the pay of Qanungoyan Sardar might be met from there (Qanungoes stationed at Patna). Shitāb retorted that Dārāb Khan had been ordered by Shah Jahan to remit his Rs. 700,000, which he should at once send to Shitāb.

Shāh Qulī from Orissa asked Shitāb to recruit 5,000 men, pay them in advance what was necessary and send the accounts to him so that he might send the money.

Orders came from Shah Jahan that Sayyid Muhammad who had left Orissa and was creating disturbance in Basta, should be taken care of. If he submitted, well and good; otherwise he should be killed. Shitāb wrote to him and waited for his answer.

Khidmat Parast Khan, Mīr Shams and Ma'sūm attacked the Rajputs, their artillery did havoc among the Rajputs and they were successful in carrying away Guj Singh's[37] tents.

The next day they raided Parvez's camp and carried away his bed.

Mahābat Khan now retorted by luring the enemy's boats towards the river when he fired on them. Two boats were lost.

Dārāb Khan complained of Mirza Mukhlis, and Rai Coharmal Dass was appointed Diwan in his place and created a Commander of 500 horse.

Through him Shitāb was sent a flag and drums. He took them on his shoulders in turn and did Taslim thrice.

Shah Jahan's forces now moved from Bahadurpur and put the river Tons between themselves and the enemy. His battle fleet and the European fleet remained on the Ganges.

Khidmat Parast Khan was now sent to Rohtas. Mir Shams now turned faithless. The Bengal Zamindars and the Europeans remained behind and sent their assistants with Shah Jahan to the Tons.

Dārāb Khan was asked by Shah Jahan to join him, but he made excuses of the danger of Magh invasion and sent his son with 1,000 horse and 200 war-boats. Mīr Safī was appointed tutor to Dara. But along with Nārāin of Bhoena, Satarjīt's nephew, Ma'sūm Khan and the Europeans, he deserted to Parvez and took away the boats.[38] They attacked Patna and bombarded it.

Shah Jahan sent a messenger to Shitāb to put matters aright. The disguised messenger reached Shitāb Khan who sent a message to

37 Raja Guj Singh, Raja of Jodhpur, and grandson of Raja Udai Singh whose daughter, Jodha Bai, Salim had married. Shah Jahan was the off-spring of that union. He was thus Udai Singh's grandson and Guj Singh was his cousin.

38 It was probably at this time that the Portuguese Taveres, who had, as we have already noticed, joined Shah Jahan, deserted him. Cf. Manrique as quoted above, Khāfī Khan, I, 351, asserts, probably rightly, that this desertion was due to the hopes and temptations held out by Mahābat Khan to these Zamindars. But in view of *Bahāristān-i-Ghaibī's* account of these deserters it is difficult to agree with Khāfī Khan that all these Zamindars now joined the armies led by Parvez and Mahābat Khan. These desertions, again according to Khāfī Khan, reduced the numbers on Shah Jahan's side from 30,000 to 10,000; many of them looking out for chances of desertion.

Dārāb Khān's son to intercept these deserters and reach Dacca in order to help his father. Another messenger was sent to Dārāb Khan asking him to hasten to repair the ill done by the Bengal Zamindars. Shitāb sent a messenger to Tālāb Khan, Ibrāhīm's grandchild, who had to be besieged in his house. Meanwhile the hostile fleet reached Raj Mahal. Shitāb met the danger by posting elephants and 3000 horse and 5000 marksmen there. They could do nothing against him and took their way to Dacca. They tried to win over Shitāb Khan but failed.

Sayyid Shah Muhammad was persuaded by Shitāb Khan's men to accompany them to Raj Mahal.

Book IV

Chapter III

Shah Jahan wanted to prevent Mahabat Khan from crossing Tons.[39] He tried his best and at Kheria Garh[40] there was a continuous battle; every day 120 men on both sides were killed and from 100 to 200 men deserted to Shah Jahan. Mahābat Khan, however, succeeded in crossing Tons with 4000 men and 700 elephants. Narsingh Dev Bundela then followed him with 7000 horse, 12,000 foot, and 40 elephants. In a short time the whole army crossed over. Parvez also succeeded in crossing the river.

Shah Jahan now arranged his order of army. The van was led by Sheyr Khan, Khan Ibrāhīm, Usmān Daūd, his nephew, Dilāwar Khan, Sheyr Khan's son, Sadar Khan and some of his brothers. Three hundred tried elephants were in the front. Four hundred elephants, bullocks for fifty-seven guns and 5000 marksmen were also with them.

To their help were assigned Abdullah Khan, Nāsir Khan, Ahmad Beg, Mirza Asfand Yār, Muhammad Nur-ud-Dīn, Suhrāb Khan, and S'aādat Yār. Their contingents numbered about 2,000. The centre was formed by Raja Bhīm with Rao Mān Singh's Rajputs, 18,000 horse,

39 The Tons is the south-western Tons. It joins the Ganges on its right bank near this place. The battle that followed is known as the battle of Tons to later chroniclers.

40 On the Ganges. It has a strong fort (*Ain-i-Akbari*, I, 161).

300 elephants, and 2,000 marksmen. Raja Pahār Singh and Raja Ratanpur of Buxar and others with 17,000 horse, 300 elephants were on the left. Shuj'aat Khan with other Sayyids and 200 elephants formed the advance reserve.

Mahābat formed a van of 20,000 horse and 400 elephants. Narsing Dev Bundela with 3,000 horse and other Zamindars of Kalpi, Allahabad and the capital formed the centre with 5,000 marksmen. Guj Singh and all the Rajputs except Jai Singh were with elephants and 5,000 marksmen. Mahābat Khan and all the Mughals formed the advance reserve. Jai Singh, Mahābat Khan, and Parvez had 5,000 marksmen and 50 elephants.

Now both the armies waited for an auspicious hour to begin the battle. The 13th Muharram, 1034 (October 16, 1624) was fixed by Mahābat Khan as the auspicious day and Shah Jahan could not decline battle though his astrologers were of another mind.[41] Shah Jahan's van

41 Mu'tamid Khan (*Bādshāh-Nāmah*, f. 24 b) and Kāmgār Huseyin (*M'adsir-i-'Alamgīrī*, 188 a) state that Abdullah Khan and other advisers of Shah Jahan advised him to decline battle and slink away to Delhi via Lucknow. We are told that Shah Jahan's forces were hopelessly outnumbered, though *Bahāristān*'s figures, exaggerated as they are, do not give this impression. It is difficult to accept the relative strength of the armies as given by Mu'tamid Khan. Even after the desertion of the Zamindars of Bengal, Shah Jahan must have had a larger force than 2,000 veterans and 7,000 new recruits whatever that phrase may signify. He had been the master of Bengal, and Orissa and a part of the United Provinces for more than six months. In fact *Iqbālnāmah* brings the numbers on his side to 10,000 and reduces the number of the imperialists to about 40,000 (page 232). But even if that is granted it is impossible to agree with Mu'tamid Khan's version of Abdullah's advice that Shah Jahan should have escaped to Lucknow and thence made for Delhi. Situated as the two armies were, it would have been difficult for Shah Jahan to escape the imperial commanders, and, even if he did, to avoid pursuit.

Both these writers blame Raja Bhim for his foolhardiness in forcing this battle on Shah Jahan. We are told that Shah Jahan argued with him but in vain. We can understand the impatience of a Rajput leader to try conclusions with the enemy especially when that Rajput happened to be a member of the house of Udaipur. But it is difficult to understand what else Shah Jahan could have done in the circumstances. Khāfi Khan, (I, 325) asserts that Bhīm almost succeeded in creating so great a panic in the imperial armies as was about to lead to their flight. His death saved the imperial army. Thus the battle which Shah Jahan began, was not so hopeless as Mu'tamid Khan and Kāmgār would have us believe.

was defeated. Bhīm ran to help them and died fighting gallantly. The elephants fought as if maddened. Sheyr Khwāja died; Abdullah Khan ran away; and Pahār Singh Bundela deserted to Mahābat Khan. Shah Jahan's horse was shot under him. The second horse received an arrow and a soldier was about to attack Shah Jahan when he was killed by Shah Jahan's soldiers. Shah Jahan's soldiers deserted[42] him in large numbers. Abdullah Khan now rejoined Shah Jahan.

Shah Jahan now retired on Kheragarh and turned to Rohtas. Abdullah was asked to go to Patna direct. Shah Jahan reached Rohtas and remained there for three days. He was now deserted by many of his soldiers. He left Murad who was less than three months old here with Khidmat Parast Khan, and Bikramajit's brother, Kanhar Dass. He himself left for Patna with all his forces and treasure, arriving there in three days. Wazīr Khan received him.

Mahābat Khan remained in Bahadurpur a week and then reached the banks of the Son. Shah Jahan on hearing that moved on to Raj Mahal. Shitāb was told to build a fort which should command the whole of Bengal. Ten thousand labourers and masons were employed. Every 20 yards were entrusted to a Beg. The building of the palace was not undertaken as it would not have been well done in so short a time.

Dārāb Khan at Dacca tried to desert to Jahangir's side but could not.

Shah Jahan reached Patna on the sixth day. He sent orders to Shitāb to arrest the suspect chiefs, Salih, Shah Muhammad and others. Taj, the messenger, reached Raj Mahal, but could not see Shitāb as the Farman accused Shitāb as well of treacherous designs. Anyhow he reached Raj Mahal and Shitāb sent his explanation which satisfied Shah Jahan. Shah Jahan reached Raj Mahal. He was very much annoyed with Salih, Superintendent of Works, to find that no palace had been built for him and ordered that he should be taken to the Bazar and whipped publicly. Before Shitāb could intervene and ex-

Raja Bhīm's advice was not the result of rashness but of self-confidence which he nearly justified.

42 Mu'tamid Khan (*Bādshāh-Nāmah*, f. 26 a) states that Shah Jahan's train was looted by his own followers.

plain, he had been whipped 40 times; the rest of the punishment was excused. Tents were set up in the fort for Shah Jahan.

Shah Jahan was annoyed because Bengal, Sylhet and Orissa had all slipped through his fingers. Shitāb was writing to his sister when Shah Jahan took the letter and began to read. When he came to learn that Shitāb had suggested angrily to his sister to poison his family outright, Shah Jahan asked what it meant.

Shah Jahan remained here for three days. Shitāb spent Rs. 13,000/-. Shah Jahan went to hunt one day and Shitāb Khan accompanied him. They came across a tigress. Shah Jahan was in a Sukhpal and called for an elephant. While it was coming he busied himself in hawking. The tigress had been surrounded by elephants. Shah Jahan fired but unsuccessfully. The second shot hit her but did not do her much harm. He then allowed Shitāb to fire at her. But by that time she was gone.

Shah Jahan now moved on to the new fort with 3,500 marksmen. A bridge was also built on the Ganges in a fortnight.

Shitāb's nephew in Kuch did not behave well. One day Shah Jahan ordered bananas from his own fruitery to be sent to Shitāb but Aurangzeb had eaten them all.

There was trouble with Mubārak at Manakpur. He was surprised and killed by Chandar Bhān.

After twenty-four day's stay at Raj Mahal Shah Jahan left for the Deccan. When the first stage was passed, orders were given to kill all the deserters who had remained at Raj Mahal. One thousand deserters were killed. He left on Rabiu-uth-thanī 22 (January 22, 1625) as fixed by Chakar Patī, the astrologer. Shitāb's property was looted and very little was left of it. Two elephants were given to him for transport. The Ganges bridge was cut down after crossing the river. The third stage was at Batora. Here Shitāb took leave of Shah Jahan and came to Maltipur.[43]

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43 Cf. the accounts in *Bādshāh-Nāmah*, by Qazvinī, f. 142 b to 146 b.
Bādshāh-Nāmah, by Mu'tamid Khan, 22 b to 26 b.
Subih Sādiq by Muhammad Sādiq, 1962 a to 1966 b.
Tarīkh-i-Haqqī, Ms., 177 a to 187 b.
Ma'āsir-i-Jahāngīrī, Ms., 177 a to 187 b.
Kulliāt-i-Qudsī, Ms., contains an account in verse of the whole affair.
Iqbāl-Nāmah-i-Jahāngīrī, 231 to 234.
Amal-i-Sālih, I, 178 to 192.
Khāfī Khan, I, 344 to 347; 350 to 353.

The Smṛti-chapters of the Purāṇas*

I

The old canon of 'Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa' has really become obsolete with reference to the extant Purāṇas, almost all of which owe their bulk often to topics other than those laid in this canon. These topics relate to what is called Smṛti by the Nibandhas. In the Purāṇas we notice a remarkable improvement on Manu and Yājñavalkya with regard to the variety of Smṛti-topics, viz: Varṇāśrama-dharma, Saṃskāra, Ācāra, Āhnika, Vivāha, Aśauca, Bhakṣyābhakṣyā, Dravya-śuddhi, Dāna, Pratiṣṭhā, Utsarga, Vrata, Tīrtha, Tithi, Dīkṣā, Graha-yajña, Śānti, Homa, Pūjā, Sandhyā, Śrāddha, Strīdharma, Nīti, Rāja-dharma, Vyavahāra, Pātaka, Prāyaścitta, Naraka, Karma-vipāka, Yuga-dharma, Kali-svarūpa, Kali-varjya, and Gotra and Pravara. The chapters in which these topics have been dealt with in the Purāṇas are valuable records of the changes of customs and usages that took place during the long period ranging from Yājñavalkya to the Nibandhas. So the chronology of these chapters is of no little importance for tracing the course of these changes.

Though the Smṛti-topics have been dealt with elaborately in a good number of chapters in the Purāṇas, very few of these are given exclusively to any particular topic. Hence the difficulty of making a strict classification of these chapters according to the topics. We shall, however, satisfy ourselves with a rough classification for the sake of convenience.

To begin with the chapters dealing with Varṇa-dharma, Āśrama-dharma, Ācāra and Āhnika, let us take up the *Mārkaṇḍeya—Purāṇa* (henceforth abbreviated as *Mārk.-P.*) first. Of the various editions of this Purāṇa (viz: the Vaṅga-vāsī edition, the Veṅkaṭeśvara Press edition, the edition of the Bibliotheca Indica series and Jīvānanda's

* In writing this paper as well as the previous article on Raghunandana, the author was guided by his Professor, Dr. S. K. De, to whom, therefore, his best thanks are due.

edition) the Vaṅgavāsī edition has been used in the following pages. In this edition chapter 28 deals with Varṇa-dharma and Āśrama-dharma, chapter 29 with Āśrama-dharma and chapter 34 with Ācāra. These chapters correspond respectively to chapters 25, 26 (except verses 12-13a) and 31 (except verses 18a, 44b, 82, 87b-88a, 91a, and 101a) in the Veṅkat. edition and to chapters 28, 29 and 34 in the editions of Jīvānanda and the Bibliotheca Indica series. Though the above mentioned chapters occurring in these different editions often vary in readings, the variations are not many and important.

The Smṛti-chapters (28-35 including the chapters on funeral rites) of the *Mārk.-P.* form part of the story of Alarka and Madālasā which is interwoven in the story of Sumati (also called Jaḍa) and his father Mahāmati (*Mārk.-P.*, chapters 10-44). This story of Sumati and his father is a lengthy amplification of the dialogue between Medhāvin and his father found in one of the latest books of the *Mahābhārata*[1] (viz: XII, 175 and 277). Hence it can be supposed that the story of Sumati (or Jaḍa) was inserted into the *Mārk.-P.* after the *Mahābhārata* had attained its final form. This supposition is strengthened by the information, regarding the nature of the contents of the *Mahābhārata*, that is supplied by the *Mārk.-P.* in chapter 1, wherein Jaimini approaches the sage Mārkaṇḍeya for the solution of some doubts raised in his mind by the study of the *Mahābhārata*. Before giving vent to his doubts, Jaimini praises the *Mahābhārata* as

* * भारतास्थानं व्यासनोक्तं महात्मना ।
पूर्णमलमलैः शब्दैर्नानाशास्त्रसमुद्भवैः ॥
जातिशुद्धिसमायुक्तं साधुशब्दोपशोभितम् ।
पूर्वपक्षोक्तिसिद्धान्तपरिनिष्ठासमन्वितम् ॥
* * * * * *
* * सर्वशास्त्राणां महाभारतमुत्तमम् ॥
अस्यार्थश्चैव धर्मश्च कामो मोक्षश्च वर्ण्यते ।
परस्परानुबन्धाश्च सानुबन्धाश्च ते पृथक् ॥

1 Edited by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.

धर्मशास्त्रमिदं श्रेष्ठमर्थशास्त्रमिदं परम् ।
कामशास्त्रमिदञ्चाग्र्यं मोक्षशास्त्रं तथोत्तमम् ॥
चतुराश्रमधर्माणामाचारस्थितिसाधनम् ।
* * * * * *
* * महाशास्त्रं विरोधैर्नाभिभूयते ॥
* * * * * *
* * * महाख्यानपराम्बुजम् ॥
* * * * * *
* * * बह्वर्थं श्रुतिविस्तरम् ॥

From this it is clear that at the time of composition of at least *Mārk.-P.*, I, 1-22 the *Mahābhārata* came to be regarded as the best Dharma-śāstra, the greatest Artha-śāstra, the foremost Kāma-śāstra and the highest Mokṣa-śāstra. That *Mārk.-P.*, I, 1-22 could not have been added later than the story of Sumati is evidenced by the fact that it is in this part of the chapter that Mārkaṇḍeya refers Jaimini to the four birds who solve his doubts and act as reporters of the story of Sumati. A comparison between *Mārk.-P.*, 34 (dealing with Ācāra) and *Mahābhārata*, XIII, 104 also shows that the former has the latter as its prototype (cf. *Mbh.*, XIII, 104, verses 4969, 4973b-74, 4976, 4991, 4995, 5002b, 5006, 5013b, etc. with *Mārk.-P.*, 34, verses 17, 61b, 62b-63a, 21, 47b, 48b, 50b, 52b-53a, 24b, etc). The *Mbh.*, XIII, 104 has many lines borrowed from the *Code of Manu;* the style is often defective and elaborate; and the contents are not arranged properly. In *Mārk.-P.*, 34 plagiarism has been avoided as far as practicable and the subject-matter, though changed at places, has been dealt with in improved and terse language. The few lines of Manu, which have been retained, have not escaped changes more or less. The readings of these lines, when compared with those occurring in *Mbh.*, XIII. 104 and the *Code of Manu*, show that the *Mbh.* approaches more to the *Code of Manu* than the *Mārk.-P.* does.

From what has been said above it seems highly probable that the story of Sumati was inserted into the *Mārk.-P.* after the Great Epic had attained its present extent, contents and character. Regarding the approximate dates of the different strata in the *Mbh.* Hopkins says.

"We may tentatively assume as approximate dates of the whole work in its different stages. Bhārata (Kuru) lays, perhaps combined into one, but with no evidence of an epic before 400 B.C. A Mahābhārata tale with Pāṇḍu heroes, lays and legends combined by the Puranic diaskeuasts, Kṛiṣṇa as a demi-god (no evidence of didactic form or of Kṛiṣṇa's divine supremacy), 400-200 B.C. Remaking of the epic with Kṛiṣṇa as all-god, intrusion of masses of didactic matter, addition of Purāṇic material old and new, multiplication of exploits, 200 B.C. to 100-200 A.D. The later books added with the introduction to the first book, the swollen Anuśāsana separated from Śānti and recognised as a separate book, 200 to 400 A.D.; and finally 400 A.D.+ : occasional amplifications."[2]

On the strength of this chronological scheme, which is the most acceptable of all that have been put forth, we may hold that the story of Sumati as found in the *Mārk.-P.*, cannot possibly be earlier than 200 A.D.

The story of Sumati, including that of Alarka, extends from *Mārk.-P.*, 10 to 44 and at the beginning of chapter 45 Jaimini praises the birds saying:—

"सम्यगेतन्ममाख्यातं भवद्भिर्द्विजसत्तमाः ।
प्रवृत्तिश्च निवृत्तिश्च द्विविधं कर्म वैदिकम् ॥
* * * *
प्रवृत्ते च निवृत्ते च भवतां ज्ञानकर्मणि ।
मतिर्मत्तमलां मन्ये यथा नान्यस्य कस्यचित् ॥
* * * *"

These references to Pravṛtti and Nivṛtti-dharma certainly point to chapters 28-35 dealing with Pravṛtti-dharma and to chapters 39-43 dealing with Nivṛtti-dharma or Yoga. Now, chapter 45, which glorifies Brahmā as unborn, imperishable, changeless, incomparable (*anaupamya*) etc. and thus identifies him with the Supreme Brahman of the Upaniṣads, certainly belongs to the Brahmā sect. The opinion of scholars that the sect of Brahmā became prominent during the period ranging from 200 to 600 A.D. and that the five-gods of the Smārtas threw Brahmā into the background towards the beginning of the seventh century[3] tends to show that the chapters dealing with Pravṛtti and Nivṛtti dharma cannot be later than the seventh century A.D.

2 Hopkins, *The Great Epic of India*, pp. 397-8 and 398-402.

3 Farquhar, *Outline of the Religious Literature of India*, pp. 148 and 179-180. Also cf. *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* (edited by Kern), chapters 58 (Pratimā-lakṣaṇam nāma)

In relation to the effect of performing the funeral rites under different Tithis and Nakṣatras, the latter are mentioned in the order from Kṛttikā to Bharaṇī in *Mārk.-P.*, 33, 8 ff. This order of the Nakṣatras is important. We know from the evidence of the *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* (I, 268—Kṛttikādi-bharaṇyantaṃ) and the latest books of the *Mbh.*[4] that the old arrangement of Nakṣatras from Kṛttikā to Bharaṇī was in vogue at least sometime after the beginning of the third century A.D. When this order of the Nakṣatras was changed we do not know definitely. It is only as late as about 550 A.D. that we find, in the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* of Varāha-mihira, the order of the Nakṣatras from Aśvinī to Revatī to be an established fact in all parts of India. So we can hold, and not quite unreasonably, that the old order of the Nakṣatras held ground at best up to the latter half of the fifth century A.D. Hence the chapters of the *Mārk.-P.* which deal with Smṛti-matter and Yoga cannot be later than the latter half of the fifth century A.D.

Mārk.-P., 33. 8 ff., which describe the results of performing Śrāddha under different Nakṣatras, seem to have been added later than the other Smṛti chapters, because in *Mārk.-P.*, 32, 38 (kāmyānāṃ śrūyatāṃ vatsa śrāddhānāṃ tithi-kīrtanam), which points to the subject-matter of the chapter to follow, there is no mention of the Nakṣatras. If a gap of at least fifty years be allowed between this portion of *Mārk.-P.*, 33 and the other chapters, then the lower limit of the date of composition of these chapters should be pushed up to the beginning of the fifth century A.D.

Here a question may arise as to whether all the Smṛti chapters (of course, except 33, 8 ff.) of the *Mārk.-P.*, were inserted at the same time. Such doubt is removed by the fact that when, in *Mārk.-P.*, 26, Madālasā is about to give instructions on self-knowledge (*ātma-jñāna*) to the newborn Alarka, king Ṛta-dhvaja forbids her saying:—

"करोषि किमिदं मूढे ममाभावाय सन्ततेः ।
दुष्टावबोधदानेन यथापूर्वं सुतेषु मे ॥

and 60 (Pratiṣṭhāpanaṃ nāma) wherein there are rules for the construction and erection of the image of Brahmā, thus proving the wide spread of the worship of the god in Varāha-mihira's time.

4 Viz. XIII, 64 wherein the Nakṣatras are mentioned in connection with the effect of making gifts under these; XIII, 89 which describes the results of performing Kāmya-śrāddha under different Nakṣatras; and XIII, 110.

यदि ते मत्प्रियं कार्यं यदि ग्राह्यं वचो मम ।
तदेनं तनयं मार्गे प्रवृत्तेः सन्नियोजय ॥
कर्ममार्गः समुच्छेदं नैवं देवि गमिष्यति ।
पितृपिण्डनिवृत्तिश्च नैवं साधि भविष्यति ॥
पितरो देवलोकस्थास्तथा तिर्यक्त्वमागताः ।
तद्वन्मनुष्यतां याता भूतवर्गे च संस्थिताः ॥
सपुण्यानसपुण्यांश्च क्षुत्क्षामान् तृट्परिप्लुतान् ।
पिण्डोदकप्रदानेन नरः कर्मण्यवस्थितः ।
सदाप्याययते सुभ्रु तद्वद्वै वातिथीनपि ॥
देवैर्मनुष्यैः पितृभिः प्रेतैर्भूतैः सगुह्यकैः ।
वयोभिः कृमिकीटैश्च नर एवोपजीव्यते ॥
तस्मात् तन्वङ्गि पुत्रं मे यत्कार्यं क्षत्रयोनिभिः ।
ऐहिकामुष्मिकफलं तत् सम्यक् प्रतिपादय ॥"

This request of the king to his wife Madālasā to give instructions to Alarka about the duties of the Kṣatriyas and to train him in the Pravṛtti-mārga so that the manes may not be deprived of the offerings of water and rice-balls and the gods, men and lower animals may get their respective shares, presupposes the instructions on Rāja-dharma, Varṇāśrama-dharma and Śrāddha given by Madālasā to Alarka in chapters 27-35.

From what has been said above it is highly probable that the Smṛti-chapters 28-35 of the *Mārk.-P.* were inserted sometime about the third and fourth centuries A.D. From the nature of the contents of these chapters it seems that these were written before the beginning of the Gupta period during which the Brāhmaṇical religion in the new form of sectarian Hinduism was revived, for there is no trace of sectarian influence in them; on the other hand, the rules of Varṇāśrama-dharma are purely Vedic.

As regards the contents of *Mārk.-P.* chapters 28, 29 & 34 it can be said that little advance has been made over Manu. The duties of the four castes and their conduct are described almost after the Smṛti Saṃhitās. Innovations are found only in a few cases. In *Mārk.-P.*, 28, 7-8a the duties of a Śūdra are said to be three-fold viz: liberality, performance of sacrifices and service to the twice-born, and he is directed to work as an artisan, to serve the twice-born, to rear cattle, or to carry on

trade for his livelihood.[5] According to *Mārk.-P.*, 28, 15 a student who has finished his study is free to enter any stage of life he likes. This kind of freedom is against the opinion of Manu (VI, 39) who says "One who aspires after Mokṣa without studying the Vedas, begetting sons and performing sacrifices, is destined to go to hell." In *Mārk.-P.*, 29, 6-11 the house-holder is compared to a cow the limbs of which are the Vedas and the Vedic rites and in 29, 39 a rich man is advised to help his poorer kinsmen to get rid of his share of the sins committed by the latter in time of distress. In *Mārk.-P.*, 34, 10 a house-holder is advised to strive for Dharma, Artha and Kāma which will give him success in this world and the next; in 34, 11-12 he is directed to spend a quarter of his income for his own good in the next world and half of the same for his maintenance and the performance of compulsory acts and invest the remaining one fourth for increment; in 34, 50 all are advised to sleep with their heads turned towards the south or east; and in 34, 96ff. the methods of offering oblations to fire and of giving a portion of the food to the gods, manes etc. are described. It is to be noted here that of the four oblations the first is offered to Brahmā and the second to Prajāpati.

Though plagiarism has been avoided as far as practicable in these chapters, there are lines which have their parallels in the *Code of Manu*. For example, *Mārk.-P.*, 29, 29a; 29, 33a; 34, 8; 34, 17a-b; 34, 24a; and 34, 24b can be compared to Manu III, 102b; III, 82a; IV, 156b-157a; IV, 56a; IV, 78a; and so on.

These Smṛti chapters of the *Mārk.-P.* have been frequently drawn upon by the early Nibandha-kāras. For example, *Mārk.-P.*, 29, 22b-23a, 24b-25a, 26b-28, 29, 31, 33, 39 and 46 are quoted in the *Smṛti-candrikā* II, pp. 582, 588, 589, 567, 593, 564, 596 and 592 respectively; *Mārk.-P.*, 29, 33 and 35-36 are quoted in Aparārka's commentary on the *Yājñavalkya* Smṛti, pp. 146 and 153 respectively; Mārk.-P., 34, 52, 59 and 67b-68a, and 70b-71 are quoted in the *Smṛti-candrikā*, II, pp. 297, 614 and 268 respectively; and *Mārk.-P.*, 34, 53b-54, 63 and 109 are found quoted in Aparārka, pp. 173, 279 and 39 respectively.

5. दानं यज्ञोऽथ शुश्रूषा द्विजातीनां विधा मया ।
व्याख्यातं शूद्रधर्मोऽपि जीविका कारुकर्म च ॥
तद्धि जातिशुश्रूषा पोषणं कयविक्रयौ ॥

II

Varṇadharma, Āśramadharma and Ācāra are dealt with in chapter 14 of the *Vāmana-Purāṇa* (Vaṅgavāsī edition). This chapter corresponds to chapter 14 in the Veṅkaṭeśvara Press edition of the same Purāṇa. The variations in readings in these two chapters are almost nil so much so that one seems to be the reprint of the other.

A perusal of the extant *Vāmana-Purāṇa* convinces us of the fact that it has come down to us not in its original but in a changed form replete with interpolations made at considerably late dates. Consequently, the accounts, found in some Purāṇas, of the contents of the *Vāmana-P.* do not agree fully with our extant work bearing that title. Yet these accounts are sometimes of immense help in detecting the interpolated chapters. Regarding the contents of the *Vāmana-P.* the *Matsya-P.* has

'त्रिविक्रमस्य माहात्म्यमधिकृत्य चतुर्मुखः ।
त्रिवर्गमभ्यधात् * * *'

The title of the Purāṇa also suggests that it should deal with the exploits of Vāmana. But when we look into chapters 1-22 of the *Vāmana-P.* we are disappointed to find that these chapters have no connection with the Dwarf, nor are these narrated by Lomaharṣaṇa, as in other Purāṇas. On the other hand, these are narrated by Pulastya to Nārada. The main story of the *Vāmana-P.* seems to begin from chapter 23, the opening stanza possibly being *Vāmana-P.*, 22, 47 (of course, with some change in the third line). If we connect this supposed opening stanza with chapter 23, we have

सरस्वतीदृषद्वत्योरन्तरे कुरुजाङ्गले ।
मुनिप्रवरमासीनं पुराणं लोमहर्षणम् ।
अपृच्छन्त द्विजवराः प्रभवं (?) सुरसत्तमाः ॥
ऋषय ऊचुः ।
ब्रूहि वामनमाहात्म्यमुत्पत्तिञ्च विशेषतः ।
यथा बलिर्नियमितो दत्तं राज्यं शतक्रतोः ॥
लोमहर्षण उवाच ।
शृण्वन्तु मुनयः प्रीता वामनस्य महात्मनः ।
उत्पत्तिञ्च प्रभावञ्च निवासं कुरुजाङ्गले ॥

Such a beginning agrees considerably with the accounts contained in *Mat.-P.*, 53, 44-45a referred to above and in this case Lomaharṣaṇa becomes the narrator as is the rule with the other Purāṇas.

Some of the first twenty-two chapters (for example, chapters 2, 12-14, and 17-20) of the *Vāmana-P.* have been taken with some change from, or have been based on, chapters of other Purāṇas and Upa-Purāṇas viz: the *Mārkaṇḍeya* and the *Ādi* (? cf. *Vāmana-P.*, 2, 20प्रोक्तं ह्यादिपुराणेषु ब्रह्मणाव्यक्तमूर्तिना). Most of these chapters bear stamps of later ages. For example, chapter 5 mentions the Rāśis and the Nakṣatras arranged from Aśvinī to Revatī; chapter 6 informs us of the four divisions of the Liṅga worshippers, viz. Śaiva, Pāśupata, Kāladamana and Kāpālika; and so on. The portions in which these references to Nakṣatras, sects etc. occur may reasonably be supposed to be additions made in still later ages, but even then the spuriousness of these chapters is established by the nature of the stories, by the name of the narrator, and by their irrelevant charater as pointed out above.

We have seen that *Vāmana-P.* chapters 1-22 are later additions. Let us now proceed to determine the date of *Vāmana-P.* chapter 14 which deals with Smṛti-matter. This chapter is included in the story of Sukeśin which constitutes *Vāmana-P.* chapters 11-15, and is put into the Purāṇa on a chance allusion that serves as a clue to its narration. The outline of this story is as follows:

Sukeśin, the king of the Rākṣasas, worships Śiva and receives an aerial city of voluntary movement (11, 1-6). Once he goes to the country of Magadha and meets many sages who, on his request, narrate to him the twelve kinds of Dharma meant for the Devas, the Daityas, the Rākṣasas, the Mānavas, etc. (11, 7-28). Going to describe the Dharma of the Mānavas at the request of Sukeśin, the sages tell him of the divisions of the earth into islands (*dvīpas*), the areas, locations and inhabitants of the islands, and the hells to be found in the Puṣkara-dvīpa (11, 29-end). The mention of the hells rouses curiosity in Sukeśin to hear something of Karma-vipāka and the sages satisfy him accordingly (chapter 12). Next, the sages name the divisions and the sub-divions of the Jambu-dvīpa, enumerate the rivers, mountains and races of the Kumāra-dvīpa, one of the sub-divisions of the Jambu-dvīpa (chapter 13), and describe the duties of the castes and stages to be found

in the Kumāra-dvīpa (chapter 14). Sukeśin then repairs to his city and orders the practice of the Dharma proclaimed by the sages. By means of its practice, the Rākṣasas attain heavenly effulgence and as a result the Sun-god is enraged and causes the city to fall down on the pretext of the crime which the Rākṣasas have committed by forsaking their sva-dharma and accepting para-dharma. At this conduct of the Sun Śiva is enraged and casts the Sun-god down to earth. At last being propitiated he places the Sun-god and the city in their respective places (chapter 15).

The above outline shows that the story consists of quite different parts put carelessly together. Here we shall not trouble ourselves so much with the question whether these parts were added to the main story at the time the latter was inserted into the Purāṇa or at a later age, as with that of the contemporaneity of composition of chapter 12-14, for in that case we shall be in a position to make a nearer approach to the date of composition of chapter 14.

At the beginning of chapter 15 Sukeśin enumerates to his people the thirteen characteristics of Dharma (त्रयोदशांशतो धर्मं.....15, 5b) viz:

अहिंसा सत्यमस्तेयं शौचमिन्द्रियसंयमः ।
दानं दया च क्षान्तिश्च ब्रह्मचर्यममानिता ॥
शुभा सत्या च मधुरा वाङ् नित्यं सत्क्रियारतिः ।
सदाचारनिषेवित्वं परलोकप्रदायकाः ॥

as proclaimed by the sages to him and orders them to practise these. As on the one hand this enumeration is necessary for giving the Rākṣasas an idea of the Dharma they are to practise and is therefore vitally connected with the chapter, on the other hand, it presupposes the existence of chapter 14, for it is in this chapter that we can trace these characteristics. At the beginning of chapter 14 the sages enumerate the ten limbs of Dharma as

अहिंसा सत्यमस्तेयं दानं क्षान्तिर्दमः शमः ।
अकार्पण्यं च शौचं च तपश्च रजनीचर ॥
दशाङ्गो ब्राह्मणश्रेष्ठ धर्मोऽसौ सार्ववर्णिकः ॥

Some of the thirteen characteristics in Sukeśin's enumeration are found in that of the sages given above. Not only so, the beginnings in both the enumerations are similar. For those characteristics mentioned by Sukeśin which are not found in the enumeration of the sages, we can

refer to the body of chapter 14. For example, the characteristics *brahmacarya* and *amānitā* mentioned by Sukeśin are found in chapter 14, 114 (*sarva-saṅga-parityāgo brahmacaryam-amānitā*); for *sadācāra-niṣevitva* we may refer to verses 14-17 wherein the sages glorify the practice of *sadācāra; satyā madhurā ca vāk* has its parallel in verse 39 (*na niṣṭhuraṃ nāgama-śāstrahīnaṃ vākyaṃ vadet*); and so on. The characteristics of Mānava-dharma, mentioned by the sages while describing the twelve kinds of Dharma in charter 11, 15-28, are as follows:—

स्वाध्यायो ब्रह्मचर्यञ्च दानं यजनमेव च ।
अकार्पण्यमनायासो दयाहिंसाक्षमादयः ॥
जितेन्द्रियत्वं शौचञ्च माङ्गल्यं भक्तिरुच्यते ।
शङ्करे भास्करे देव्यां धर्मोऽयं मानवः स्मृतः ॥

This enumeration shows that it contributes much less to Sukeśin's enumeration than chapter 14 does. Another point is to be noted here. At the end of chapter 14 the sages refer to the good of practising one's 'svadharma' and says that the acceptance of 'paradharma' incurs the rage of the Sun-god who always tries to do harm to the sinner. This seems to be an indirect warning to Sukeśin but he does not seem to take it as such, for we see in chapter 15 that the practice of Varṇāśramadharma (or rather Mānava-dharma) instead of Rākṣasa-dharma incurs the rage of the Sun-god who causes Sukeśin's city to fall down from the sky. All these taken together tend to show that chapter 14 was added to the main story at the time the latter was fabricated.

In chapter 11, we have seen, the sages describe the twelve kinds of dharma including the Rākṣasa-dharma:—

परदारावमर्शित्वं पारक्यार्थे च लोलुपाः ।
स्वाध्यायस्त्र्यम्बके भक्तिर्धर्मोऽयं राक्षसः स्मृता ॥

But Sukeśin is not satisfied with his own Rākṣasa-dharma and eagerly wants to hear Mānava-dharma—a dharma which is practised by the sages even. Such eagerness on the part of Sukeśin is necessary for the development of the story. To satisfy Sukeśin the sages begin with the geography of the earth to give him some idea about the location of the Kumāra-dvīpa before they proceed to describe the customs and usages to be found there, because, they say, men live in all the seven dvīpas (cf. 11, 30), and laws and customs differ in the different dvīpas (cf. 11,

43a). Towards the end of chapter 11 the sages say that the Puṣkara-dvīpa contains innumerable hells, some of which they mention. This mention of hells prepares the way to the insertion of chapter 12 which deals with Karma-vipāka. It should also be noted here that chapters 12-14 have their prototypes in the *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa*, viz. *Vāmana-P.* chapter 12 is the reproduction, with various additions and alterations, of *Mārk.-P.*, 14 (verses 44 ff.), *Vāmana-P.*, 13 of *Mārk.-P.*, 57 and *Vāmana-P.*, 14 of *Mārk.-P.*, 28 (verses 11-19 and 23ff.) and 34 (verses 6 ff.). The source of these three chapters being common, it is more probable that they were appropriated at the same time and put into the *Vāmana-P.* with a veiw to bring it on a par with the other Purāṇas of the time, the story of Sukeśin only serving as a clue.

From all that have been said above, it appears that *Vāmana-P.* chapters 11-15 were inserted into the Purāṇa at the same time.

Now we are in a position to discuss the date of the addition of *Vāmana-P.*, chapter 14. In *Vām.-P.*, 14, 49b-50a the week-days Ravi, Maṅgala, Budha, Śukra and Śani are mentioned in such a way as to convince one of the fact that the people of the time of composition of chapter 14 were quite familiar with these. We know that the earliest epigraphic mention of a week-day is found in the Eran inscription of 484 A.D.[6] From the evidence given by Varāha-mihira we understand that the week-days were well-known in his time. In *Vām.-P.*, 13, 12 the Turuṣkās, are mentioned (*Āndhrā dakṣiṇato vīra Turuṣkāś ca api cottare*). The Turuṣkas, who are quite different from the Tuṣāras or Tukhāras also mentioned in *Vām.-P.*, 12. 41, came to India about the 9th century A.D. Amarasiṃha, who lived not later than the eighth century A.D.[7], does not mention the Turuṣkas in his lexicon and probably did not know them. So this chapter of the *Vām.-P.* is possibly not to be dated earlier than the ninth century A.D. In *Vām.-P.*, 12, 48 the *Matsya-P.* is said to be the chief of all Purāṇas (*mukhyaṃ Purāṇeṣu yathaśiva Mātsyaṃ*). This is significant.. In almost all the lists of 'eighteen Purāṇas' given in the Mahā-Purāṇas, the *Brahma-P.* is regarded as the original one (*ādya*) and assigned the first place. It is only in

6 Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 88-89.

7 Vide Keith, *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 413.

the *Vāyu-P.*, (chapter 104) that we find the *Mat.-P.* occupying the first place and the *Brahma-P.* being placed much lower in the list. As all the lists, in which the *Brahma-P.* is placed first, contain the name of the *Bhāgavata-P.*, it is evident that these lists were framed or revised after the *Bhāgavata* had come into existence. If we push up the date of the *Bhāgavata-P.* to as early as the middle of the sixth century A.D.[8], then it must be admitted that the custom of regarding the *Brahma-P.* as the first and foremost of all held ground at least some time after the sixth century. It might only be after this time that the *Mat.-P.* could have begun to be assigned the first place at least by a section of the people, if not by all. But when did this happen?

The predominance of the *Matsya-P.*, as evidenced by *Vām.-P.*, 12, 48 and *Vāyu-P.*, 104 referred to above, is apparently connected with the high position the Fish incarnation came to occupy in course of time among the incarnations of Viṣṇu. But when did the Fish incarnation come to occupy such an elevated position? Let us compare the lists of incarnations and the accounts thereof where necessary to see if we can arrive at any solution. In the *Mahābhārata* the group of the ten principal Avatāras of later ages seems to be quite unknown. The verse

मत्स्यः कूर्मो वराहश्च नारसिंहोऽथ वामनः ।
रामो रामश्च रामश्च बुद्धः कल्कीति ते दश ॥

which is found in the Kumbhakonam edition of the *Mbh.*, (XII, 348, 2) is not traceable in the ASB., Bombay and Vaṅgavāsī editions. The verses

ततः कलियुगस्यादौ द्विजराजतरुं श्रितः ।
भीषया मागधेनैव धर्मराजगृहे वसन् ॥
काषायवस्त्रसंवीतो मुण्डितः शुक्लदन्तवान् ।
शुद्धोदनसुतो बुद्धो मोहयिष्यामि मानवान् ॥

found in the Mokṣa-dharma of the Kumbhakonam edition also are not met with in the other editions. So the spurious character and the late

8 B. N. Krishnamurti Sarma, *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, vol. XIV, 1932-3, pp. 182-218.

origin of these verses are obvious. In the Nārāyaṇīya section of the Śāntī-parvan of the *Mbh.* (ASB., ed., XII, 141) the manifestations (*prādurbhāvas*) of Nārāyaṇa are enumerated as the Haṃsa, the Tortoise, the Fish, the Boar, the Man-lion, the Dwarf, (Paraśu) Rāma, Rāma Dāśarathi, Sātvata and Kalki. The lines which contain this enumeration seem to have been interpolated later for the following reasons. In *Mbh.*, XII, 141, verses 12941ff. Nārāyaṇa says to Nārada that in future he will take the forms of the Boar, the Man-lion, the twelfth Āditya (i.e. the Dwarf), Rāma of the Bhṛgu family, Rāma Dāśarathi and Sātvata and perform various exploits which also he relates to Nārada, adding at the end

करिष्ये प्रलयं घोरमात्मज्ञानाभिसंवृतम् ।
कर्माणवपरिमेयाणि चतुर्मूर्तिधरो ह्यहम् ॥
कृत्वा लोकान् गमिष्यामि स्वानहं ब्रह्मसत्कृतम् ॥

After this is given, quite irrelevantly, the list of manifestations, referred to above, containing the Haṃsa, the Tortoise, the Fish and Kalki which are not mentioned or even hinted at anywhere in the whole chapter. On the other hand, the Boar, the Man-lion and the Dwarf seem to be regarded, in the majority of cases, as the principal incarnations or manifestations of Viṣṇu. We should also note in this connection that at least in the ASB. edition of the *Mbh.*, there is no such evidence as may indicate that Buddha came to be regarded as an incarnation before 200 A.D. In *Mārk.P.*, 4 Nārāyaṇa, both as saguṇa and nirguṇa, is said to exist in four forms (*mūrtis*), viz:—

(1) Vāsudeva, which is indescribable (*anirdeśya*), ever-existent, etc., (2) Śeṣa, which supports the world and posses-es tamo-guṇa, (3) a third form (called Pradyumna) which is full of the quality of goodness (*sattvodrikta*), preserves the world and establishes religion, and (4) a fourth form, which lies on the serpent-bed, has the quality of passion and creates beings. The third form of Nārāyaṇa, the *Mārk.P.* further adds, became incarnated as Varāha, Nṛsiṃha, Vāmana and innumerable others (*Vāmanādiṃstathaivānyān na saṃkhyātum-ihotsahe*) and has now become Māthura (i.e., Kṛṣṇa). According to the *Harivaṃśa*, I, 41 f. the manifestations are the Boar, the Man-lion, the Dwarf, Dattātreya, Jāmadagnya, Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, Vedavyāsa and Kalki, the last, as

stated in the text, being called the tenth. Regarding the Kalki incarnation the Harivaṃśa has

कल्की विष्णुयशा नाम शम्भले नामके द्विजः ।
सर्वलोकहितार्थाय भूयश्चोत्पत्स्यते प्रभुः ॥
दशमो भाव्यसम्पन्नो याज्ञवल्क्यपुरःसरः ।
क्षपयित्वा च तान् सर्वान् भाविनार्थेन चोदितान् ॥
गङ्गायमुनयोर्मध्ये निष्ठां प्राप्स्यति सानुगः ॥

Here the Kalki incarnation of Viṣṇu is described as future, the purpose of the incarnation being the good of all beings (*sarva-loka-hitārthāya*). In the *Kūrma-P.*, (I, 50) Viṣṇu is said to have been born of Ākūti in the Svāyambhuva-manvantara, of Tuṣitā in the Svārociṣa of Satyā as Satya in the Auttama, of Haryā as Hari in the Tāmasa, of Saṅkalpā in the Raivata, of Vikuṇṭhā as Vaikuṇṭha in the Cākṣuṣa and of Aditi as Vāmana in the Vaivasvata. Nārāyaṇa, though nirguṇa, is further said to have been manifested in four forms due to guṇa, viz.

(1) Vāsudeva, which is indivisible, beyond the guṇas, etc., (2) Śiva, also called Kāla, which carries on destruction, (3) Pradyumna, which is full of the quality of goodness (*sattvodrikta*) and preserves the world and (4) Aniruddha, also called Brahmā, which creates the world when Nārāyaṇa sleeps with Pradyumna after destruction. Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa is also said to be born as Vyāsa to divide the One, i.e. the Veda, into four parts. It should be noted that in its description of the four forms of Nārāyaṇa, the *Kūrma-P.* has not only been influenced by the *Mārk.-P.* but has many lines borrowed from the latter. *Brahma-P.* chapter 180, which is the reproduction, with some additions, of *Mārk.-P.*, 4, 36 ff., describes the four forms of Viṣṇu, the third form being said to have become the Boar, the Man-lion, the Dwarf, Jāmadagnya, Dattātreya, Rāma Dāśarathi and innumerable others and the present Māthura. *Brahma-P.* chapter 213, which betrays the influence of the *Harivaṃśa*, enumerates the manifestations as the Boar, the Man-lion, the Dwarf, Dattātreya, Jāmadagnya, Rāma, Māthura, Kalki, Viṣṇu-yaśas and many others (etc. *anye ca bahavaḥ*). Regarding the Kalki, the *Brahma-P.* says:—

कल्की विष्णुयशा नाम शम्भलग्रामसम्भवः ।
सर्वलोकहितार्थाय भूयो देवो महायशाः ॥

which is the reproduction, with some changes, of *Harivaṃśa*, 41, 164 quoted above. According to the *Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā*[2] (5. 50) the principal Vibhavas are thirty-nine in number, in which the Tortoise (called Kamaṭheśvara) occupies fifteenth, the Boar (Varāha) the sixteenth, the Man-lion (Narasiṃha) the seventeenth, the Fish Ekaśṛṅgatanu) the twenty-eighth, the Dwarf (Vāmanadeha) the twenty-ninth, Kṛṣṇa the thirty-fourth, Paraśurāma the thirty-fifth, Rāma Dhanurdhara he thirty-sixth and Kalki the thirty-eighth place, there being no mention of Buddha. Regarding the Kalki the Saṃhitā has

यो मर्दयति कल्क्याख्यो दस्यूंस्त्रिंश्ययुगान्तजान् ।
सूर्योपरिस्थितेनैव मर्दनेन स गीयते ॥

In *Bhāgavata-P.*, I, 3, II, 7 and VI, 8 there are three lists of Avatāras varying in length as well as order. All these lists include the Fish, Buddha and Kalki. In the third list the Fish occupies the first place but that is clearly due to chance. The idea of the people as to the purposes of the Buddha and Kalki incarnations has not changed in any appreciable degree. Regarding the Buddha incarnation *Bhāgavata-P.*, I, 3, 24 says:

ततः कली सम्प्रवृत्ते सम्मोहाय सुरद्विषाम् ।
बुद्धो नाम्नाञ्जनसुतः कीकटेषु भविष्यति ॥

Bhāg.-P., II, 7, 37 has

देवद्विषां निगमवर्त्मनि निष्ठितानां
पूर्भिर्मयेन विहिताभिरदृश्यतूर्भिः ।
लोकान् व्रतां मतिविमोहमतिप्रलोभं
वेषं विधाय बहुभाष्यत ओषधर्म्मम् ॥

and *Bhāg.-P.*, VI, 8, 19 has

'* * * बुद्धस्तु पाषण्डगणप्रमादात् । * * * प्रपातु ।'

With respect to the Kalki incarnation *Bhāg.-P.*, I, 3, 25 says:

अवासी युगसन्ध्यायां दस्युप्रायेषु राजसु ।
जनिता विष्णुयशसो नाम्ना कल्किर्जगत्पतिः ॥

2 Published by the Adyar Library, Adyar, Madras.

Bhāg.-P., II, 7, 38 has

वर्ण्यालयेष्वपि सतां न कथा हरेः स्युः
पाषण्डिनो द्विजजना वृषला नृदेवाः ।
खाहा स्वधा वषडिति स्म गिरो न वक्त्र
शास्ता भविष्यति कल्केर्भगवान् युगान्ते ॥

and *Bhāg.-P.*, VI, 8, 19 has

कल्किः कलेः कालमलात् प्रपातु ।

In *Matsya-P.* chapters 259 and 260 Rāma, the Boar, the Man-lion, the Dwarf, the Fish and the Tortoise are mentioned in connection with the construction of images. These chapters being influenced by, and based on, *Bṛhat-Saṃhitā*[10] chapter 58 (Pratimā-lakṣaṇam), their date cannot be earlier than the sixth century A.D. The *Pādma-Tantra*, which is dated earlier than 800 A.D. by Schrader,[11] 'says (I, 2, 31) that of the ten Avatāras the Fish, the Tortoise and the Boar have sprung from Vāsudeva; the Man-lion, Dwarf, Śrīrāma and Paraśurāma from Saṃkarṣaṇa; Balarāma from Pradyumna; and Kṛṣṇa and Kalki from Aniruddha; and it indicates that the other Avatāras (viz. Puruṣa, Satya, Acyuta, Buddha, etc.) are to be distributed in a similar way'.[12] The *Viṣvaksena Saṃhitā* includes Buddha and Paraśurāma among the secondary Avatāras.[13] A Pallava inscription dated about the latter half of the seventh century A. D. contains the verse

मत्स्यः कूर्मो वराहश्च नारसिंहोऽथ वामनः ।
रामो रामश्च रामश्च बुद्धः कल्की च ते दश ॥[14]

Nammalvār, *alias* Saint Saṭagopa, who belonged to the ninth century A.D., gives a hymn which contains 'the conception of Buddha as an incarnation of Viṣṇu come to delude the Asuras'.[15] According to *Garuḍa-P.*, (Vaṅgavāsī ed.) 202 (*Viṣṇu-dharmākhya-vidyā-varṇanaṃ nāma*) the different Mūrtis of Viṣṇu are the Matsya, Trivikrama, Vāmana, Narasiṃha, Rāma, Varāha, Nārāyaṇa, Kapila, Datta, Hayagrīva, Makaradhvaja, Nārada, Kūrma, Dhanvantari, Śeṣa, Yajña, Vyāsa, Buddha and Kalki, the last two being invoked for protection

10 Edited by Kern. 11 Schrader, *Introduction to the Pāñcarātra*, p. 29.
12 *Ibid.*, p. 48. 13 *Ibid.*, pp. 47, 48.
14 H. Krishna Sastri, *The Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India*, vol. 26, p. 5.
15 B. N. Krishnamurti Sarma, *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, vol. XIV, 1932-33, pp. 200-201.

from the Pāṣaṇḍas and the sins (of the Kali-age) respectively (*Buddhaḥ pāṣaṇḍa-saṅghātāt Kalkiravatu kalmaṣāt*). The nature of the contents of the chapter tends to betray its comparatively late origin.

The lists given above are perhaps sufficient to show that the views of the people as regards the names and numbers of the principal incarnations varied disappointingly before 800 A.D.; that though the group of ten principal Avatāras with the Fish at the head originated much early, the names of the Avatāras constituting the group often varied; and that the group does not seem to attain the position of general acceptance before 800 A.D. It also appears from the lists that the mission of the Buddha incarnation was at that time supposed to be delusion of the Asuras (i.e. Buddhists) and that of the Kalki the extrimination of the Pāṣaṇḍins and the Dasyus, the removal of the dirt of the Kali-age (*kali-mala*), or the good of the people (*loka-hita*).

Let us now examine some other lists of incarnations and the accounts thereof where necessary. The *Agni-P.* chapters 2-16 describe the ten Avatāras of Viṣṇu, viz. Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Narasiṃha, Vāmana, Paraśurāma, Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, Buddha and Kalki. Though the *Agni-P.* believes in the innumerable incarnations of Viṣṇu (*avatārā asaṃkhyātā atītānāgatādayaḥ—Agni-P.*, 16, 12a), it lays special stress on the group of ten (cf. *Agni-P.*, 16, 12b-13). About the Buddha incarnation it says that being defeated by the Daityas the gods sought the protection of Viṣṇu who, consequently, was born as Māyā-moha to Suddhodana and deluded the Daityas with the result that the latter gave up the Veda-dharma and became Bauddhas. Viṣṇu, in the form of Māyā-moha, next became Ārhata and turned the remaining Daityas into Ārhatas. Thus the Pāṣaṇḍins came into existence. The *Agni-P.*, further adds that at the end of the Kali-age there will be an intermixture of castes, the Dasyus will prevail and the Mlecchas will become kings and eat up the people (*mānuṣān bhakṣayiṣyanti mlecchāḥ pārthivarūpiṇaḥ*). Then Kalki, the son of Viṣṇu-yaśas, will have Yājñavalkya as his priest, exterminate the Mlecchas and re-establish the distinctions of the four castes. The mention of the Bauddhas and the Ārhatas as Pāṣaṇḍins and, then, of the Mlecchas as kings, tends to indicate that by the term 'Mleccha' the *Agni-P.* means the Mahomedans. In *Mbh.* III, 190 Kalki is no doubt said to exterminate the Dasyus and the

Mlecchas[16] but even there the latter are not mentioned as attaining regal power. After the *Mbh.*, the character of Kalki as the exterminator of the Mlecchas seems to have been overlooked down to the time of the advent of the Mahomedans. Hence the *Agni-P.*, though undeniably influenced by the *Mbh.*, and the *Harivaṃśa* in its accounts of at least some of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu, seems to betray the knowledge of the Moslem power in India. In *Agni-P.* chapter 49 the characteristics of the images of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu (*daśāvatāraṃ Matsyādi-lakṣaṇaṃ pravadāmi te*) have been described. This chapter of the *Agni-P.*, exhibits a distinct advance over *Matsya-P.*, chapters 259 and 260, referred to above, in that it adds four incarnations more, viz. Paraśurāma, Balarāma, Buddha and Kalki, to those of the *Matsya-P.* to make up ten and arranges them in order. Moreover, it replaces Kṛṣṇa by Balarāma. Hence the date of composition of this chapter must be much later than *Matsya-P.* chapters 259 and 260. It should be noted that here also Kalki is described as *mlecchotsāda-kara*. The Kāśmīrian polymath Kṣemendra, who flourished in the eleventh century A.D., wrote, in 1066, his *Daśāvatāra-carita*[17] in which Kṛṣṇa is said to be an incarnation of Viṣṇu (cf. I, 2; I, 10; VIII, 1ff.) and the condition of the earth on the eve of the Kalki incarnation is described as follows:

दरनुहस्काव(फ)गानशकलन्दनैः ।
संक्षोचमेष्यति मही कुष्टैरिव विसर्पिभिः ॥
म्लेच्छाच्छादितसर्वाशा क्वणाक्रन्दनादिनी ।
मेदःकर्दमिनी क्लेदं रक्तं यास्यति मेदिनी ॥

It is clear that the term 'Mleccha' is used by Kṣemendra to mean especially the Muhomedans who disturbed the peace of India by attacks

16 In answer to Yudhiṣṭhira's question, Mārkaṇḍeya describes the confusion that will occur in society at the end of the Kali-age, adding that the people will violate the duties of the castes and stages and worship *cetākas* (Buddhist sanctuaries filled with relics) instead of the gods, the moral rules will be disregarded and the whole world will thus be Mlecchaised (*Mlecchabhūtaṃ jagat sarvaṃ*) The line '*cetākāṃ pūjayiṣyanti varjayiṣyanti devatāḥ*' clearly shows that by the term *Mleccha* the Buddhists are meant.

17 Edited by Pandit Durgā Prasād and K. P. Parab, Nirṇaya-sāgara Press, Bombay.

and massacres. In *Varāha-P.*, (Bibl. Ind.), 39-48, ten kinds of Dvādaśi-vrata, named after the ten Avatāras, are described. The very connection of the Vratas with the 'ten incarnations' of Viṣṇu proves their late origin which is further confirmed by the direction *rūpa-kāmī yajed-Buddhaṃ śatru-ghātāya Kalkinam* (*Varāha-P.*, 48, 22a) pointing to a time when the idea of the people towards the delusive Buddha incarnation underwent such a change that Buddha was looked upon as a good conferring beauty, if not possessing it himself. The *Matsya-P.*, 54 describes the Nakṣatra-puruṣa-vrata in which the different limbs of Viṣṇu are worshipped with the mention of the names of his different incarnations including the famous ten. The same Vrata is also described in *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* chapter 105. A comparison between the two chapters shows that the *Matsya-P.* has not only the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* as its prototype but makes a distinct advance over the former by introducing the names of the ten Avatāras. The *Padma-P.* (Uttara-khaṇḍa) describes the first eight of the ten Avatāras in chapters 258ff. These chapters bear stamps of very late age, for example, the Tulasī plant is said to be the wife of Hari. Jayadeva, in his *Gīta-govinda*, mentions the ten Avatāras of Kṛṣṇa and looks upon Kalki as the exterminator of the Mlecchas.

From what has been said above it appears that the group of the ten Avatāras of Viṣṇu with the Fish at the head began to attain the state of general acceptance from about the time of the first appearance of the Mahomedans in India. And when his group attained the position of general acceptance the Fish incarnation also was consolidated in its own position. The Fish incarnation thus occupying the first place in the group, at least some people must have looked upon the Purāṇa declared by the Fish (i.e. the *Matsya-P.*) with the same importance so much so that in *Vām.-P.*, 12 it is called the chief of all Purāṇas. Hence it is probable that the *Matsya-P.* attained such importance not earlier than the beginning of the tenth century A.D.

The *Vāyu-P.* chapter 104 appears to confirm the above view by including the *Bhāgavata* and the *Ādika Purāṇa* in the list of Purāṇas and by naming the six philosophies

(ब्राह्मं शैवं वैष्णवं च सौरं शाक्तं तथार्हतम् ।
षड्दर्शनानि चोक्तानि स्वभावनियतानि च ॥)

of which the Śākta philosophy is one. The mention of the *Bhāgavata-*

P. shows that the date of composition of the section containing the list, if not of the whole chapter, cannot be earlier than that of the *Bhāgavata*. The inclusion of the *Ādika-P.* in the list appears to point to a still later date. That the little *Ādika-P.*, is not used here to mean the *Brahma-P.*, which is also sometimes termed *Ādi-Purāṇa* from the preference it enjoys over other Purāṇas, is clear from the fact that the *Brahma-P.* also is mentioned in the list. The *Ādika-P.* mentioned by the *Vāyu-P.*, must, therefore, be identical with the *Ādi-Upa-Purāṇa* which alone, besides the *Brahma-P.*, goes by the name *Ādi-Purāṇa*. Alberuni (about 1030 A.D.) in his account of India gives two lists of Purāṇas, one of which was dictated to him and the other he copied from the *Viṣṇu-P.*[18] The list that was dictated to him consists partly of Purāṇas and partly of Upa-Purāṇas such as the *Ādi-P.*, *Narasiṃha-P.*, *Nanda-P.* (*Nandi-P.* ?), *Āditya-P.* etc., the first place being assigned to the *Ādi-Purāṇa* and the *Matsya* and the *Brahma-P.* occupying the second and seventeenth places respectively. This list shows that byAlberuni's time the Upa-Purāṇa called the *Ādi-P.* not only attained the position of being included in the list of 'eighteen Purāṇas' but became prominent enough to be named first of all. Not only so, the other Upa-purāṇas also were highly regarded so much so that the people did not hesitate to mingle the names of the Upa-Purāṇas with those of the Mahā-Purāṇas to make up the traditional 'eighteen.' But in *Vāyu-P.*, 104 the Upa-Purāṇas seem not to have attained so much prominence as in Alberuni's days. Of the numerous Upa-Purāṇas the Ādika only is included in the list but is not assigned the first place. This position of the *Ādika-P.* seems to point to a time earlier than that of Alberuni. The mention of the Śākta philosophy also tends to assign a similar date to *Vāyu-P.*, chapter 104. From the fact that the Śākta systems began to appear from about the sixth century A.D.[19] and from the dates of the Śākta Upaniṣads which began to appear not much earlier than the tenth century A.D.,[20] it seems that the Śākta philosophy attained recognition about the tenth century. From all this we may assume that *Vāyu-P.*, 104,

18 Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, I, p. 130.

19 Farquhar, *Outline of the Religious Literature of India*, pp. 167 ff.

20 *Ibid.*, pp. 286-7.

which places the *Matsya-P.* first in the list, was written not earlier than the tenth century and not later than the time of Alberuni, i.e., during the tenth century A.D. To prove that the first place assigned to the *Masya-P.* in *Vāyu-P.*, 104 is not due to mere chance, we may cite the example of the *Devī-bhāgavata* which also allows it the same preference.

From all the arguments adduced above we may conclude that *Vām.-P.* chapter 14 was not inserted earlier than the tenth century A.D. As Devana-bhatta (1150-1225 A.D.)[21] quotes *Vām.-P.*, 14, 49b-51a and 35b-37 in his *Smṛti-candrikā*, II, pp. 327 and 446 respectively, the date of the chapter cannot be later than the beginning of the twelfth century. Hence the date falls either in the tenth or in the eleventh century A.D. A more accurate determination is not possible in the present state of our knowledge.

Vāmana-P. chapter 14 deals with the rules of the first two stages of life (verses 1-12), good conduct (verses 14-57), eatables and non-eatables (58-60), purifications of things (61-81), persons from whom the twice-born should not accept food (82-94), impurity due to births and deaths (95-101), funeral rites (102-106), the conduct of the forest-hermits and mendicants (110-115), limitations as regards the choice of the stages of life for the different castes (116-8), and the result of forsaking one's sva-dharma (119ff.).

Those parts of *Vāmana-P.* chapter 14 in which Varṇāśrama-dharma and Ācāra have been dealt with are, we have said above, based on *Mārk.-P.* chapters 28 and 34. But the *Vāmana-P.*, 14 is not a mere reproduction of its prototypes. Though it repeats a few of the characteristic lines of the *Mārk.-P.*, it records some notable changes in the conduct of the people. In *Vāmana-P.*, 14, 20-29, a Brāhmaṇa is directed, before leaving the bed and thinking of Dharma and Artha in the morning, to remember the gods and sages and cite the famous hymn (*Brahmā murāriṣ tripurāntakārī* etc.....) said to have been proclaimed by the three-eyed god Śaṅkara. The purificatory power of the hymn is said to be such that he who hears, remembers or cites it becomes free from all sins. In 14, 35b-37 we find a fine example of Brāhmaṇical superstition in that a Brāhmaṇa is advised to see auspicious things (viz. dūrvā

21 Kane, *History of Dharma-śāstra*, vol. I, p. 346.

grass, curd, ghee, pitchers full of water, cows with calves, and so on) before going out for earning his subsistence. In 14, 2b and 117-118 it is said that the four stages of life are meant for the Brāhmaṇs, the first three stages for the Kṣatriyas, the second and the third stages for the Vaiśyas and the second stage only for the Śūdras. In 14, 38 a Brāhmaṇa is allowed to earn money in accordance with the rules of his caste, country, family and lineage (*gotra*).

RAJENDRA CHANDRA HAZRA

MISCELLANY

The Indefinite Pronoun in Indo-Iranian

In the Indo-European parent language there was no indefinite pronoun as such. As evidenced in the different branches of the I.E. family of languages the interrogative pronoun generally and the relative pronoun quite often were used as the indefinite pronoun. This is a quite common linguistic phenomenon.

In I.E. the interrogative had two allied basic forms **qwo-* and **qwe-*(**qwi-*). In Indo-Iranian a palatalised form of the latter base (Indic *ci-* Iranian *či-*) became stereotyped as an enclitic indefinitive. The neuter singular nominative-accusative **qwid* (Indo-Aryan *cit*, Iranian *čiy, cit*) became almost an indefinitive affix when used with the interrogative-indefinite pronoun. In Iranian, however, independent use of *čiš* (masc. nom., neut. nom.-acc.) is also known ; *viz., kaščiy naiy adarsnauš čišciy θastanaiy* "anyone did not dare to say anything" [Behistan Inscriptions I, 53-54].

Of the non-palatalised forms of **qwi-* the neut. sing. nom.-acc. form *kim* in Indo-Aryan occurs as the interrogative; but in Vedic in such phrases as *nákiṣ, mákiṣ, nákīm* and *mákīm* the pronominal forms *kiṣ, kīm* are really enclitic indefinitives like *cit*.

Besides *cit* there were in Indo-Aryan two other allied enclitic indefinitives which also were used with the interrogative pronoun, *viz., ca* and *caná. ca* (<**qwe*) also occurs as a conjunctive in Indo-Iranian. In Old Persian *ka* (<*qwo*) also occurs as an enclitic adverb, *e.g., adakaiy. caná* has its cognate *činá* in Avestan. Various derivations have been suggested for *caná-činá*. According to one scholar *caná-činá* <*ca-ci*+the negative particle *ná*; another suggests as the source I.E. **qwena* (*vide* Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik* Bd. III, p. 562.) Both suggestions are unsatisfactory. It is better to take *caná-činá* as a double indefinitive, *ca-ci*+*na*. For the indefinitive use of the pronoun *na-* see below.

The free use of an interrogative form *kā* as an enclitic indefinitive occurs in the phrase *tuvam kā* "you anybody; whoever you (may be)" which occurs repeatedly in the fourth column of the Behistan Inscriptions. Thus: *tuvam kā hya aparam imām dipi(m) patiparsāhy* "thou whoever shalt examine this inscription in the future" (41-42); *[tu]vam kā hya aparam imām dipim vainâhy* "thou whoever shalt see this inscription in the future"

(70); *tuvam* [*kā*] xšāya[θ]iya *hya aparam āhy* "thou whoever shalt be king in the future" (87). A similar use of the pronoun *kā* is to be found in some of the Northern versions of the Asokan Pillar Edicts, where the pronominal form *kāni* (neut. pl. nom.-acc.) has been generalised as an indefinitive particle. Thus: *te pi ca kāni viyovadisaṃti* "and these (officers) some of them will also admonish" (Topra IV. 9 ; Radhia IV. 10 ; Mathia IV. 21 ; Rampurva IV.) ; *nātikā va kāni nijhapayisaṃti* "or the relations some of them will secure pardon" (Topra IV. 17 ; Allahabad IV. 18; Radhia IV. 21 ; Mathia IV. 25-26 ; Rampurva IV. 19) ; *kina su kāni abhyunuṃnāmayehaṃ dhaṃmavaḍhiyā ti* "how could I elevate some by the promotion of morality" [Topra VII, 18-19] ; *potake ca kāni āsaṃmāsike* "and any young (animal is not to be killed) up to six months" (Topra V. 8 ; Delhi-Mirat V. 1 ; Radhia V. 6 ; Mathia V. 6-7 ; Rampurva V. 5].

Old Persian *kā* may represent * *qwō*, the instrumental singular of **qwo-*, or it may represent * *qwād*, the ablative singular of the same base. *Cf.* Vedic *yát, tát* ; Avestan *āat, āt, yāat* ; Greek *tō̄* ; Lithuanian *tō̄, jō̄*.

In Indo-Aryan determinative (and possessive) compounds with an interrogative pronominal form as the first member generally carry a pejorative sense. The pronoun there is not a true interrogative but is really the indefinite. Thus *kiṃ-rājā* means "any (sort of) king>a bad king." The pronominal element in such compounds is discussed below.

kim : Vedic *kimpuruṣá-* "an ugly man, a goblin", *kiṃ-śīlá* "surrounded by ugly stones." Classical Sanskrit *kiṃ-rājan* "a bad king," *kiṁsakhi* "a bad friend", etc. In *kiṃkara* the sense is not exactly pejorative; it means "one who does anything, *i.e.*, a servant." *kim* is the neut. sing. nom. acc. of the base *ki-*(the non-palatalized form of *qwi*). The absence of the *samāsānta* affix in *kiṃ-rājan* and *kiṃ-sakhi* is noteworthy; probably the forms originally were not compounds at all.

kad : Late Vedic *kat-payá* "badly swollen or putrid," *kad-arya* " a bad man > avaricious, greedy", *kad-ratha* "a bad chariot". Cl. Skt. *kad-anna* "bad food", *kad-artha* "bad sense;" *kad-uṣṇa* "luke-warm," etc. Pāṇini prescribes *kat* in a determinative compound where the second member begins with a vowel (6. 3. 101); he also prescribes the compounds *kad-ratha, kad-vada* (102), and *kat-tṛṇa* as the name of a plant (103). *kad* is the neut. sing. nom.-acc. of the base *ka-*(<**qwo*).

kā : Cl. Skt. *kā-patha* "bad path," *kākṣa* "bad or angry eye" (Pāṇini 6.3. 108), *kā-puruṣa* "a bad man, *i.e.*, a coward" (Pāṇini 6.3.

106) *kā-madhura* "slightly sweet," *kā-lavaṇa* "slightly brackish", *kāmla* "slightly sour," *koṣṇa* "luke-warm" (Pāṇini 6. 3. 105). For the derivation of *kā* see *supra*.

ka: Wackernagel in his *Altindische Grammatik* (Bd. II, p. 84) notes that *ka* features as the first member in at least two Vedic compounds, *viz.*, *ka-stambhī́* "prop upon the cart-shaft" and *ka-pūya* "stinking horribly". In the first instance, however, the pejorative sense is wanting. Wackernagel also suggests that the pronominal form *kas* features in such words as *kodaṇḍa*, *koyaṣṭika*, *kovidāra* etc. But none of these words carry a pejorative sense, nor does the proposed derivation justify their meanings. These are, in all probability, non-Aryan words in disguise.

The infix *-ka-* occuring in such pronominal forms as *ahakam*, *asakau*, *yakā*, *sakā* etc. is probably nothing but the interrogative-indefinite pronoun *ka*. *asakau* would mean "he (or she) anybody > contemptible or pitiable he (or she)."

kavā: *kavā-tiryañc* "slightly turned oblique" ; *kavā-sakhā* (according to Sāyaṇa); *kava-patha* (according to Pāṇini 6. 3. 108); *kavoṣṇa* "luke-warm" (Pāṇini 6. 3. 107); *kavāgni* "slow fire" (Vopadeva). *kavā* seems to have come from a stem **qwou-*; see *infra*.

ku is the most generalized form of the interrogative-indefinite pronoun that largely features as a pejorative first member in determinative and possessive compounds in Old Indo-Aryan. Its opposite *su-* is also of pronominal origin (<**suo-*). Thus Indo-Aryan *ku-caraḥ*, *ku-nakhin*, *ku-manas*, *ku-yava*, *ku-puruṣá* etc.; Avestan *ku-nāiriš* ; Greek *poû-limos* (*vide* Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, Bd. II, p. 82].

The pronominal form *ku-* occurs in many adverbs; viz., *kú cit*, *kuv-it*, *kutra*, *kúha*, *kâhayā́*, *kutas*, *kvā*. *Ku* is the weak grade form of **qwou*. Meillet, however, suggests **qwā* for all the forms (*op. cit.*, Bd. III, p. 564).

A demonstrative pronoun *na-* occurs in Middle Indo-Aryan. It also features as a part of the Old Indo-Aryan demonstrative pronouns *ena-*, *ana-*. The following forms of *na-* occur in Pāli: *naṃ* (acc. sg.), *nahmā* (abl. sg.), *nassa* (gen. sg.), *ne* (acc. pl.). Geiger derives these forms from O. I. A. *ena-* (*Pāli Literatur und Sprache*, p. 97). The following forms occur in Prākṛt: *ṇaṃ* (acc. sg.), *neṇa*, *ṇeṇa*, *nāe*, *ṇāe* (instr. sg. masc. and fem.), *ṇe* (acc. pl.), *ṇehiṃ ṇāhiṃ* (instr. pl. masc. and fem.). Pischel too derives these forms from O. I. A. *ena-* (*Grammatik der Prakritsprachen*, p. 307).

In some inscriptions of Aśoka *nāni* (neut. pl. nom. -acc. of the base *na-*) occurs as an indefinite pronoun. It occurs in the Girnar version of Rock Edict VI, while *kāni* occurs in the corresponding Kalsi, Jaugada and Dhauli (?) versions, and *ṣa* and *ṣe* in the corresponding Sahbazgarhi and Mansehra versions. Thus: Girnar (12) *idha ca nāni sukhāpayāni* "and here I give pleasure to some" ; Kalsi (20) *hidha ca kāni sukhāyāmi* ; Sahbazgarhi (16) *ia ca ṣa sukhayami*.

As an indefinite pronoun *nāni* along with *kāni* occurs in the Allahabad, Radhia, Mathia and Rampurva versions of Pillar Edict V, and probably also in the Topra and Delhi-Mirat versions. Thus: *ajakā nāni eḍakā ca sukali ca gabhinī vā pāyamīnā vā avadhya* (*potake ca kāni āsaṃmāsike*) "any she-goat or ewe or sow either with young or in milk (is) not-to-be-killed" (Radhia V, 5-6 etc.). In the Allahabad-Kauśāmbī Queen's Edict *nāni* occurs as a colourless enclitic. Thus *ṣe nāni hevaṃ vinati dutīyāye deviye* "this (is) indeed the request of the second queen."

The Ṛgvedic adverb *na* expressing a simile is sometimes explained as being nothing but the negative particle *na*. *mṛgó na bhīmáḥ* is, therefore, explained as "not a ferocious animal, *i.e.*, like a ferocious animal." This explanation is preposterous if anything. If, however, this *na* is taken as an enclitic indefinitive the semantic change would be much easier to follow. Thus *mṛgó na bhīmáḥ* "some ferocious animal (like), *i.e.*, a ferocious animal".

An indefinitive use of the demonstrative pronoun *sa* is to be found in Aśoka's Sahbazgarhi and Mansehra Rock Edict VI, where *nāni* of the Kalsi and Jaugada versions appears as *ṣa* and *ṣe* respectively. The passages in question have been quoted *supra*.

[*qw* stands for the I.-E. labio-velar.]

SUKUMAR SEN

The So-Called Bell-Capital

The interminable controversy as to the exact significance of the form of the capitals of Mauriyan pillars (*stambhas*) and their so-called affinity with Persian forms seems, in the opinion of the present writer, to have been terminated and given the *quietus* by a direct piece of evidence, which was cited by Plotinus in an article entitled 'Art in Eastern India: A Review' (*Rūpam*, No. 35-36, July-October 1928, pp. 45-50). As the article and the evidence adduced in it appear to have been missed, or possibly, ignored by Mr. Achyuta Kumar Mitra, I take the liberty of making a quotation from the same for the benefit of the readers of the *Indian Historical Quarterly*. I also cite here, in a small block, the evidence—a piece of pillar fragment from Mathura—now in the Lucknow Museum. This interesting piece of fragment, (probably belonging to the first century A.D.), gives a replica of a typical Mauriyan *stambha*, with a lion capital. It graphically visualises—how these pillars used to be circumbulated by pious pilgrims—in the manner, as we see in this replica,—the pillar being touched by a man and a woman—possibly a pilgrim and his wife paying their devout homage to this pious monument of a devout monarch. In the tiny replica of this typical Mauriyan pillar, we find a lion seated on a pedestal which is placed on an abacus—having the unmistakable design of an up-turned lotus. The turned down petals of a lotus is beyond all controversy. What a particular form represents in the conventions of the plastic language is an aesthetic and *not* an antiquarian, or philological problem.

Mr. Havell, Dr. Coomaraswamy and the author of this note distinctly recognised, in the somewhat transformed lineaments of the Aśokan capitals,—the submerged form of an up-turned lotus.

The evidence of the Mathura Pillar fragment affords, in the present case, a piece of conclusive evidence which accident has preserved in this replica. It is hoped that the controversy will now receive its much needed burial. An extract from the article of Plotinus is quoted here:

"The most tangible data for the solution of the question of the so-called influence of Achaemenian art on Indian art of the Mauriyan period are those furnished by the comparative forms, designs and motifs of the Aśokan pillars,

and the pillars surviving in the ruins of the porticoes, halls, and palaces of Xerxes and Darius at Persepolis and Susa. The Aśokan pillars (recovered in various sites, e.g. Sanchi, Sarnath, Rampurva, Sankisa, Basarh, Lauriya Nandangarh, etc.) consist of long shafts, slightly tapering towards the top, carrying an abacus in the form a stylized lotus-form with its petals spread out (which archæologists with characteristic persistence choose to mis-call "a bell"). This "lotus" is capped by a thin band, sometimes indented in the form of a "rope" and mounted by another projecting band, invariably decorated, sometimes with rows of geese (Lauriya Nandangarh, Ramapurva), sometimes by "palmettes", or "honeysuckles", and sometimes by elephants, bulls and horses as at Sarnath. On the top of the capital is placed an animal, undoubtedly of some symbolical significance, either a bull, elephant, lion, or a horse. The Sarnath piece carries three lions seated back to back, being a distant echo of the design of two bulls seated back to back occurring in an Achaemenian capital of a column from the palace of Artaxerxes Memmon from Susa (Louvre Museum, Paris). All the Aśokan pillars are monoliths and are plain and shining with "Mauryian polish" and have no base. All the Persian columns of this period are fluted, unlike the Aśokan ones, and have bases, or scales which have forms resembling a "bell" with indentations, or fluted bands which may be conventionalized lotus petals, though the resemblance is very far-fetched. These "bells" never occur near the capital in the Persian pillars. That the abacus in the Aśokan pillar is not a "bell" but a conventionalized lotus with open petals, can be easily demonstrated from the replica of a typical Aśokan lion-pillar pictured on a relief on a railing from Muttra now in the Lucknow Museum (J. 268), which we reproduce here (opposite page 51). In this replica, the lotus of the abacus is less conventionalized, and the petals of the lotus are more easily recognizable. Another significant data, which the present writer owes to the suggestion of the Editor of *Rūpam*, is the number of petals of the lotus-abacus of the Aśokan pillar. It is always sixteen, curiously reminiscent of the well-known *ṣoḍaśa-dala-padma* of sacred ritualistic significance, in the later *tantra* literature. The other important data is that furnished by the style of the animal sculptures of the Aśokan capitals. In their decadent realistic style, they are miles away from the monumental and rhythmic decorations of the Persian animal forms. The last point of importance is the fact that the Aśokan pillars are purely monumental and aesthetic in aim, and not at all structural like the Achaemenian pillars which do not stand by themselves but are useful architectural supports. These considerations unquestionably demonstrate that the Aśokan pillars could not have been modelled on, or derived from, Achæmenian examples and are fundamentally different in their design, symbolism, and technique."[1]

O. C. Gangoly

1 Plotinus: 'Art in Eastern India: A Review', *Rūpam*, no. 35-36 pp. 49-50.



Pillar Fragment
Lucknow Provincial Museum
No. J-208

The Conception of Soul in Jainism

Various conceptions about the form and nature of the soul have been current among the different peoples of the world from the primitives to the present day scientist. In India alone is found a number of such conceptions. In the hymns of the Ṛgveda (X. 58. 1-12) we read that the soul of a man after death is invited to come back to him from the trees, herbs, the sky, the sun etc. Coming down to the Upaniṣadic literature, in one place we find that "the intelligent luminous self in the heart is as small as a grain of rice or barley, and yet it is the ruler of all this and whatever else exists",[1] while in another, the soul is said to be of the size of the thumb.[2] In the Upaniṣads not often the *ātman* is spoken of as filling the whole extent of the body. It is said that, "as razor is placed in the razor-case, or fire in the fire-hearth, so does this conscious self pervade the body up to hairs and nails."[3] Finally, here we meet with the conception that the soul is not being restricted to any part of the body but as being infinite and occupying all space. It "is eternal, all-prevailing, omnipresent, subtle and imperishable and is the origin of all beings, and the wise alone can perceive it."[4] Next to the Upaniṣads, we come to the different philosophical systems. Sāṃkhya-philosophers believe in the plurality of the *ātman* (*Puruṣa*). According to them the *ātman* is formless, pure consciousness, eternal, all-pervading and subtle. It is a passive spectator and not an independent enjoyer of its actions. The Nyāya-vaiśeṣika system of thought treats the soul as a qualityless, characterless, indeterminate unconscious entity. It is absolutely immutable, all-pervading, in itself unconscious and devoid of all attributes. The *ātman*, according to them, acquires consciousness only as a result of suitable collocations. In order to avoid the absolute eternalism on the one hand, and the absolute nihilism on the other, the Buddha neither

1 *Br. Up.*, V. 6. 1.
2 *Kaṭha Up.*, II. 2. 12.
3 *Kauṣītaki Up.*, IV. 20.
4 *Muṇḍaka Up.*, 1. 6.

accepted nor denied the existence of the soul.[5] According to *Śaṅkara Vedānta*, the *ātman* which is *sat*, *cit* and *ānanda*, is identical with Brahman.

Having a kinship with the above systems in some respects, the Jaina school of philosophers believes that the soul is eternal, conscious, blissful and pure in its nature; it has plurality and possesses infinite energy. It is "a doer and an enjoyer. It migrates in a series of existences, and, in fact, is free from *Karmas*."[6] In Jaina philosophy, consciousness is not an attribute of the soul but it is the very nature of it. It is not held to be absolutely immutable and unmodifiable; it undergoes modifications (*vivartamān*) such as the forms of god, man etc. The most noteworthy conception of the soul in Jainism is that it conforms to the dimension of the body it lives in. In this sense, the soul occupies the whole body from tip of the hair to the nail of the foot. Thus the soul can be contracted or expanded according to the body it possesses. It is of a very small size while the foetus is in the womb and goes on expanding gradually with its body till it attains its full dimension. It is said that as a lamp placed in a small pot or in a room illumines the whole space, so the soul expands and contracts according to the body of an ant or an elephant. A better example can be cited by mentioning the case of a gas-like-oxygen which fills up the whole of the space within different vessels, having small or large dimensions. The Jaina conception that the soul has a measure of its body can be compared with its similar conception in the *Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad* referred to above.

5 Kiṃ nu kho bho Gotama atth'attā ti.
Evaṃ vutte Bhagavā tuṇhī ahosi.
Kiṃ pana bho Gotama natth'attā ti.
Dutiyam pi kho Bhagavā tuṇhī ahosi.

Saṃyutta Nikāya, IV, 400.

6 कर्ता च कर्मभेदानां भोक्ता कर्मफलस्य च।
संसर्ता परिनिर्वाता स ह्यात्मा नान्यलक्षणः॥

This śloka is very old and often quoted by Haribhadra Sūri (*Śāstra-vārttā samuccaya*, 1. 9) and other writers.

7 अणुगुरुदेहपमाणो उवसंहारप्पसप्पदो चेदा।

Dravya-saṃgraha, 9.

It should be noted that this Jaina conception of soul is viewed only from the practical point of view (*vyavahārānaya*). From the real standpoint the soul is viewed to occupy the whole universe. Upādhyāya Yaśovijayaji, a great saint of the eighteenth century, has described it in *Adhyātmasāra*. He says that it is from the ordinary point of view that the soul has dimension and plurality. A jaundiced person due to the defects in his eyes perceives two moons instead of one, in the same way the man who has not realised the *ātman* sees it as many. It is due to illusion that in relation to its material *karmas*, we call the *ātman* as material, but in fact, it possesses neither form nor dimension; it is one unity (from the point of view of consciousness as one). It exists, in its consciousness, bliss and beyond all description.[8]

According to the Jaina school all existing souls are divided into two classes, the liberated (*mukta*) and the non-liberated (*saṃsārin*). The latter are either mobile (*trasa*) or immobile (*sthāvara*). Further, the mobile ones are two-sensed, three-sensed, four-sensed or five-sensed, possessing respectively the sense or senses of taste, smell, sight and hearing. The immobile beings are called microscopic organisms (*sukṣma ekendriya jīva*) having only one sense, viz., touch. These are said to contain in the earth, water, air, fire and plants. The characteristic of all these organisms is the possession of the vitalities, which are ten in number: the five senses, the three powers of the body, speech and

8 संकुचियविवसियत्तं जीवस्स होइ जीवगुणो।
पूरेइ इंदि लोगं बहुप्पएहसत्तया गुणेयं॥
Āchārāṅganiryukti, Āgamodaya-samiti edition, p. 171.

9 यथा तैमिरिकभ्रान्तमप्येकं मन्यते द्विधा।
अनिश्चयकृतोन्मादस्तथात्मानमनेकधा॥
तथामूर्तांगसंबंधादात्मा मूर्त इति भ्रमः।
न रूपं न रसो गंधो न च स्पर्शो न चाकृतिः।
यस्य धर्मा न शब्दो वा तस्य का नाम मूर्तता॥
चैतन्यपरसामान्यात् सर्वेषामेकतात्मनाम्।
आत्मा सत्यचिदानन्दः सूक्ष्मात्सूक्ष्मः परात्परः॥
Adhyātmasāra, XVIII.

mind, respiration, and the age (*āyuḥ*). Out of these, the four vitalities must be present in every living being, however low in the scale of beings, e.g., the tiniest, lowest amœba possesses the sense of touch, the bodily power by which it moves, respiration, and the life-span. As we ascend the scale of beings, the vitalities grow till we reach the man with all the five senses, the three powers, respiration and the span of life.

Strange to say, that from the Jaina doctrine of microscopic being filling the whole universe, some scholars are led to believe that Jainism is very primitive since it believes "that nearly everything is possessed of a soul; not only have plants their own souls but particles of earth, cold water, fire and wind also."[10] They call this belief of Jaina philosophers as animistic or hylozoistic. But a careful study of the Jaina scriptures shows that Jainism is not an animistic faith. Jaina philosophy does not teach that "everything from the solar system to the dewdrops has a soul,"[11] although the whole universe is packed up with minute beings imbued with a soul. In fact, if "there are souls even in the inorganic objects like metals and stones,"[12] what is the object of the Jaina metaphysics in making a distinction between the *jīva* and *ajīva*, or *cetana* and *acetana*?

The division of living-matter (*sacitta*) and dead-matter (*acitta*), according to Jainism, is noteworthy in this connection. It is said that as long as a piece of rock has the vitalities and possesses the capacity of growing, it comes under the category of immobile organisms. But when this rock is taken out, it loses all the vitalities together with its capacity of growing, coming in contact with dissimilar objects such as water, air etc. It is then called *acitta* and it possesses no more a soul. The same is the case with water-bodied, fire-bodied, and plant-bodied souls.[13] To take another example, water is a living-matter according to Jaina biology, but when it is taken out from the well and heated, it loses all the characteristics of a *jīva*. Similarly a fruit, as long as it is green is a living-matter, but it becomes dead matter, or

10 Vide Jacobi's *Jaina Sūtras*, SBE, part II, p. xxxiii.

11 Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, vol. I, p. 322.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 322.

13 *Daśvaikālika Sūtra*, IV. I, Agamodaya-samiti edition, p. 136.

ajīva when it is ripe. Thus it is very clear that Jainism is not animism in the sense that "every thing is possessed of a soul," [14] but on the other hand, it makes a clear distinction between soul and non-soul.

As regards life in the vegetable kingdom, Jainism holds a very important view. "Though some other Indian philosophers admit that the plants possess souls, the Jaina thinkers have developed this theory in a remarkable way." Jainism holds that the plants may be the body of one soul (*pratyeka*), or it may possess a multitude of embodied souls (*sādhāraṇa*). In the former case, the plants are always gross, while in the latter the beings are very subtle and invisible and they possess a common body and have their respiration and nourishment in common, but are otherwise separate and distinct from each other. These beings are technically called the *Nigodas* or monads. It is said that these organisms are in the lowest and most miserable condition of existence. They supply souls to the vacant space caused by the liberated souls.

The Jaina philosophers were great observers of Nature. They had a direct approach to her heart. They loved Nature as they loved their own self. That is why they could see souls not only in earth, water and plant but even in substances like fire and air. Jaina philosophers do not take an ordinary view of these *jīvas* but they go into deeper and greater details and place before us such a remarkable and minute description of the little beings, as was not attempted by any other philosophers in ancient India.[15] The Jaina scriptures are full of these details. Indeed all this shows the 'all-merciful' spirit of Jaina *ācāryas*. Their highest religion was that "all breathing, existing, living, sentient creatures should not be slain, nor treated with violence, nor abused, nor tormented, nor driven away."[16]

JAGDISH CHAND JAIN

14 Colebrooke: *Miscellaneous Essays*, ii, p. 276.

15 *Cf.* however the biological doctrines of Mahidāsa in *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* and Gośāla, the elder contemporary of Mahāvīra.

16 *Ācārāṅga*, IV. I.

Uḍḍiyāna and Sāhore

Tradition, as embodied in the *Pag-sam-jon-zang*, tells us that Tāntric Buddhism first developed in a place called Uḍḍiyāna, or Orgyan as it is put otherwise.[1] It is stated to be 'by far the most frequently mentioned among the four *Pīṭhas* (sacred places) of the Vajrayānists'. Though we do not know whether Tāntric Buddhism had its origin or developed in this particular place or not, we obtain the names of many Tāntric Buddhist scholars hailing from Uḍḍiyāna; for instance, Lui-pāda,[2] Anaṅga-Vajra,[3] Thagana,[4] Tailika-pāda,[5] Saraha[6] (most probably identical with Śābarī-pāda), Avadhūta-pāda,[7] Nāga-bodhi,[8] Jñāna-vajra,[9] Buddha-jñāna-pāda,[10] Amogha-nātha,[11] Dharma-śrī-mitra,[12] etc. This place is identified by different scholars with different places, such as Swat Valley, Kasgarh, Orissa and so on, while the latest suggestion would place it somewhere on the north-eastern fringe of Bengal and far away from Kāmākhyā and Sylhet,[13] the two other *Pīṭhas* of the four.

It will be my contention here to show that Uḍḍiyāna was a place in Bengal. Lui-pāda,[14] according to the *Pag-sam-jon-zang*, is a man of Uḍḍiyāna, while in a work of the Tangyur[15] he is said to be a native of Bengal. Similarly Saraha, who according to a tradition belonged to Uḍḍiyāna[16] is represented in the *Pag-sam-jon-zang* as of Baṅgāla.[17] Again, Avadhūtapāda is an epithet of Advaya-varja, and in a text of the

1 *Pag-sam-jon-zang*, ed. S. C. Das, Index, p. cxli.

2 *Ibid.*, p. cxv. 3 *Ibid.*, p. lxvii.

4 *Catalogue du fonds Tibétain de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, par P. Cordier, Paris, 1915, vol. II, pp. 80-81.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 79. 6 *Ibid.*, p. 375.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 266. 8 *Ibid.*, p. 176.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 112. 10 *Ibid.*, p. 147.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 336. 12 *Ibid.*, p. 280.

13 *Sādhana-mālā*, ed. Dr. B. T. Bhattacharyya, G. O. Series, no. XLI, Baroda, 1928, vol. II, Intro. pp. xxxvii-xxix.

14 *Pag-sam-jon-zang*, Index, p. cxv.

15 Cordier, II, p. 33. 16 *Ibid.*, p. 375.

17 *Pag-sam-jon-zang*, Index, p. cxxi.

Tangyur, Avadhūtapāda is in one place[18] said to be of Uḍḍiyāna, while in another[19] Advayavajra is called a Bengali. More important is the fact that Tailaka-pāda of Uḍḍiyāna as in the Tangyur,[20] is described in the *Pag-sam-jon-zang*[21] as a Brahmin of Chittagong, and Tailaka-pāda is commonly known to have dwelt in the Paṇḍita Vihāra of Chittagong. If the *Pag-sam-jon-zang* is correct as to the native place of Tailaka-pāda, Uḍḍiyāna requires to be located in, or identified with, the Chittagong region, and it was, therefore, in the south-eastern, as against north-eastern, borders of Bengal. There are also reasons[22] to think that Baṅgāla, the home of Saraha as noticed above, is quite different from Vaṅga and is identifiable with the same Chittagong region.

On the peculiarity of the name of the place, Dr. F. W. Thomas remarks: "The Buddhist Sanskrit form of the name of *Udyāna* is Uḍḍiyāna or Oddiyana, and the presence of an *r* or at least a cerebral, seems to be attested by the Tibetan *U-rgyan*".[23] If Uḍḍiyāna is, therefore, a popular corruption for *Udyāna*, it might give us a reason for its identification with Gauḍa, which was sometimes described as *Udyāna* (garden) (of India).[24] But the idea that Gauḍa, instead of being designated as such, has been systematically referred to by an abstract or rhetorical expression, is not convincing.

The name of Uḍḍiyāna is sometimes mentioned along with that of Sāhore (Zahor), equally a puzzling name, yet the name of this place is distinguished for having produced reputed scholars like Śāntidēva,[25] Śāntarakṣita,[26] Karmapāda[27] etc. While the close proximity of Sāhore and Uḍḍiyāna is proposed on the ground, amongst others, that it explains best the marriage of the sister of Śāntarakṣita of Zahor with

18 Cordier, II, p. 206. 19 *Ibid.*, p. 250. 20 *Ibid.*, p. 79.

21 *Pag-sam-jon-zang*, Index, p. xli.

22 These reasons will be dealt with in another paper.

23 *JRAS.*, 1906, p. 461, footnote.

24 Cf. *Pavanadūtam of Dhoyī*, ed. C. Chakravartī, p. 2, v. 6., 'Śāndrodyāna sthagita gagana-prāṅgano Gauḍa-deśaḥ'; cf. also Hill's *'Bengal in 1756-59*, vol. III, p. 160.

25 Cordier, II, p. 140. 26 *Pag-sam-jon-zang*, Index, p. xcix.

27 Cordier, III, p. 219.

the son of Indrabhūti of Uḍḍiyāna,[28] the *Pag-sam-jon-zang* says about Śāntarakṣita that he was born in Bengal,[29] and again that he was a scion of the royal family of Zahor. Sahore, thus far from being a vast region like 'Hindusthan' as supposed by Prof. Sylvain Lévi[30] or being identical with Maṇḍi in the Punjab, as suppo-ed by Dr. A. H. Francke,[31] should rather be a tract in Bengal, and probably not far away from Uḍḍiyāna. We have, however, already two different theories in which Sāhore is identified with two different places in Bengal, viz. Jessore and Sābhār in the Dacca District, but neither is supported by facts or reasons. The name 'Sāhore', however, reminds one of the fact that Śūlapāṇi (1400 A.D.), one of the most celebrated Smārtas of Bengal, calls himself 'Sāhurian,' and as he is well known to be of the Rāḍhiya sect of the Brahmins, it is evident that a district of that name was in Rāḍha, and it is not improbable that Śāntarakṣita etc. belonged to the Sāhore in Rāḍha. In any case, however, Sāhore of the Tibetan chroniclers cannot be but a place in Bengal, and an additional support is afforded to it by the fact that King Dharmapāda of Bengal is sometimes represented in Tibetan tradition as a 'King of Sāhore'.[32]

NALINI NATH DASGUPTA

28 *Antiquities of Indian Tibet* by A. H. Francke, part II, Cal., 1926, p. 86, note; *Sādhanamālā*, II., Intro, pp. xxxvii-xxxviii; *Indian Historical Quarterly* 1927, p. 746.

29 *Pag-sam-jon-zang*, Index, p. xcix.

30 *Le Népal*, vol. II, Paris 1905, p. 177.

31 *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, vol. II, p. 87.

32 *JASB.*, 1881, p. 247 and note 61.

The So-called City Council of Pāṭaliputra

Some ten years back, Mr. K. P. Jayaswal tried to prove that there existed in ancient India two corporate bodies, the *Jānapada* and the *Paura* which were powerful enough even to make and unmake kings. The theory was strongly criticised and convincingly disproved in the pages of this *Quarterly* (vol. II, nos. 2 and 3) by its learned editor, Dr. Narendra Nath Law. I have not seen Mr. Jayaswal's reply to Dr. Law's arguments. But he obviously sticks till now to his old view, for in his *History of India, 150 A.D. to 350 A.D.* (p. 117), he states that the City Council of Pāṭaliputra pronounced a decree of deposition against Candragupta I, when he was away from the capital, suppressing the Savara rebels.

But that his view in this case too is not right will be proved by the following quotations from the *Kaumudīmahotsava*, the book on which he bases his history of Candragupta I:

(*a*) आर्य—कः सन्देहः। परस्य पूर्वसंनिविष्टैः सागरदत्तप्रभृतिभिः स्थविरामात्यैः संभूय मंत्रगुप्तेन देवस्य सुन्दरवर्मणस्तेषां गुणानामनुस्मारिता रहसि पौरजानपदाः। यदि सांप्रतमेष्यति स्वामी शबरैरकलोष्ठवधमप्याचरिष्यन्ति; किमङ्ग पुनः स्वामिपदोपसङ्ग्रहणम्।

वर्ध—केण कारणेण विरत्ता पकिदिए चंडसेणाहदअस्स।[1]

(केन कारणेन विरक्ता प्रकृतयश्चण्डसेनाहृतकस्य।)

(*b*) (पुनरपि नेपथ्ये)

भो भोः पाटलिपुत्रवासिनः पौराः शृण्वन्तु भवन्तः—

श्रीमद्भिः सचिवशतैः समन्वितोऽसौ
लक्ष्मीवानुडुनिवहैरिवोडुराजः।
ब्रह्मण्यो नयनमहोत्सवः प्रजानां
संप्राप्तो मगधकुलाङ्कुरः कुमारः॥[2]

(*c*) भोः कुसुमपुरवासिनः पौराः शृण्वन्तु भवन्तो वच्छ्रीमहत्तरस्य मन्त्रगुप्तस्य वचनम्।[3]

There are perhaps no other passages in which the words पौर and जानपद occur.

1 Dakṣiṇa Bhāratī Series, No. 4, p. 29.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 35.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 39.

In (a) we do not find any reference to a corporate body. The remark of Vardhamānaka makes it easy to equate पौरजानपदाः with प्रकृतयः; 'the subjects of Caṇḍasena,' whether living in the town or the country.

In (b) the citizens of Pāṭaliputra are asked to rise for Kalyāṇavarman. In the third line of the verse, the authoress uses the words प्रकृतीनां प्रजानां instead of पौराणां of the accompanying prose passage, showing thereby that she, for one, regards the two as synonymous.

In (c) the proclamation is not for any City Council, but for all the पौरs or citizens of Pāṭaliputra.

It is therefore manifest that Mr. Jayaswal's theory finds no support from the *Kaumudīmahotsava*, and that he is wrong in stating that Candragupta I was deposed by the City Council of Pāṭaliputra.

DASARATHA SARMA

The Kaumudīmahotsava and the Date of Kālidāsa

(A Supplement)

Since writing my article, bearing the above title and appearing in the *Quarterly*, vol. x, no. 4, I have given some more thought to the matter and arrived at a few definite conclusions which I intend to place before its readers.

1. The idea contained in the verse इदं किलाविकृतकान्तिकिल्बं[1] etc. of the *Kaumudīmahotsava* has been borrowed from the (इदं किलाव्याज-मनोहरं वपुः[1]) verse of the *Abhijñānaśākuntala*, for while the latter sustains admirably the idea expressed in the accompanying prose passage, the former does not. Kālidāsa does prove that Kaṇva is an असाधुदर्शी. But the authoress of the *Kaumudīmahotsava* has not much reason for using the term अशक्यप्रारम्भप्रवृत्त for the मथुरेश्वर. This compound word comes in merely because it expresses well the idea contained in the 3rd and 4th lines of the Śākuntala verse. As the poetess liked the idea, and could not use it in her verse, she found a place for it in the introductory prose sentence.

2. We find the authoress following the same procedure with regard to the (गच्छन्तीनां रमणवसतिं) verse of the *Meghadūta*. In the 10th verse of the 4th Act of her drama, she paraphrases गच्छन्तीनां by प्रस्थितानां, रमणवसतिं by प्रियतमवसतिं and so on. But not finding therein a place for रुद्धालोके नरपतिपथे सूचिभेद्यैस्तमोभिः, she indroduces the idea some ten lines later in the prose passage अहो नु खलु दृष्टिभेद्यैरन्धकारपटलै-र्निरन्तरनिचितानीव दिगन्तराणि ।

3. Of the two verses, दर्पणगतमिव भर्तुः etc. of the *Kaumudīmahot-sava* and द्वारे नियुक्तपुरुषानुमतप्रवेशः etc. of the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, the latter alone can be regarded as the right description. The actual presence of a person inspires awe, but not so his picture. The poetess has clearly borrowed the idea from Kālidāsa and used it in the best way she could.

If our reasoning in the above three cases is right, we are, I think, justified in concluding that in other cases too where there is a similarity of ideas between the two writers, it is the poetess and not the poet who is the borrower. Kālidāsa is therefore certainly anterior to c. 340 A.D., when the *Kaumudīmahotsava* was composed to celebrate the victory of Kalyāṇavarman over the first Gupta ruler Candragupta. Kālidāsa was not a court poet of the Guptas, for if it were so, the poetess, being a bitter critic of his patrons, would

have deliberately refrained from using his ideas and language. That she did so shows that Kālidāsa must have flourished some centuries earlier, and become so famous by her time, that one improvising a drama naturally went to his works, and did not feel very much abashed, even if the audience detected some of the master poet's ideas in his or her composition.

DASARATHA SARMA

The Invasions of Jaisalmer by the Khaljis

European scholars are sometimes unduly severe on poor bards who have done so much to preserve the history of India. They call their accounts legendary, accuse them of shameless mendacity, and propose interpretations which are perhaps even more far-fetched and fantastic than the versions of the poor illiterate and highly imaginative annalists of Rajputana and other Indian provinces. And all this is unfortunately done without examining the evidence available to every painstaking scholar. The following passage from Lt. Colonel Sir Wolseley Haig's account of the Jadons of Jaisalmer in the *Cambridge History of India*, vol. III would serve as a good example of their usual procedure.

'*The annals of Jaisalmer record a siege of the city by the troops of Alāuddīn Khiljī which lasted for eight years, from* 1286 *to* 1295. *Alauddin did not ascend the throne until* 1296, *and no such seige as that sung by the bards ever took place.*[1] The account of the performance of the rite of *jauhar* and of the death of 24,000 women in the flames is detailed and circumstantial. Three thousand eight hundred Rajput warriors rushed on the foe ; Mularāja III, the Jādon chief, and seven hundred of his kin fell, and Jaisalmer was occupied by a Muslim garrison which, after holding the place for two years, dismantled it and retired.'

'*It is impossible to connect this legend with any historical event, but it may possibly be a wilful perversion of the defeat of the Jādons by the Rāthors,*' for the annals proceed to relate that after the retirement of the Muslim garrison Mālojī Rāthor, Chief of Mewa, made preparations for occupying and colonising the deserted city, but was expelled by the Bhātī chiefs Dūdā and Tilak Singh. The former was elected Rāwal, and reigned from 1295 to 1306. The bards of Jaisalmer, no less inferior to those of other states in imagination, thus describe the end of Duda's reign. "He even extended his raids to Ajmer, and carried off the studs of Firuz Shāh from the Anasāgar (lake), where they were accustomed to be watered. This indignity provoked another attack upon Jaisalmer, attended with the same disastrous results. Again the *Sākha* was performed, in which sixteen thousand females were destroyed; and Dudā, with Tilak Singh and seventeen hundred of the clan fell in battle, after

1 The italics are mine.

he had occupied the *gaddī* ten years." *This statement is quoted merely in order to display the shameless mendacity of the bardic annals, Firuz Shāh was Jalāluddīn Fīruz Khiljī, the uncle and predecessor of Alā-ud-dīn, who is said to have taken Jaisalmer in the previous year. It may be one more perversion of the defeat at the hands of the Raṭhors.'*

Is this censure of the bards of Jaisalmer justified ? That in this case at least it is not so, will be the verdict of every one who goes through the Jaisalmer inscriptions, published in the Catalogue of Mss. in the Jain Bhandārs of this town. The fifth verse in the Sambhava Jaina temple inscription V. S. 1417 reads as follows :—

Yatprākāravaraṃ vilokya balino Mlecchāvanīpā api
Prodyatsainyasahasradurgrahamidaṁ gehaṁ hi gosvāminaḥ/
Bhagnopāyabalā vadanta iti muñcanti mānaṁ nijaṁ
TacchrīJaisalamerunāmanagaraṁ jīyājjanatrāyakam//

Though not referring to any invasion in particular, the verse does speak in general of the invasion of the town by the Muslim rulers. That the town was, however, actually besieged and captured in Dūdā's time by the Muslims would be evident, if we turn to the 7th verse in the Pārśva temple inscription (V. S. 1473), which describes the recapture of the town by Ghaṭasiṃha, the successor of Rao Dūdā, and runs as follows :—

Śrī-Ratnasiṁhasya mahīdhavasya babhūva putro
Ghaṭasiṁhanāmā/
Yaḥ siṃhavan Mlecchagajān vidārya balādalād
vapradarīmaribhyaḥ//

The second line is, I believe, a clear statement of the fort having once passed into the hands of the Muslims who were sometime later forcibly deprived of Jaisalmer by the redoubtable warrior Ghaṭasiṃha, son of Ratnasiṃha, the king who preceded Dūdā on the *gaddi*.

So much then about the first invasion the occurrence of which one might, with the above evidence in view, regard as true, in spite of Lt. Colonel Sir Wolseley Haig's opinion to the contrary. Next, if we consider carefully the nature of Dūdās' authority at Jaisalmer, we shall find nothing legendary about an earlier invasion also. The Sambhava temple inscription (V. S. 1497) gives the names of Jādon kings as below :-

Tasmin Śrīyādavavaṁśe Rāula-Śrī-Jaitsiṃha-Mūlarāja-Ratnasiṃha-Rāula-Śrī-Dūdā-Rāula-Śrī-Ghaṭasiṃha-Mūlarājaputra Devarājanāmāno rājānobhūvan,

But if we turn to the Pārśva temple inscription, we find that Dūdā's name has not been mentioned. The genealogy therein is given as follows :—

Tatra kramādabhavadugrasamagratejāḥ
Śrī-Jaitrasiṃha-nararāja iti prattāḥ |
Ciccheda Śātravanṛpānasināmnajasā yo
Vajreṇa Śailatarahānica Vajrapāyiḥ ||
Tasy prakāsyau tanayāvabhūtāṁ
Śrī-Mūladevo'tha ca Ratnasiṃhaḥ |
Nyāyena bhuṅktaḥ sma tathā bhuvaṁ yau
Yathā purā Lakṣmaṇa-Rāmadevau ||
Śrī Ratnasiṃhasya mahādhuvasya
Babhūva putro Ghoṭasiṃhanāmā |
Yaḥ siṃhavan Mlecchagajān vidārya
balādalād vapradarīmaribhyaḥ ||
Sunandanatvād vibudhairnutatvād
Gorakṣaṇācchrīdasamāśritatvāt |
Śrī-Mūlarāja-kṣitipālasūnuḥ
yathārthanāmājani Devarājaḥ ||

At first sight, the absence of a ruler's name from an inscription, only 24 years earlier than that in which it occurs, might appear unaccountable except on the ground of gross negligence on the part of its writer. But if we follow here the guidance of the much maligned bards, the reason will be found quite obvious. Rawal Dūdā did not belong to the royal line, and was, as stated by the annalists an elected ruler of Jaisalmer. Hence the writer of the Pārśva temple inscription did not think it right to include his name in the genealogy of the reigning dynasty. The election, again, must have been due to some such reasons as assigned by the Jaisalmer annals. The royal line was not extinct. Both Mūlarāja and Ratnasiṃha had sons. Nevertheless Dūdā was elected Rāwal, because the royal princes being most probably far away from the capital on account of its capture by the Muslims, the people had perforce to seek the protection of some one against the aggression of Māloji Rāṭhor, the ruler of Mewā. Thus there is no 'wilful perversion' of facts by the bards when they speak of the first invasion of Jaisalmer by the Khaljīs. They merely give us the facts as they are, caring little as to what future writers might think or make of them ; and it is only in the light of these facts that one can reasonably explain the presence of Rawal Dūdā's name in the Sambhava temple inscription (V. S. 1497), and its

absence from the Pārśva temple inscription (V. S. 1473) which is barely twenty four years older.

Further, one need not dismiss the two invasions of Jaisalmer by the Khaljīs as legendary merely because the bards have wrongly assigned the first invasion to the reign of Alā-ud-din, and the second to that of his predecessor Jalāl-ud-dīn Fīrūz. The error is quite simple, and can be easily accounted for. The later bards, to whom the story of the invasions of Jaisalmer passed by oral tradition, made just one slip of the tongue, and not knowing so well the genealogy of the Sultans of Delhi as they did that of their own rulers, unconsciously put Alā-ud-dīn in place of Fīrūz, and thus inverted the order of the Sultans in whose times the invasions occurred. Such mistakes are not rare in the history of India, and should not be made a reason for the type of trenchant criticism levelled at the poor bards of Jaisalmer by Lt. Colonel Sir Wolseley Haig.

DASARATHA SARMA

A History of the Village Communities in W. India

In reviewing the above book in the *IHQ.*, IX, 4, the Aitihāsika (henceforth referred to as A.) has made some remarks which call for an explanation. He says at one place that "the author shows a deplorable tendency to postulate for one period what existed in another," but he refrains from illustrating this tendency by even a single example. In another place, he observes that according to the author "Smṛtis do but register the existing institutions of the country,"—a view never expressed by me. In several places I have as a matter of fact pointed out how epigraphic and historical evidences confirm the statements in Smṛtis about certain topics and institutions; but therefor no person with reason would attribute to me the view mentioned above.

A. remarks: "In short, the Saṃhitās, the Brāhmaṇas, the Jātakas, and the Smṛtis all have been given the status of Gazetteers, and that again Gazetteers of Western India." This is an exaggeration, —let us hope an unintentional one,—of what I have done in the book. In the introduction of my book I have given a brief history of the village communities down to about the 6th century B.C. to serve as a kind of background for the history of the village communities in Western India, which cannot be traced back to a very early period. For this purpose I have utilised the data in the Vedic and Buddhist literature. But while treating of the history of the village communities in Western India in the body of the book, I have as a rule, rigorously confined myself to the inscriptions, books and documents that relate to Western India.

A. demurs to my conclusion that *pūga*, *śreṇi* and *kula* courts, though described by northern Smṛtis, existed in Western India; my conclusion is based on the fact that these courts functioned in the Deccan even during the Muslim rule receiving recognition and support from the Muslim rulers, even when the interests of their own co-religionists were adversely affected by the decisions of these courts.

A. says that the book is a pleasant reading, but for the mass of mistakes and inaccuracies present in every part of it. But as usual, he does not mention any of these mistakes and inaccuracies. He only notes a few points of difference and let us see what these are. He complains: 'Favoured by the scantiness of the Vedic data the author has

been able to draw a picture of the Vedic village communities conforming to his own ideals, specially as he has wisely desisted from trying to find the exact significance of such terms as *sabhā* and *samiti;* he calmly attributes to them exactly those meanings *which commend themselves most to our enthusiastic and patriotic countrymen.*' I have suggested in my book that *sabhā* stands for 'the council of the villagers' and *samiti* for 'a higher council whose business it was to advise and control the king.' What other sense can be suggested for the term *samiti* in view of passages like the following:

ध्रुवाय ते (राज्ञे) समितिः कल्पनामिह । *AV.*, VI, 88, 3
नास्मै (राज्ञे) समितिः कल्पतेन मित्र' नयते वशम् । *Ibid.*, V, 19, 15

It may be incidentally mentioned that Profs. Macdonell and Keith assign a similar sense to the term *samiti* in their *Vedic Index.*

A. says that the nomadic Aryan barbarians did not know the art of settled life, and observes that the word *grāma* in the Vedic literature often signifies *a band of wanderers, sometimes forming a clan.* It would have advanced the bounds of our knowledge if he had indicated the passages where the word has got this novel sense. In some passages of the *Rg-veda*, the word has the sense of a body of men or troops, but this is very probably the derivative sense as the *Vedic Index* (I, p. 245) observes.

In the vast majority of cases, the word stands for a village and supports the view that the village life was well developed in the early Vedic age. The fire ritual was well developed during the Indo-Iranian period, it is very doubtful whether this ritualistic development would have been possible among 'nomadic barbarians,' who were strangers to settled life in villages.

Like all human productions my book has some limitations. It was published in 1927, and some of my statements in the Introduction about the contact and mutual influence of the Aryans and the Dravidians may, on account of the very recent Indus Valley discoveries, require some modifications. But the book itself is free from the types of mistakes, vaguely suggested by A. I would have felt very grateful to him, if he had pointed out specific mistakes and substantiated his charges.

A. S. Altekar

Re ɾ

Dr. Altekar (henceforth referred to as D.) considers that the remarks made by me relating to his book are unsubstantiated; hence it will be my object in this reply to substantiate my statements. Some of the statements indeed were not duly substantiated, as it was thought not necessary in a review.

In support of my statement that D. "shows a tendency to postulate for one period what existed at another," let me take up for consideration his interpretation of the expression *acāṭabhaṭaprāveśyaḥ* appearing in the village grants (p. 56). After pointing out that provisions are made in the *Arthaśāstra* for garrisoning the interior and that Manu recommends the establishment of police stations (*gulma*) for every two, three or five villages, D. proceeds to say that "this recommendation was actually followed in practice by Cālukya, Valabhi, Rāṣṭrakūṭa and Śilāhāra rulers of Western India." For this theory our author depends solely on the word *acāṭabhaṭaprāveśyaḥ* occurring in the village grants of some of these monarchs. In order to elucidate the meaning of this word he first states that "in ancient times, when troops or sepoys were required for any purely local purpose, the inhabitants of the locality had to pay for their help." In connection with this statement the author does not explain which period he means by "ancient times" nor does he draw the line of demarcation between local affairs and those of the central government in "ancient times," and he does not clear up the exact character of the 'troops and sepoys." Is there any evidence which would countenance such a theory about "ancient times" and specially about the days of Cālukya, Valabhi, Rāṣṭrakūṭa and Śilāhāra monarchs? None of these questions however seems to have occurred to D., for without trying to substantiate his statement by a single fact he gives his interpretation of the term *acāṭabhaṭaprāveśyaḥ* thus: "What the grants signify by the expression in question is that the villages mentioned in the grants were exempted from the liability (of maintaining the troops)". The interpretation is however wrong. Its meaning is that "certain types of troops, whatever their exact nature, could not enter the granted villages."

Being misled, about the significance of the term, our author makes another uncautious remark: "It therefore follows that the visits of such regular and irregular troops must have been frequent enough for the purpose of detection of crime or the chastisement of robbers". And in this D. shows that Manu's recommendation to establish police stations at every two, three or five villages was actually followed by the Cālukyas, etc. He is, in fact, postulating for the Cālukyan age what has been mentioned in the *Manusaṃhitā* even though there is no evidence to support such a view.

As regards my remark that the *Smṛtis* have been utilised as if they do but register the existing institutions of the country, I may point out the following:—

(i) On p. 65 D. shows that Manu (VII, 130-132) speaks of certain duties on ghee, drugs etc., and in his opinion it is "quite clear that the tax on cows and bulls, and flowers and milk *mentioned in the Smṛtis was actually levied in Berar during the sixth century*" (p. 66), for the Chammak copper-plate grant contains the words *apāraṃparago-balīvardaḥ apuṣpakṣīrasaṃdohaḥ* (Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 238). The meaning of this expression, however, is uncertain.

(ii) On p. 41 the author says that the principle of guild courts, mentioned in the *Smṛtis*, was known in Western India also in pre-Mahomedan days, for in the succeeding Mahomedan period a similar principle was followed. Even taking for granted that the facts in the case are actually as they have been stated by the author, it is difficult to follow the trend of his ratiocination. He has adduced no epigraphic evidence, and tried to fill us this gap by means of references to the Mahomedan period, but he has not considered the possibility of the Mahomedans having introduced the guild principle into Western India from other parts of India.

(iii) On p. 42 D. says, "We may confidently assert that throughout the Hindu period, our village communities in Western India were enjoying the right of self-adjudication." Considered in its context (see pp. 40-42) it will be quite clear that the expression "Hindu period" in this passage includes the whole pre-Mahomedan period from Yājñavalkya downwards. The only attempt at evidencing this statement from sources other than the *Smṛtis* consists, as we have seen, of the

references to the Mahomedan period. Now even if we accept the author's point of view that the guild principle was not introduced into Western India by the Mahomedans, but was found by them to exist there, it can only prove that in times immediately preceding the Mohamedan conquest, the said principle was known in Western India, and it proves nothing for the age of Yājñavalkya.

We have thus pointed out three distinct ways of dealing with the *Smṛtis* in D.'s book: (1) he has tried to support the Smṛti-rules by means of inadequate epigraphic evidence, (2) inadequate historical evidence, and (3) neither epigraphic nor historical evidence.

About the use of "the *Saṃhitās*, the *Brāhmaṇas*, the *Jātakas*, and the *Smṛtis* as gazetteers of Western India", the questions raised by us are:—(1) whether the texts concerned can at all be regarded as gazetteers and (2) whether they can be particularly associated with Western India. It is quite obvious that both these questions have to be answered in the negative.

In the Introduction (p. xv) D. says, "We have, therefore, given above the picture of the Jātaka village community, for it no doubt served, as we have remarked already, as a model to the Aryan colonizers in Western India on which to organize their new village communities." This sentence clearly shows that D. considers the *Jātakas* to be a reliable source of information about Western India, although he considers them to be records of "the whole of Northern India" (p. xiii) and in spite of his admission on p. 26 that "reliable history of India's past can be reconstructed not by wide generalizations but by intense research, province by province." Let us now turn to the passage referred to by D. in the above quotation. Speaking of the *Jātakas*, he says, "this village life that is described here was not again peculiar to any particular clan or tribe, but was common to the whole of Northern India. We shall not, therefore, be far wrong in postulating that the village communities that were founded in Western India by the Aryan settlers in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. must have been modelled on those which existed in Northern India at that time and which are so faithfully described in the Jātakas." Apart from the various unwarranted implications of this passage, it is apparent that D. includes Western India within the "whole of Northern India." Again,

it is clear that "Northern India" of the second sentence of the quotation is equivalent to the "whole of Northern India" of the first, for the Jātaka-stories have been taken by the author to depict the true picture of both the one and the other. His whole theory of the village headman is based on the data of the *Jātakas* which in his opinion depict the Indian society of the 7th century B.C. The epigraphic evidence which he adduces on p. 2 (consisting, by the bye, of the bare mention of the term *grāmaṇī*) belongs to the first century A.D. and therefore can prove nothing for the age of the *Jātakas*, at least according to the ideas of our author.

No direct statement of the nature shown above has been made in the Introduction regarding the Vedic data, but as they have been used in the same way and in the same strain as the Jātaka data, it is but natural to conclude that the author considers the Vedic texts too, whatever the land of their origin, to be full of dependable data about West Indian village communities.

We shall now turn to the first question and show that D. has used the Vedic texts and the *Jātakas* as gazetteers.

On p. x, our author has made several statements regarding Vedic village communities, e.g. "Grāmaṇī or the leader of the village was practically its king"; "Each village had its own council or Sabhā where probably the village elders assembled to discuss and deliberate over questions of public importance"; "The local disputes also were settled by this council of the village elders", etc. The author has not indicated the source to prove these theories, but from certain indications on the same page it appears that the author had some Vedic passages in mind, e.g., he quotes a Vedic passage and gives the proper reference (see f.n. 2); (2) he quotes a Vedic passage without giving any reference (see f.n. 1); (3) the fourth footnote is a reference to the *Vedic Index*. Our conclusion is therefore quite justifiable that the author had in mind some Vedic passages when he made those statements, specially when it is considered that epigraphic or historical evidence is not available for the Vedic period. There is no denying the fact that the Vedic texts have been given the status of gazetteers here. The only fact which goes against our conclusion is that the available Vedic data do not countenance such sweeping statements.

D. has rightly divined that A. demurs to many of his theories about *pūga*, *śreṇī* and *kula*. A. has criticised there only the methodology of the author who argues here, how could the Westerner Vijñāneśvara "satisfactorily" explain the minute differences in the various types of local courts mentioned by the Northerner Yājñavalkya unless these courts were actually functioning in Western India? Is this sound reasoning?

Regarding inaccuracies in the book we shall now proceed to point out a few cases of discrepancy between the foot-notes and the statements made in the text. On p. ix, fn. 2, our author quotes *RV.* 1,44,10c: *áti grāmeṣv avitā puróhitaḥ* "in the villages you (Agni) are the Protector and the Purohita." On the basis of this passage the author remarks: "A communal feeling of village brotherhood was also there; thus Agni, for instance, is called the Purohita of the whole village." But which of the four words of the *pāda* quoted signifies "whole"? That the author is careless about quoting original Sanskrit passages is proved by f.n. 3 on the same page, where he quotes *RV.* 1, 114- 1c-d, for he has committed no less than two mistakes in quoting this half-verse,—one of omission and another of commission. For *cátuṣpade* he reads *catuṣpada* and for *grāme asmín* he reads *grāme 'smin*, thus spoiling the metre. The passage in question is *yáthā śám ásad dvipáde cátuṣpade víśvam puṣṭáṃ grāme asminn anāturám* "so that the bipeds and the quadrupeds may be happy (and) all that grows in this village (may be) free from disease." This is another Vedic passage which according to D. proves the "communal feeling of village brotherhood." Our author therefore clearly suggests that the Vedic Aryans used to fraternise not only with human beings but also with animals. Again on p. 23, f.n. 2, the author quotes from an inscription the expression *niyuktāniyuktarājapuruṣajānaladān* and says on its strength that the "inscriptions sometimes actually contrast the local councils with other local officials by remarking that they were 'niyukta' (appointed) whereas the jānapadas or peoples' council was 'aniyukta' (or not appointed) (by the central government)". The f.n. 2 on the same page gives a few verses of the Śāntiparvan where an injunction is given to the effect that of the Amātyas four should be Brāhmaṇas, eight Kṣatriyas, twenty-one Vaiśyas and three Śūdras. Our author concludes that these verses lay down a constitution for the *cabinet* with a preponderance of the non-

Brahmins." It has still to be proved that the cabinet system was ever known in ancient India, and even if it was, a heterogenous body of thirty-six members could not have functioned as a cabinet. That the author has given footnotes only to give his book the outward appearance of a scholarly work although he often did not even understand the meaning of the text quoted thus is proved by the footnotes on p. 81. In the first f.n. the author quotes ṚV. 4, 41, 6a-b. At his hands *tánaya* has become *tanaye* and for *vṛṣaṇaí ca* we find *vṛṣaṇasya*! In the fourth f.n. on the same page is quoted Manu 8, 262: *kṣetrakūpataḍāgānām ārāmasya gṛhasya ca, sāmantapratyayo jñeyaḥ sīmāsetuvinirṇayaḥ*. "In the case of fields, wells, ponds, garden-houses and dwelling-houses the boundary and the dam are to be determined by the neighbours." Strangely enough, on the strength of this passage our author has concluded, "the only type of land-holding known to Manu was the rayatwari one."

With reference to my criticism of the interpretation of the term '*samiti*', D. asks, "What other sense can be suggested for the term *samiti* in view of passages like *dhruvāya te (rājñe) sámitiḥ kalpatām ihá* (AV. 6. 88, 3)?" To speak strictly objectively, the word *samitiḥ* in this passage may signify army, navy, air-force, elephants, cavalry, infantry, riches, strength, blessings, food, in short, anything imaginable that may contribute to the well-being of the king. D.'s suggestion that *samiti* here can signify nothing but a parliamentary body to control the king must be taken with caution. Our author should have noticed that not only the *samiti* but also the 'people' (*viś*) is spoken of there in almost exactly the same way.

It was pointed out in the review that in the Vedic literature *grāma* often signifies a band of wanderers, sometimes forming a clan. This is a "novel sense" of the word according to Dr. Altekar, though he writes: "In some passages of the *Ṛg-veda*, the word has the sense of a body of men or troops, but this is very probably the derivative sense as the *Vedic Index* observes." We shall show that the sense of *grāma* given in the review is the original one. Nobody ever denied that "in the vast majority of cases the word stands for a village," but in some of the oldest parts of the *Rv.*, *grāma* signifies something quite different; cf. *Ṛv.* 3, 33, 11 a-b *yád aṅgá tvā bharatāḥ saṃtáreyur gavyán grāma*

iṣitā indrajātaḥ "just when the Bharatas cross thee, the *grāma* intent on cattle, hastening forward and spurred on by Indra." Here a *grāma* of the Bharatas is clearly referred to as crossing a river in quest of cattle. Surely this *grāma* is not a settled village. It is evidently analogous to the famous *grāma* of Śaryāta Mānava, whose legend is told both in the *Ś.Br.* and the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*. The *grāma* of Śaryāta Mānava was not a body of warriors, for we know that there were women in his *grāma*. Indeed his daughter is one of the main figures in this charming legend. We have to admit therefore that *grāma* in these passages signifies a nomadic clan. Schrader and Nehring (*Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde*) in their article on 'Dorf' have conclusively proved that the village of the Indo-European tribes was everywhere a clan-village originally; Lat. *vicus* "village" is etymologically connected with Skt. *viś*. Moreover the very fact that the Indo-Europeans had reached India proves that not very distant forefathers of the Vedic Aryans must have been roaming about in clans like the *grāma* of Śaryāta Mānava. All this clearly indicates that in the Vedic literature *grāma* signifies a nomadic clan, and this is precisely its original meaning. In this connection D. makes some queer remarks about fire ritual which need not be discussed in detail. Everybody knows that the earliest Indo-Europeans we can get any information about were not absolute vagrants; even at that early stage they already knew the rudiments of agriculture, yet they were mobile in their movements. The fire-cult could have been easily developed in such a community.

In the last paragraph of his reply Dr. Altekar insinuates that the only flaw in his book is that it was published seven years ago and therefore the Dravidian problem could not be dealt with in the light of recent archæological discoveries. We have seen, however, that even apart from the Dravidian problem, his book requires revision in many places.

Aitihāsika

Rejoinder

I shall here briefly consider the points arising out of the fresh remarks of the '*Aitihāsika*'.

Policing of the villages. A. claims that the tendency to postulate for one age what existed for another is illustrated by my treatment of this topic. After mentioning that Manu and Kauṭilya recommend that there should be police stations for two, three or five villages, I have stated that similar arrangements existed in Western India down to about 1200 A.D. In support of this statement I have referred to the expression '*achāṭabhaṭapraveśyaḥ*' occurring in western Indian inscriptions from the Cālukyan times downwards. Supposing the precise meaning of this expression is doubtful, there is the evidence of the expressions *coroddharaṇika* and *daṇḍapāśika* occurring frequently in the inscriptions of the period (*Village Communities*, pp. 61-62). Can we not then conclude, from the evidence hailing from Western India and belonging to the post-Manu period that during the period in question though the villages were expected to be more self-reliant than they are at present, they were not entirely thrown on their own resources for the defence of their hearth and home? (p. 55).

Smṛti evidences. In support of his contention that I have utilised the *Smṛtis* as if they were but registering the existing institutions of the country, A. refers to my statement that the tax on cows and buffaloes, flowers and milk, was levied in the village communities of Western India. In support of my statement I have relied on the words: *apāramparagobalīvardaḥ apuṣpakṣīrasandohaḥ* occurring in the Chammak plates. Is the meaning of this expression quite uncertain? The verb *duh* is frequently used in Sanskrit literature for denoting taxation; cf. *madhudoham duhed rāṣṭraṃ* (Śānti Parvan, 88.4.); *dudoha gāṃ sa yajñāya* (*Raghuvaṃśa*, I, 26). It is therefore quite clear that the term '*apuṣpakṣīrasandohaḥ* invests the village in question with immunity from the taxes on flowers and milk mentioned in *Manasmṛti* and proves my view that these taxes, though mentioned in Smṛtis, actually existed in Western India. The expression '*apāramparagobalīvardaḥ*' is not very clear; but when considered along with the expression '*varokṣamahiṣīprasabhakrayavikrayādisarvadoṣavarjitaṃ*, quoted in f.n. 2 of p. 66,

it suggests a connection with the tax on cows and buffaloes mentioned in Smṛtis. The last statement would show that the state could purchase, perhaps at a nominal price, the best bull or she-buffalo from the village herdsmen probably in lieu of its taxation.

Pañcāyat Courts in Western India. A. claims that no purely Western Indian evidence is adduced to prove the prevalence of popular Pañcāyats in Western Indian villages in pre-Muslim times, and goes to the length of suggesting that they may have been introduced in Western India by the Mahomedans from other parts of India. The administrative system current during the rule of the Bāhamani kingdom and its successors was not very much influenced by external influences; revenue officers were largely drawn from the local Hindu population, and even the state records were kept in the local Hindu script called *moḍi* and not in Urdu. If therefore the Pañcāyat courts existed during the Muslim rule, we cannot attribute the fact to their being introduced in the Deccan at that time from outside, especially since there is no evidence to prove this.

As to the epigraphic evidence from Western India to prove the existence of popular courts in the pre-Muslim period, I have stated myself that inscriptions are silent on the point (p. 39). I have, however, concluded that they must have existed in Western India at this time on account of the following considerations.

The definitions of *pūga, śreṇi* etc. as they are given by Vijñāneśvara towards the end of the 11th century are found to be in accordance with the actual forms of these institutions in the Deccan during the Mahomedan period. Thus the *Mitākṣarā* explains *pūga* as *bhinnajātīnāṃ bhinnavṛttīnāṃ ekasthānavāsināṃ samūhaḥ;* the corresponding village body in the Muslim period consisted of the prominent village inhabitants of different castes and professions, as we know from the signatures on the scores of judgments of the village Pañcāyats of the period (p. 40). It is therefore perfectly permissible to conclude that village Pañcāyats of the Pūga type existed in the days of Vijñāneśvara in Western India. There is no direct evidence as to how these were functioning during the Hindu period. But we find that the Pañcāyats were functioning more or less on the lines indicated in Smṛtis during the Muslim period. The case of *Narsoji Jagadale vs. Bāpāji Mussalman,*

involving the proprietary rights over extensive properties, was first decided by the local village Pañcāyat at Masur, and was subsequently reviewed in appeal by the district Pañcāyat of Karad, when Bāpāji Mussalman appealed to that body. When the district Pañcāyat also decided the case against the Muslim defendant, he went to the Emperor at Bijapur to complain that the two lower Pañcāyats had given a wrong judgment owing to religious partiality. Emperor Ibrahim Adil Shah ordered a re-trial of the case not by his own officers but by the Pañcāyat at Paiṭhan; and when that body also confirmed the judgment of the two lower Pañcāyats, the emperor refused to interfere in the case. Now when we find that even under Mahomedan kings the state used to enforce the decisions of the village Pañcāyats even when the rights of Muslim subjects were adversely affected, is it not natural to assume that these bodies existed in the pre-Mahomedan period in the Deccan? This conclusion becomes irresistible when we find that the constitution and procedure of these bodies was more or less similar to that described by Nārada and Vijñāneśvara. There is no evidence to show that the Mahomedans brought these institutions with them either from other parts of India or from outside India. What other conclusion can be drawn under these circumstances than the one that I have drawn, viz., though there is no direct epigraphical evidence to prove that these bodies were functioning during 500-1200 A.D. on the lines described by Bṛhaspati, Nārada, and Vijñāneśvara, we have to conclude that they must have flourished in Western India in contemporary times because they continued to function even during the Muslim rule. If the lacunae in ancient Indian history are not to be filled by such legitimate inferences, it will be difficult to reconstruct it.

The use of Vedic evidence. The statement in the review that the Saṃhitās, the Brāhmaṇas, the Jātakas and Smṛtis have all been given the status of the gazetteers and that again gazetteers of Western India has now to be considered. The Vedic and Jātaka evidence is used only in the Introduction, and not in the body of the book. The picture of the Village Communities in the period of the Vedas, Brāhmaṇas and Jātakas is given in the Introduction only as a background to the history of the Village Communities in Western India, which cannot be taken back to a period earlier than

about 300 B.C. If it is permissible to refer briefly to the Morley-Minto constitution in a book which is mainly devoted to the description of the Montford constitution with a view to enable the reader to get the necessary perspective, how is it uncritical for a writer of the history of the Village Communities in Western India to briefly state in the Introduction the nature of the Village Communities in the period just preceding that to which he can take back the history of the Western Communities in Western India. Owing to the absence of historic and epigraphic documents of the Vedic period, Vedic texts themselves have been mainly relied upon for delineating a picture of the Vedic society. If this amounts to using Vedic texts as Gazetteers, it is a procedure which is so far followed by every scholar in reconstructing the history of the Vedic period.

Sabhā and Samiti. I have myself observed that about the precise constitution and functions of these bodies we know very little from the Vedic texts themselves (p. ix); but it is perfectly legitimate to analyse the scanty data available to see if we can form some idea about the probable nature of these bodies. With reference to the *Sabhā*, we find references showing that people used to assemble there to talk about the affairs of daily life like the excellent qualities of their kine (*Ṛv.*, VI, 28, 6); village-folk used to assemble there for spending their time in amusements like gambling (*Ṛv.*, X, 34, 6); hope is also expressed that members of the *Sabhā* should be of the same view as one oneself is (*Av.*, VII, 12, 2). *Sabhā* therefore was very probably the local village assembly, where people met, as we do nowadays in social clubs, and also discussed a number of topics; and since people were anxious that other members of the *Sabhā* should not hold views, divergent from their own, it is obvious that the body was a responsible one whose discussions and conclusions counted for something. It is therefore a permissible conjecture to suggest that *Sabhā* was probably a body of village elders assembled to discuss and deliberate over questions of public importance.

As to *Samiti*, supposing it is possible that in the passage *dhruvāya te (rājñe) samitiḥ kalpatāmiha* (*Av.*, VI, 88, 3) the word may signify 'army, navy, air-force, elephants, cavalry, riches, strength, blessings, food, in short anything imaginable that may contribute to the well-

being of the king' as A. suggests, still our choice of the probable meaning becomes restricted when we consider the context in which the word is used in other Vedic passages. In *Rv.*, X, 191, 3, the word clearly refers to meeting or assembly; in *Av.*, XII, 1, 56,

Ye grāmā yadaraṇyam yāssabhā adhi bhūmyām
Ye samgrāmāḥ samitayasteṣu cāru vadānyaham

the desire is expressed that one should be a good speaker in a *samiti*. In the light of these passages, when we get references to kings going to *Samitis* (*Rv.*, IX, 92, 6), or to the anxiety expressed on behalf of an exiled king, recently restored, that his *Samiti* should be of one accord with him, one has to conclude that *Samiti* must be a deliberative assembly where speeches were delivered and the sense of the people assembled ascertained. As compared to the *Sabhā* this will have to be considered as a higher body since discord with it is said to be a grave matter for the king (*Av.*, V, 19, 15). Under these circumstances, it is reasonable to state that 'it appears that *Samiti* was a higher council whose business it was to advise or control the king.'

Grāma. A. admits that in the vast majority of cases the word *Grāma* stands for a village, but he contends that its sense in some of the oldest parts of the *Rgveda* is different. Now it is a debatable point as to whether the few passages where the word *Grāma* signifies a body or group of men all belong to the earlier part of the *Rgveda*, and whether this earlier sense can be best deduced from the use of the word in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, which is admittedly not a very early work. The historian of the Village Communities has to ascertain whether villages existed in the Vedic period or not. And if in the vast majority of cases where the word *Grāma* appears in the *Rgveda*, it signifies a village, it is a legitimate conclusion that village life was well known to the Vedic Aryans in the Vedic period. Whether they borrowed the village system from the Dravidians, or whether they had developed it themselves will be conclusively proved only when we get more definite information about the nature and extent of the Dravidian civilisation.

As to the instances of mistakes like चतुष्पद् for चतुष्पदे, तनव for तन्वे, वृषणस्य for वृषणश्व etc., referred to by A., I leave it to the readers of the book to find out how many of them are printing mistakes and how many are due to the writer's ignorance.*

A. S. Altekar

* The controversy is closed.--Ed.

Origin of the Pratihāra Dynasty

In the *IHQ.*, June 1934, pp. 337 ff., "Origin of the Pratihāra Dynasty," I tried to show that there is no definite evidence available to prove that the Pratihāras belonged to the Gurjara tribe. Miss Bhramar Ghose, criticising my view, writes in the *Indian Culture*, January, 1935, p. 510 ff. thus:

(i) The Rajor stone inscription states that the king Mathanadeva of the Gurjara-Pratihāra family granted to a temple the village of Vyāghrapāṭaka with all its income "together with all the fields cultivated by the Gurjaras" (*tathaita-pratyāsanna-Śrī-Gurjara-vāhita-samasta-kṣetra-sametaḥ* etc. *EI.*, vol. III, p. 266). Gurjara, referred to in the latter part of the above sentence, "denotes a people, or, rather a tribe or race." Hence Gurjara-Pratihāra mentioned in the same inscription cannot but mean Pratihāras of the Gurjara tribe, and not Pratihāras of the Gurjara country.

(ii) There was no such country as Gurjara.

(iii) According to Dr. Ganguly Gurjara country (*Gurjaratrā-bhūmi*) extended at least from Didwana in the Jodhpur State, in the west, to Rajor in the east, comprising the western part of the Jodhpur State, and the whole of the States of Jaipur and Alwar. There is no proof that Jaipur and Alwar States were in the Gurjaratrā-bhūmi. Any detailed map of the Jodhpur State will show that Maglana, with which Maṅgalānaka (in the *Gurjaratrā-bhūmi*) has been identified, is 28 miles SSE of Didwana and not 28 miles NNE as has wrongly been taken by Kielhorn.

(iv) Dr. Ganguly wrongly thinks that the two expressions *Gurjareśvara-pati* and *Gurjareśvara*, mentioned in the succeeding verses of the Baroda plate of Karkarāja, were two different persons. Both Fleet's and Ganguly's view that *Gurjareśvara-pati* means leader or master of the lord of Gurjara is erroneous. It means "the prince of the Gurjaras who was the overlord."

My reply to the above criticisms is as follows:—

(i) It can safely be taken that Gurjara in this case denotes all the inhabitants of the village who were owners of the arable lands, and who were people of the Gurjara country, as the village of which they were

inhabitants, formed a part of it. In course of giving a description of Ujjain, Bāṇa in his *Kādambarī* narrates: "In Ujjayinī the places stretch forth their flags, whose silken fringes gleam and flutter at night in the wind-like arms to remove the mark of the moon put to shame by the fair lotus-faced women of Mālava(*Mālavī*)" (Ridding, p. 24). Here the women of Ujjain have been designated as *Mālavī* because the city was in the Mālava country.

(ii) The Rajholi plate distinctly mentions Gurjara as a country (*EI.*, vol. IX, p. 44). So also does Al Bilāduri. A thorough discussion on this subject has been made in my article with the help of the above evidences. But unfortunately Miss Ghose failed to take notice of them. Following the argument put forward by her against my taking Gurjara, mentioned in the Nausari plate as a country, it can safely be taken that the word Gurjara, referred to in the Aihole inscription of Pulikeśin II (*EI.*, vol. VI, p. 10) along with Lāṭa and Mālava, denotes a country.

(iii) Detailed map of Rajputana shows that Maglana is in the Jaipur State, and 28 miles NNE of Didwana.[1] It has been pointed out above that the village Vyāghrapāṭaka, in the Alwar State, was in the Gurjara country. Hence the boundary of the Gurjara country as traced by me is correct.

(iv) Any Sanskrit Dictionary will show that there is nothing wrong in taking *pati* to mean a master as I have adopted. I think no explanation is needed to maintain that *Gurjareśvara-pati* and *Gurjareśvara*, referred to in the Baroda plates, [illegible] As *Gurjareśvara-pati* was a king of the imperial Pratihāra dynasty, *Gurjareśvara* was evidently a different ruler.

Miss Ghose has practically said nothing new against the arguments put forward by me for disproving the old theory of the Gurjara origin of the Pratihāras. I have given other clear evidences in my article "Early History of the Gurjara Country" (*IHQ.*, December 1934) in support of my contention.

D. C. Ganguly

1 Constable's *Hand Atlas of India*, Plate 27, Bb.

Ancient Gītā Commentaries—A Rejoinder

In vol. IX, (1933), no. 3 of the *IHQ.*, I had, with the help of a few textual references in the Gītā-commentaries of Vedānta Deśika and Jayatīrtha, drawn attention to the existence of an ancient commentary on the Gītā by a certain Bhāskara whom I identified with the well-known Bhāṣyakāra of that name on the *Brahmasūtras*. I had further contended that this Bhāskara was more or less a close contemporary of Saṅkara and was, in all probability, the same Bhāskara mentioned by Abhinavagupta as an 'ancient commentator' on the Gītā. Professor Otto Schrader, in the course of his weighty review of my paper in this *Quarterly*, (vol. X, no. 2), while welcoming my finding about the existence of a Gītā commentary by the celebrated Vedāntin Bhāskara, sets himself to oppose (1) my equating Abhinavagupta's Bhāskara with the Vedāntin Bhāskara, and (2) my looking upon him as a contemporary of Saṅkara. The Professor then elaborates his own view that the Gītā-Bhāskara mentioned by Abhinava was none other than Bhāskara Bhaṭṭa, the author of the *Śiva-sūtra-vārttika*,—a Kashmirian Saivite contemporary of Abhinava. He then dismisses the grounds on which the contemporaneity of Saṅkara and Bhāskara is claimed, as quite unsound and unsatisfactory.

I quite agree with Prof. Schrader that the theory of the soul being *aṇu* in size during the state of bondage, and *vibhu* when released, is as old as the Upaniṣads and the *Pañcarātra*. But, I may venture to observe that when commentators set themselves to refute such views after ascribing them to certain 'Ekadeśins,' they certainly have in mind actual historical exponents of such doctrines. I do not claim any finality for such grounds. But I cannot help thinking that they are highly suggestive when they answer so closely to the ascertained views of Bhāskara and wherever there happens to be no earlier known commentary embodying such views. The author of the *Maṇimañjarī* is not to blame if the Professor should mistake the 'Siddhāntin' referred to in the lines: कर्णे प्यधत्त सिद्धान्ती (*Maṇimañjarī*, vi, 48-9) for Bhāskara. The fact is that the 'Siddhāntin' spoken of in the first line is Brahma-datta mentioned already in an earlier verse.[1] I hold no brief to the

1 तदर्थं सूत्रहृदयं ब्रह्मदत्ताच्छृणोम्यहम् ।
इति गोविन्दभाष्यं मार्गी सिद्धान्तिनं ययौ ॥ (xi, 42-43).

author of the *Maṇimañjarī* in regard to his "ill-famed libel" against Śaṅkara and am one of those who feel that such ugly facts are best forgotten. But I do not think that it would be reasonable to discredit the author's statements wholesale in view of a few unwelcome statements or misrepresentations even. That he has no soft corner in his heart for Śaṅkara, is no reason why his statements about certain contemporaries of Śaṅkara should not be given their due consideration.[2]

I am thankful to Prof. Schrader for his correcting me about the date of Vācaspati Miśra's *Nyāyasūcīnibandha*, which owing to an inadvertance had been wrongly stated by me as 886 A.D., instead of the correct date 482 A.D. But even this revised date, far from invalidating my contention for the contemporaneity of Bhāskara with Śaṅkara would only go to strengthen it by reducing the interval between the demise of Śaṅkara and the composition of Vācaspati's *Nyāyasūcī*, to one of 22 years. This work, as its name itself shows, was very probably composed along with the *Nyāya-bhāṣya-vārttika-tātparyaṭīkā*, which latter again, as a major work of Vācaspati, could not have preceded his last great work, the *Bhāmatī* by more than some 20 to 25 years. This would give the *Bhāmatī* a date somewhere about 865 A.D. An interval of about fifty years at least, would seem to be necessary for the *Brahmasūtra-bhāṣya* of Bhāskara to have attained to that degree of prestige and popularity which would compel a veteran writer like Vācaspati Miśra to take serious notice of it and reply to its criticisms in detail and defend the Bhāṣya of Śaṅkara against its attacks. This would place Bhāskara somewhere about 815 A.D., and since Śaṅkara is considered to have lived up to 820 A.D., the contemporaneity of the two may not after all

2 Notwithstanding its antipathy to Śaṅkara and his system, the *Maṇimañjarī*, it would be interesting to know, is in some cases far more reliable than some of the *Śaṅkaravijayas* in point of historical accuracy. The problem of the Maṇḍana-Viśvarūpa identity, on which the opinion of the *Maṇimañjarī* that they are different persons, has met with general acceptance among scholars (see P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstras* p. 261-2.) as against that of the *Śaṅkaravijaya* of Mādhavācārya which unhistorically confounds all the three: Maṇḍana Viśvarūpa and Sureśvara. xiii, 1-7.

be an unattractive hypothesis. I wonder what Prof. Schrader will say to P. V. Kane's opinion that Vācaspati Miśra himself "was almost a contemporary of Saṅkara and his pupils." (*Hist. of Dharmaśāstras*, p. 262.)

I do not feel any compelling necessity to distinguish Abhinava's Bhāskara from the Vedāntin. As the Professor himself admits, Abhinava's solitary mention of him is verily all that we know of this Bhāskara. Beyond this we know absolutely nothing about the religious and metaphysical views of this Bhāskara so as to differentiate confidently and effectively between him and the Vedāntin. Of course, I am aware that the same argument would hold good against their identification. But the latter assumption would seem to me to be the more attractive and probable, in view not only of the agreement in the names, but also of the absence of any weighty proofs to the contrary. I am afraid that arguments based on the probable recension—vulgate or Kashmirian—which the two Bhāskaras might or might not have followed are yet too premature especially when not one of the two commentaries is available to us. In the present state of our knowledge, it would be unwise and unsafe to dogmatise on the particular recension which might have been followed by this or that Bhāskara. There is as much likelihood of the Vedāntin Bhāskara having followed Kashmirian recension as there is not. The evidence furnished by one of Jayatīrtha's quotations is significant. Equally so is another Kashmirian reading of a Gītā-verse followed by the Vedantin Bhāskara in his B.S.B. (p. 39.) I am afraid the Professor's plea of certain Kashmirian readings having crept surreptitiously into the vulgate and becoming known only in this way to writers like Bhāskara, does not adequately explain why not one of them should have been available to his Vedantic confrères like Saṅkara! That the references in J. are only incidental and are made with a view to showing the comparative soundness of Madhva's interpretations, would be enough to show that J. is under no obligations to "take Bhāskara to task on other occasions too and judge him more severely." As it is, we have well-nigh half a dozen references to Bhāskara in J. and what more could reasonably be expected of J.[3]

3 I doubt very much if Prof. Schrader's assertion that J. being "unaware of the K. Rec., speaks of a conjecture by Bhāskara," is really the correct inter-

I should further think that the question of the particular recension of the Gītā which Abhinava's Bhāskara might or might not have followed is really independent of and irrelevant to that of his nativity. Whatever may be the religious, metaphysical and even interpretational differences between Abhinava and the Vedāntin Bhāskara, it seems hardly necessary to deny the former right and cosmopolitanism enough to refer to the views of an outsider especially when they happened to agree with his own. An Abhinava who could persuade himself to comment on a palpably Viṣṇuite work such as the Gītā and quote the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* too therein[4], could not have been incapable of this elementary tolerance.

Not only does A. *not give* any extracts from the commentary of *his* Bhāskara which would enable us to know something definite about the

pretation. The mistake, I am sure, lies in our taking the dictatorial way of writing of certain commentators in its literal sense and drawing false conclusions from it. Elsewhere in his *Nyāyasudhā* J. writes referring to Rāmānuja's interpretation of B.S. i, 4, 23:—अत्र कश्चिदन्धानुगतान्ध इव प्रकृतिश्चेत्यादीनि सूत्राणि ब्रह्मणो जगदुपादानप्रतिपादकतया व्याख्याय उक्तदूषणगणाद्भीतः सूत्रतात्पर्यमेवमाह. It would be absurd from this to infer or argue that J. considered R. to have come after Madhva and revised his impression of that sūtra in the light of M.'s criticism of Saṅkara and others! J. refers under *Gītā* ii, 18 to the reading विनाशिनः in lieu of अनाशिनः of the vulgate, adopted by some. The deviation is clearly Kashmirian and is adopted by Abhinava and Rāmakaṇṭha. The historical significance of readings as such has no attraction for indigenous commentators and if at all they take any notice of them it is only to dismiss them as असाम्प्रदायिक : (see Deśika on the reading: कार्यकारणकर्तृत्वे adopted by Saṅkara, xiii, 20) J.'s remarks therefore, under vi, 7, must be looked upon as no more than a racy way of expressing his disapproval of Bhāskara's reading.

4 I do not accept the view that in as much as of the two Mss. of A.'s commentary in the B.O.R.I. library, the verses from the Bhāg. do not occur in the body of one of them but appear in the margin, they must be dismissed as later interpolations. I am afraid it would be sweeping to argue solely on the basis of the Mss. of the B.O.R.I. The editorial notice in the Nirnaya-sagar edition of A.'s comm. has it that two Mss. one from the Deccan College Library at Poona and the other secured direct from Kashmir by Śyt. Kedarnath, had been collated for the purpose. And the verses from *Bhāg.* would seem to have found a place at least in one of them.

latter's religious and philosophical views and thereby differentiate effectively between him and the Vedāntin Bhāskara but, what is more, the particular question discussed under *Gītā*, xviii, 2 ff., viz., the connotation of the terms *saṃnyāsa* and *tyāga*, is of so innocuous a nature that there is nothing in A.'s views on them which the Vedāntin Bhāskara could not readily approve of. It is interesting to note that Śaṅkara in commenting on *Gītā*, 18-6, expresses his disapproval of the view of 'some' regarding the possibility of performing the purely 'kāmya-karmas' also, in a spirit of dispassionate dedication.[5] Excepting Madhva and the unknown commentator mentioned by Śaṅkara, all others including J.'s Bhāskara[6] and Abhinavagupta[7] are agreed that the law of dispassionate performance of *karma* has reference only to the *nitya* and *naimittika karmas*. And this is also the view of the Vedāntin Bhāskara: पूर्वत्रैते तु कर्मज्ञाने, काम्यं प्रतिषिद्धं च हेयम्। नित्येन कर्मणा समुच्चय इति प्रतिपादयितुं शक्यते (B. S., i. 1, 1). Thus, the particular context under which A. mentions or 'recommends' Bhāskara as Prof. Schrader would like to have it, is not at all likely to have anything in it which would militate against his identity with the Vedāntin even as a hypothetical proposition. The terms in which A. mentions Bhāskara do not necessarily compel us to believe that A. was religiously following in the wake of B.'s interpretations. Internal evidence in A.'s commentary shows that there were others before him who followed other traditions of interpretation. We are told that the commentary of Rāmakaṇṭha who was slightly earlier than A., upheld the ज्ञानकर्मसमुच्चयवाद. The same might also have been the case with the Bhāskara mentioned by A. At any rate, until more is known about

5 अन्ये तु वर्णयन्ति—"नित्यानां कर्मणां फलाभावात्सङ्गं त्यक्त्वा फलानि चेति नोपपद्यते। 'एतान्यपि' इति यानि काम्यानि कर्माणि :नित्येभ्योऽन्यानि, एतान्यपि कर्तव्यानि, किमुत यज्ञदानतपांसीति।" तदसत्। काम्यकर्मणां बन्धहेतुत्वनिश्चयात्, न काम्येष्वेतानीति व्यपदेशः॥

6 Vide his view: भास्करस्त्वाह—"नित्यनैमित्तिकान्येव कर्माणि निष्कामतया कर्तव्यानि। ननु, ज्योतिष्टोमादीनि कर्माधिकारे पठितानि; तेषां निष्कामतया करणे प्रमाणाभावात्" इति तदसत्-

7 Cf. यज्ञार्थादवरकर्तव्यादन्यानि कर्माणि बन्धकानि। (3,9) कार्यं खजाल्यादिविहितम् (6,1) यज्ञानवरयकार्याणि कर्माण्यधिकृत्य यः स्थितः (8, 4)

A.'s Bhāskara, the question of his identity or the reverse with the Vedāntin Bhāskara, may advisedly be left an open one. It may be recalled that when I originally drew attention to A.'s Bhāskara, it was only incidentally and by the way, and the identity which I put forward then, was merely tentative. The title 'Bhaṭṭa' on which Prof. Schrader lays so much emphasis, is not so formidable and clinching a proof either, to differentiate A.'s Bhāskara from the Vedāntin. There is nothing sacrosanct about the honorific or 'title' 'Bhaṭṭa' which like any other of its kind, is dropped by Sanskrit writers in at least as many cases as it is employed, as for example—Kumārila: Kumārila Bhaṭṭa; Vācaspati: Vācaspati Miśra; Śabara: Śabara Svāmin; Śrīdhara: Śrīdhara Svāmin. Prof. Schrader would not so readily have accused the editors of Bhāskara's Bhāṣya of an 'insinuation,' or spoken of the "confusion with the Kashmirian Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara, or the Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara of *Śrauta* fame," had he known that the celebrated Brahmānanda Sarasvatī, commentator on the *Advaitasiddhi*, actually confers the title of Bhaṭṭa on the Vedāntin Bhāskara while mentioning his view of the doctrine of error:—भट्टभास्करमते शुक्तिरूप्यादेः सत्यस्य शुक्त्यादावुत्पत्तिस्वीकारात्, तदनुयायिना केनचित् यदि तस्य मिथ्यात्वमुच्यते..... (p. 33, *Advaitasiddhi with Brahmānandīya*, Bombay). It is doubtful if *Brahmānanda* knew anything about the 'Kashmirian Bhāskara' and there is hardly any possibility of his confusing the Vedāntin Bhāskara, with the *Śrauta* writer! Equally unavailing is the attempt to date A.'s Bhāskara "in the 11th century A.D. (about the same time as A.). following Chatterji's book. Mr. Chatterji, if I am right, is concerned only with the author of the *Śivasūtravārttika*. It is doubtful if he knew anything about a Gītā commentary by his Bhāskara when he wrote his book. I quite see Prof. Schrader's anxiety to place A.'s Bhāskara 'about two centuries later than the Vedāntin Bhāskara'. It is this anxiety, I believe, which has made him overlook the significant phrase प्राक्तनैः prefixed by Abhinava to his Bhāskara[1]. I submit, then, that the terms, in which A. refers to his Bhāskara, clearly make him out to be a fairly *'ancient commentator'* already in the days of A. Thus

1 अत्र चाध्याये यदवशिष्टमवलग्नं वक्तव्यमस्ति, तत् प्राक्तनैरेव तत्रभवद्भट्टभास्करादिभिः वितत्य विसृष्टम् इति...॥

A.'s Bhāskara could neither have been a contemporary of A. nor lived about the 11th century but considerably earlier. This is reinforced by the fact that A. places his Bhāskara, at the head of a line of earlier commentators all of whom are in fairness entitled to the epithet "ancient" प्राक्तन. Assuming an interval then, of at least a century or more between A. and his Bhāskara, we make him—the latter—almost contemporaneous with the Vedāntin Bhāskara.

II

I am not at all convinced by Prof. Schrader's attempts to dismiss the pre-Śāṅkarite interpretation of अनादि मत्परम् (xiii, 12), as an essentially Pāñcarātrika one. It may be that the Pāñcarātrikas indifferently distinguish between, and identify, the Vyūha-Vāsudeva as well as the rest with the Para-Vāsudeva. Indeed, we have the evidence of Śaṅkara himself that they do so:—ईश्वरा एवैते सर्वे ज्ञानैश्वर्यबलशक्तिवीर्यतेजोभिरैश्वर्यधर्मैरन्विताः। वासुदेवा एवैते सर्वे... ॥ But, I wonder if the characterisation of the Vyūhamūrtis as so many शक्ति of the Supreme Being and the reference to the Vyūha Vāsudeva alone as the "superior śakti" in contradistinction to the three other members of the Quarternity—(all of whom must evidently be put down as "interior Śaktis" अपरा शक्ति are at all genuinely Pāñcarātric. A Pāñcarātrika may look upon and characterise the *Cit* and *Acit*, the Puruṣa and the Prakṛti as the higher and lower Śaktis of the Brahman, as is sometimes done by the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, the *Gītā* and Rāmānuja:—

विष्णुशक्तिः परा प्रोक्ता क्षेत्रज्ञाख्या ; तथापरा। *Viṣṇu Purāṇa.*

अपरेयमितस्त्वन्यां ; प्रकृतिं विद्धि मे परां जीवभूताम् *Gītā*, vii, 5.

But, the Pre-Śaṅkarite explanation of मत्परम् cannot be called Pāñcarātric in any sense. If anything, it unmistakably bears the stamp of a त्रिमूर्त्युत्तीर्णब्रह्मवाद as already hinted at by me. Had it really been a Pāñcarātrika explanation, there is no reason why it should have been totally discarded by Rāmānuja;[9] or why a well-informed Vaiṣṇava like

9 Rāmānuja has altogether ignored the pre-Śaṅkarite explanation of 'मत्परम्' in terms of the Brahman. Though he splits the compound into "अनादि" and "मत्परम्" he takes "मत्परम्" in terms of the individual soul. अनादि also is likewise taken by him to refer to the प्रत्यगात्मन्.

Jayatīrtha should at all have taken so much umbrage at it and hastened to censure the author of such an explanation so as to imply that he was not a true Vaiṣṇava.

There seems to be every likelihood, therefore, of the pre-Saṅkarite explanation of मत्परं having been offered by someone who was an exponent of the त्रिमूर्त्युत्तीर्णब्रह्मवाद. Prof. Schrader's observations about the widespread popularity enjoyed by the Pāñcarātrikas as a religious community before Śaṅkara, apply equally well to the votaries of the त्रिमूर्त्युत्तीर्णब्रह्मवाद. Such a tenet is a part of the theogony of many of the Purāṇas and is quite in keeping with the eclecticism of early Hinduism. It may be observed that according to the official terminology of this school of which we have a later classical exponent in Vijñāna Bhikṣu—the three gods of the popular Hindu Trinity, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra, are regarded as the Śaktis of the Transcendent Being—the Brahman. Even here, a partiality is shown to Viṣṇu who is regarded as the superior of the three. All this would be quite clear from the following passage of the *Brahma-sūtra-vyākhyā* of Vijñāna Bhikṣu[10]:—

'ब्रह्मविष्णुशिवादीनां यः परः स महेश्वरः' इति।...तथाच, मनुयाज्ञवल्क्ययोरपि विष्णवादीनामन्तर्यामितया पुरुषान्तरत्वमुक्तम्।...'ब्रह्मविष्णुशिवा ब्रह्मप्रधाना ब्रह्मशक्तयः' इति च स्मृतेः। त्रयाणामपि च मध्ये विष्णुरेव ब्रह्मणो मुख्या शक्तिः 'सर्वशक्तिमयो विष्णुः ...। स परः सर्वशक्तीनां ब्रह्मणः समनन्तरः' इति पराशरवचनात्।

It will be seen from the foregoing that the pre-Saṅkarite explanation of मत्परम् would fit in admirably with the framework of the त्रिमूर्त्युत्तीर्णब्रह्मवाद. That the phrase मत्परम् did easily lend itself to an explanation on those lines is made clear by an interesting sidelight thrown by Vijñāna Bhikṣu himself—who, to judge from the manner of his writing, very probably understood the phrase in the same way as the pre-Saṅkarite commentator:—

नन्वेवं, कथं गीतादिषु विष्ण्वादिदेवतैश्वर्यमेवोक्तम्; नतु, परमेश्वरः तस्यैश्वर्यं वा, इति चेन्नैवम्। 'एवं सततयुक्ता ये' इत्यादि प्रश्नप्रतिवचनाभ्यां विष्णुदेवाद्वैतेन परमेश्वरकथनात्। 'अनादि मत्परं ब्रह्म न सत्तन्नासदुच्यते' इत्यादिना च परमेश्वरस्य ऐश्वर्यादिकथनात्॥ (*Vijñānāmṛta*, Chowkhamba, edn., p. 136).

10 *Vijñānāmṛta*, pp. 134-136. (Chowkhamba edn.)

In spite of attempts to prove the contrary, Bhāskara's explanation of 'Keśava' smacks too strongly of विमूढ्युत्तीर्णब्रह्मवाद. Indeed, Bhāskara has not the least idea of "fully identifying 'Keśava' *qua* Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa with the Brahman. Otherwise, he would not have taken the trouble of giving a roundabout derivation for the term—especially one such as would make Viṣṇu himself but a part of a greater Being, Keśava. The Professor overlooks the fact that according to Bhāskara, it is the अवयविन् that is denoted by the term *Keśava* and that it is *He* that is identified with the Brahman—not the *Avayava*—Viṣṇu who in common parlance is known by the name of Keśava. In other words, Bhāskara totally sets aside the रूढार्थ of 'Keśava' and is deliberately pressing into service the यौगिकार्थ. There is thus no point in taking only the two words of Bhāskara: केशवः परमात्मा and arguing therefrom that he is prepared to "fully identify Keśava with the Paramātman." If he had really been so favourable to Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa as to equate him straightway with the Brahman, there would have been no reason for Madhva and his commentator to have set aside so favourable an interpretation and set about in search of another which would *not* make Viṣṇu an Avayava of Keśava. The very anxiety of Madhva to repudiate the explanation of Bhāskara, shows that there was something in it which he as an ardent Vaiṣṇava could not swallow. And this was nothing but the subordination of Viṣṇu—as indeed of Brahmā and Śiva too—to a superior Being to be called 'Keśava' in the fullest etymological sense of the term.

That Bhāskara's explanation of Keśava is the outcome of his विमूढ्युत्तीर्णब्रह्मवाद can also be surmised from another piece of interesting circumstantial evidence. As J. has taken special care to point out, Bhāskara's explanation of 'Keśava' occurs under *Gītā*, xi, 35. Now, the term 'Keśava' occurs in at least *four places* in the *Gītā* prior to xi, 35. It cannot certainly have been a matter of mere accident that Bhāskara chose to propound his etymological explanation of Keśava under xi, 35 *after passing over all the four earlier occasions to do so*. There must have been some reason, some special propriety, which he saw in pressing his explanation into service specially under xi, 35.

What then, was Bhāskara's *raison d' etre* for reserving his etymology for Keśava till xi, 35? The answer is not far to seek. The eleventh adhyāya of the *Bhāgavadgītā* deals, as is well-known, with the revelation

of the Universal Form of the Lord to Arjuna. The Viśvarūpa contains within itself all the gods and men,—the whole Universe. It is the transcendental form of the Lord of which the others are partial manifestations. The delineation of this all-transcending Form in this chapter gave Bhāskara a long-looked for opportunity to give a footing to his उत्तीर्णब्रह्मवाद in the *Gītā*. He ought to have seen it and carried out his wish with the help of a brilliant *tour de force*. The epithet Keśava applied to the Viśvarūpin by Sañjaya immediately after the all-pervading Form had delivered itself of a somewhat awe-inspiring harangue to Arjuna, beginning with कालोऽस्मि लोकक्षयकृत् must have set Bhāskara athinking and must have suggested to him the possibility of smuggling in his विमूर्त्युत्तीर्णब्रह्मवाद under cover of explaining the etymological sense of the epithet Keśava. Consistently with his explanation, Bhāskara must have found room for all the three gods Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, in the person of the Viśvarūpin. We have one verse, xi, 15, wherein at least two of these, Brahmā and Śiva appear to be expressly referred to as being present in the person of the Viśvarūpin. There is some difference of opinion amongst commentators about the interpretation of this verse—Śaṅkara understanding the whole of the third quarter ब्रह्माणमीशं कमलासनस्थम् to refer to one god: the Four-faced Brahmā; while both Rāmānuja and Madhva find room for two: Brahmā and Śiva. Bhāskara must have risen equal to the occasion and found room for all the three—Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva—in the verse. We need hardly wonder how he could have managed to do this. He might very probably and easily have taken the three terms—ब्रह्मा, ईश and कमलासनस्थ—to refer to Brhamā, Śiva and Viṣṇu in order. ब्रह्मा and ईश admittedly refer to Brahmā and Śiva and कमलासनस्थ can easily be taken to signify Viṣṇu. In a well-known verse,

ध्येयः सदा सवितृमण्डलमध्यवर्ती नारायणः सरसिजासनसन्निविष्टः ।
केयूरवान् मकरकुण्डलवान्किरीटी हारी हिरण्मयवपुः धृतशंखचक्रः ॥

the epithet "seated on a lotus-seat" which in fact is synonymous with कमलासनस्थ is found applied to Viṣṇu; so that Bhāskara could easily have interpreted कमलासनस्थ. to mean Viṣṇu without the slightest hesitation and successfully found room for all the three gods in the person of the Viśvarūpin! Or, if he should have gone in for a laboured explanation, he might still have hit upon some such thing as: कमलया लक्ष्म्या सह

एकासने स्थितम् (seated along with his consort Lakṣmī on the same sea which would refer to Viṣṇu. At any rate, one may venture to assert that a Bhāskara, who could dissolve केशव into कः+अः+ईशः+(अवय) व could not have been incapable of an undoubtedly less difficult performance with reference to कमलासनस्थ.

In the light of these remarks, it will be seen that there is hardly any difficulty in believing the Bhāskara of the *Gītā* to have been an exponent of the त्रिमूर्त्यु त्तीर्णब्रह्मवाद and in tentatively identifying him with commentator responsible for the pre-Saṅkarite explanation of मत्परम्.

A word, before closing, about Vedānta Deśika's list of Gītā commentators. I doubt very much if Vedānta Desika's list is at all "meant to be chronological." The third in the list, 'Gupta' is very possibly Abhinavagupta whose name seems to have been given in its shortened form. The Bhāskara mentioned by Vedānta Desika is evidently the Vedāntin whom he implies to have written a commentary on the *Gītā* under II, 12, as is made clear by the reference to his सलोपाधिवाद thereunder. I doubt very much if Prof. Schrader himself is inclined to regard the Vedāntin Bhāskara as posterior to Yādavaprakāśa. Such being the case, I fail to see why the list should be looked upon as being "meant to be chronological" in the case of the first three names only. Even this, as already suggested, is doubtful. Vedānta Desika's list, then, cannot invalidate any contention for the contemporaneity of Bhāskara and Saṅkara, when it is rendered likely by other considerations. As regards Piśāca, I can give this information that notwithstanding his somewhat unenviable name, he is mentioned also as a commentator on the *Brahma Sūtras* in Mādhva literary tradition.[11] As for Yādavaprakāśa's commentary on the Gītā, it also, like his commentary on the *Brahmasūtras*,[12] seems to have been lost—let us hope, not irretrievably. The information which Prof. Schrader would like to have about any other references to or quotations from this commentary will be found in my forthcoming note on Yādava-prakāśa.

B. N. KRISHNAMURTI SARMA

11 See the Introduction to my edition of the *Catus-sūtri Bhāṣya* of Madhva p. i), Law Journal Press, Mylapore, Madras, 1934.

12 To which references are found in the *Śrutaprakāśa* of Sudarśana, the *Tātparyacandrikā* of Vyāsarāja etc.

REVIEWS

MIRAT-I-AHMADI. Persian text. Parts I and II and Supplement edited S. Nawab Ali; English translation of Supplement by C. N. Seddon, (corrected re-issue). Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Baroda.

The *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* is by far the most valuable text on mediæval Indian history published in the Gaekwad's Series. It lights up the history of Gujrat and the provincial administrative system of the Mughal empire with fulness of detail, accuracy and array of charters and State-papers unapproached by any other Subah of India. The student of Mughal administration and mediæval (Indo-Islamic) religious movements will find here a mine of precious raw materials that can keep him busy for a year. Hitherto this work had been available only in the corrupt and fragmentary (i.e., Part I and Supplement) Bombay lithographed edition. The complete text has now been issued, thanks to the enlightened partronage of H. H. Sir Sayaji Rao Gaekwad, under the competent editorship of Prof. Nawab Ali. The third part, more properly called the Supplement, which gives "a gazetteer of the province of Gujrat during the Mughal period.....and an interesting account of the Sufis who lived, taught and died in Gujrat," has been translated and annotated by Mr. Seddon. He admits that "a certain degree of obscurity covers the technical terms used in the *Mirat* regarding administrative and revenue matters." But this difficulty can be overcome by a study of the authoritative works on the Administrative system of the Mughal Empire and the marginal glosses (ascribed to the author) found in a very early ms. of the work now in the Oriental Public Library of Patna.

We are glad to read an announcement that "English translations of volumes I and II are in preparation." The opportunity will then, we hope, be taken to utilise this O.P.L. ms. and to correct the numerous errors of Indian names (e.g., *Pāpāji* invariably for *Bābāji*) in the printed Persian text.

AHSAN-UT-TAWARIKH of Hasan-i-Rumlu. vol. I. (Persian text), vol. II (English translation); both by C. N. Seddon. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Baroda.

This is a history of Persia under the Safavi dynasty from 900 to 980 A.H. (with a small addition in 985) by a writer who was born in 938. It has been edited from four incorrect and defective mss. all derived from one archetype. The text is often corrupt, but the editor "has not usually altered it where the mss. agree, unless the mistake made is perfectly obvious." The English translation is condensed (omitting the verbose poetical padding), but 82 pages of historical and general notes by Mr. Seddon greatly enhance its value, as also the 36 pages of notes on the text in Vol. I.

But the book itself was hardly worth translation. As the editor admits, "I candidly confess that as a historian the author is unsatisfactory, because he omits so much that might be interesting, and usually fails to explain the real causes of the expeditions.... His scraps of Turkish and Indian history are useless." Short as the range of this history is, its earlier portion is a mere compilation from earlier authorities, and as the author was only 42 years of age at the time of writing the book (980 A.H.), the later portion which is professedly based on his own observation does not amount to much. "On the national customs of the Persians in the Safavi days and the social and economic conditions in which they lived, there is practically no information in (this) history," (p. xv.)

Why then has it been included in the Gaekwad's Series? Such learned books cannot be expected to recover their printing charges by sale. We, therefore, regret that a book of such infinitesimally small importance has been preferred for publication while there are many incomparably more valuable mss. on Indo-Muslim history crying for a patron to bear the cost of editing and printing them, and crying in vain.

LES SIKHS: Origine et Développement de la Communauté, 1469-1930, par Dr. Lajwanti Ramakrishna, (Adrien-Maisonneuve, Paris, 1933.)

This is a survey of the rise of the Sikh sect and its political history down to our days, written by a young Punjabi lady for the doctorate of the University of Paris. Where so much ground has to be covered in 352 generously printed pages (omitting the appendices), it has not been possible for the writer to attain the depth of treatment, study of details, or critical analysis. The historical portion is based upon Latif (now 43

years old), supplemented by Mufti Ali-ud-din's *Ibratnama*; it takes no account of more modern research. The writer presents only the Sikh version of events (esp. pp. 305-349), but by omitting the other side, she has stepped across the line that divides an impartial history from a partisan pamphlet, and thus lessened the effectiveness of her work. The affair of the twentieth century Sikh reformers of guru-dwaras was not so simple as one is apt to imagine from her pages. Too many strands were intertwined in it, to make a satisfactory solution easy—and, at one stage, even possible,—for the administration. For one thing, there was the inherent respect for vested rights enforceable by law. Secondly, the reformers did not rigidly confine themselves to social and religious purification; several of their public allies were engaged in a more unspiritual and materialistic propaganda. We can thus see what handicapped even sympathetic foreign executive officers. On the Sikh Wars, Rait's masterly study of Gough in two volumes has been ignored!

On the whole, this book, while in no sense a learned or authoritative treatise, or one based on a full use of the sources,—will prove an agreeable *rechauffé* to French readers.

MUGHAL EMPIRE IN INDIA, 1526-1761, Part II, by Prof. S. R. Sharma. Karnatak Printing Press, Bombay.

This volume covers the period from the accession of Jahangir to the 3rd battle of Panipat, or 1605-1761. It does not pretend to be a work of scholarship or original research, as the author has merely pieced together extracts from authorities (often from translations or derivative works), without attempting criticism or discrimination of one writer from another. But the result is a readable,—and to average college undergraduate, an informing volume. It, however, lacks the vividness and economy of words that mark Lane Poole's *Muhammadan India*.

JADUNATH SARKAR

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Acta Orientalia, vol. XIII, pt. iii.

WALTER RUBEN.—*Materialismus in Leben des alten Indien* (Materialism in the life of Ancient India). Concluding part of the writer's paper divides the subject under the headings '*Selftestimony of materialistic Realpolitik in Kauṭalīya*', '*Self-testimony of Realpolitik in the Mahābhārata and the common place words Lokāyata, Bārhaspatya, Cārvāka, Kaituka and Nāstika*' and '*Hostile representation of Kauṭalya in the Mudrārākṣasa and Daśakumāracarita*'. U. N. G.

Asiatic Review, vol. XXXI, no. 105 (January, 1935).

STANLY RICE.—*Indian Culture Origin.* According to the writer the caste system was a pre-Aryan social institution of India adopted later by the Aryans.

BEFEO, t. XXXIII (1933) Fasc. i.

P. VAN STEIN CALLENFELS.—*Le mariage de Draupadī.* (The marriage of Draupadī) Bas-relief B214 of Aṅkor Vat has been explained by MM. Cadis and Przyluski to represent the svayaṃvara of Sītā and by M. Finot to represent the svayaṃvara of Draupadī. Examination of Javanese and Malay redactions of the story leads the writer to accept the latter view.

R. C. MAJUMDAR.—*Les rois Śailendra de Suvarṇadvīpa* (The Śailendra kings of Suvarṇadvīpa). After giving all the epigraphic data of the dynasty and considering the current views on the subject, the writer concludes that the Śailendras came from Kaliṅga and extended their power over the Far East by way of Lower Burma and the Malay Peninsula.

P. MUS.—*Cultes indiens et indigènes au Champa* (Indian and indigenous cults in Champa). After considering the subject under the headings '*Pre-Aryan India and Aria of the monsoons*,' '*Vedic religion and Brāhmaṇism*', '*the Hindu synthesis*' and '*the actual forms of Cham cults*', the writer concludes that the Indian civilisers

brought to their Chān disciples a much more beautiful and a much more elaborate expression of their common sentiments. This is illustrated by the introductory hymn to Bhāgavatī Kaṇṭhāresvarī (identified with Umā) in the Sanskrit inscription of king Parameśvara dated 1050 A.D. U. N. G.

Calcutta Oriental Journal, vol. II, no. 4 (January, 1935).

S. M. Katre.—*Initial Jha in Indo-Aryan.*

K. R. Pisharoti and V. K. R. Menon.—*Vāstuvidyā.* The *Vāstuvidyā*, a treatise on architecture is being translated into English with Notes. The 5th Chapter dealing with the site of a house, enclosures, planting of trees and gateways is published in this instalment.

Kshitis Chandra Chatterji.—*Popular Etymology.*

P. K. Gode.— *Date of Ānandabodha Yati, the author of Nyāyamakaranda and other works on Vedānta between A.D. 1200 and 1297.*

.—Āyurvedaprakāśa of Mādhava Upādhyāya and its probable Date—middle of the 17th Century.

Calcutta Review, January. 1935.

Baini Prasad.—*Cattle of the Indus Valley Civilisation.*

P. K. Acharya.—*Principles of Hindu Architecture.*

Sri Ram Sharma.—*Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors.*

Susil Kumar Maitra.—*False Appearance in Indian Philosophy.*

Ibid., February, 1935.

Ramesh Chandra Majumdar.—*Hindu Society in Java and Bali.*

Batakrishna Ghosh.—*Indo-European Origin of Sanskrit.*

Indian Art and Letters, vol. VIII, no. 1 (First Issue for 1934)

George Coedes.—*Archæology in Indo-China.* It is an account of the work done by the Ecole française d'Extreme-Orient in the field of archæology.

Joseph Hackin.—*The Recent Work of the French Archæological Delegation at Bāmiyān (Afghanistan).*

Jeanne Cuisinier.—*The Sacred Books of India and the Malay and Siamese Theatre in Kelantan.* From a study of the Siamese and

the Malay theatres in Kelantan the opinion is formed that the Siamese shadow-play was directly influenced by the Rāmāyaṇa, and that the Indian influence is traceable in the Malay shadow-plays.

KANAIYALAL H. VAKIL.—*Creative Art of Ancient India.*

ARNOLD A. BAKE.—*Different Aspects of Indian Music.*

Indian Culture, vol. I, no. 3 (January, 1935).

OTTO STEIN.—*Yavanas in Early Indian Inscriptions.* The writer holds that the term *Yavana* does not indicate Greek nationality. The references in the inscriptions to the *Yavanas* do not prove that there existed in India any Greek colony "in the last centuries before and in the first centuries after the beginning of the Christian era, with social or religious independence."

SATKARI MUKHERJI.—*A Buddhist Estimate of Universals.*

JEAN PRZYLUSKI.—*The Three Factors of Vedic Culture.* Traces of diverse influences on the culture of the Vedic people have been pointed out. At the beginning of the Vedic period, India had three civilisations what are termed Aryan, Urban and Dravido-Munda.

B. C. LAW.—*Some Ancient Indian Tribes.*

P. K. ACHARYA.—*The Aspect and Orientation in Hindu Architecture.*

Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. 54, no. 3 (September, 1934).

HORACE I. POLEMAN.—*The Ritualistic Continuity of Ṛgveda X. 14-18.* The writer is of opinion that the Ṛks in the Ṛgvedic hymns as found in the Saṃhitā suggest particular ritualistic ideas. In this paper, he discusses the death-rites of the Ṛgvedic period inferable from the five hymns of the tenth Maṇḍala, 14-18..

Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society,
vol. IX, pt. ii (October, 1934).

DASARATHA SARMA.—*The Kamboja Inscription of Bhavararman and Kālidāsa.* As some verses of the Kamboja Inscription of about 600 A.C. closely resemble the style and ideas of Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṃśa* it may be inferred that by that time the poet's fame had travelled to the distant land of Cambodia. Hence the date of the poet cannot be assigned to the 6th century A.C.

V. NARASIMHAM.—*Studies in the History of Vijayanagar.* This instalment of the paper deals with the Saluva and Tuluva dynasties.

M. S. RAMASWAMI AIYER.—*Hindu Influence in the Philipines.*

BIMALA CHURN LAW.—*The Yaudheyas in Ancient India.*

C. S. K. RAO SAHIB.—*Shah Jehan's Embassy to China, 1655 A.D.* An account of the Mughal Embassy in China at the time of the first Manchu Emperor is given by a Dutch traveller Nieuhoff. He states that in 1556 an ambassador from Shah Jehan arrived in Peking with numerous other men and various presents in order to accommodate some differences lately arisen between the Chinese and the Mughals and "to procure liberty for their priests to preach."

T. G. ARAVAMUTHAN.—*The Authors of the Holy Canon of Tamil Saivism.*

M. V. KRISHNA RAO.—*Architecture in the Gaṅga Period.*

Journal of the Annamalai University, vol. III, no. 2 (October, 1934).

K. RAMA PISHAROTI.—*Kerala Theatre.* In this last instalment of the paper, the writer deals with *Saṅghakalli*, *Kṛṣṇāṭṭam*, and *Kūṭṭu*, the three semi-religious varieties of the Kerala Theatre.

R. RAMANUJACHARI.—*Vedānta on Freedom and Moral Responsibility.* Continuing the discussion from the previous issue of the journal, the writer presents the views of Rāmānuja on the subject and discusses Sudarśanācārya's opinion on Śaṅkara's interpretation of *Kartradhikaraṇa.*

A. C. SUBRAHMANYAM.—*Nature Poetry in Kālidāsa's Raghuvaṃśa.*

V. A. RAMASWAMI SASTRI.—*Jagannātha Paṇḍita.* The position of Jagannātha Paṇḍita as a literary critic is discussed on the basis of his well-known work *Rasagaṅgādhara.*

B. N. KRISHNAMURTI SARMA.—*The Date of Śrī Madhvācārya.* In view of a reference in Naraharitīrtha's inscription in Kaliṅga, the year 1238 A.C. has been taken as the date of Madhva's birth.

Ibid., vol. IV, no. 1 (January, 1935).

S. S. BHARATI.—*Agathiyan and Tamil Literature.*

A. C. SUBRAHMANYAM.—*Nature Poetry in Kālidāsa's Raghuvaṃśa.*

V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR.—*War in Ancient India.*

K. R. PISHAROTI.—*Abhiṣeka-Nāṭaka.* (An English Translation of Bhāsa's drama with Notes).

V. A. RAMASWAMI SASTRI.—*Jagannātha Paṇḍita.* (Continued).

Journal of the Greater India Society, vol. II, no. 1 (January, 1935).

E. OBERMILLER.—*A Sanskrit Ms. from Tibet—Kamalaśīla's Bhāvanākrama.* A small Sanskrit Ms. received from Tibet and now deposited at Leningrad is a polemical work by Kamalśīla against the doctrines of quietism and inactivity. It is a condemnation of the view, according to which every kind of religious practice such as charity etc. is to be rejected for attaining liberation from the phenomenal existence. Even meditative exercises are to be shunned as they come within the orbit of activities. The writer shows that the text directly refers to a controversy between two schools of Buddhism in Tibet. The details of the religious dispute in Tibet between the followers of Śāntirakṣita and those of the Chinese leader Ho-shang in the 7th century are narrated by Bu-ston in his History of Buddhism. Śāntirakṣita's pupil Kamalaśīla was invited by the king of the land to meet Ho-shang in an assembly in which the Chinese party suffered a complete defeat in the dispute.

R. C. MAJUMDAR.—*Decline and Fall of the Śailendra Empire.*

J. PRZYLUSKI.—*The Śailendravaṃśa.*

DEVAPRASAD GHOSH.—*Migration of Indian decorative Motifs.* It has been shown here how the Indian device of the Caitya-window arch (gavākṣa) with its "glorious face" (Kīrttimukha) was adopted in the lands outside India where Indian art and culture exerted an influence.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.—*A Sanskrit Treatise by a Tibetan Author.* The text which was rendered into incorrect Sanskrit by a Tibetan from its Tibetan original is published here. It is entitled *Guruyoga* and deals with the Mahāyāna method of worship.

HIMANSU BHUSAN SARKAR.—*An Old-Javanese Inscription from Pĕnapihan of the Śaka year 1191.* A Kawi inscription of the 13th century throwing light on the political history of contemporary Java has been edited and translated into English.

Bahadur Chand Chhabra.—*Identification of Śrī Viṣṇuvarman of the Perak Seal.* As the type of script represented on the seal is Pallava-Grantha, it bears testimony to the Hindu culture prevailing in the Malaya Peninsula. The seal bears the name of Viṣṇuvarman, who is identified in this article with the Śailendra King Viṣṇu of the Ligor inscription.

Journal of Indian History, vol. XIII, pt. 3 (December, 1934).

Dines Chandra Sircar.—*Date of Pallava Śivaskandavarman.* This is an attempt to prove that Pallava Śivaskandavarman's reign commenced about the year 300 A.C. and that Vijaya-Skandavarman of the British Museum plates was a different king of a later period.

S. K. Govindaswami.—*A Note on a Pāla Image of Gaṇapati at Kumbhakonam.* An image of Gaṇapati in a temple of South India bears a close affinity to the Eastern Indian Sculpture of the mediæval period and is named Gaṅgaikoṇḍa Vināyaka. It is conjectured that the image was brought to the South by Rājendra Cola surnamed Goṅgaikoṇḍa while returning from his Gangetic campaign in the 11th century A.C.

V. Srinivasan.—*The Danes in India.*

Sri Ram Sharma.—*Bengal under Jahangir.* The account is based on the *Baharistan-i-Ghaibi* of Mirza Nathan.

Nandalal Chatterji.—*The Downfall of Mir Qasim.*

Sitaram Kohli.—*The Army of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.*

Journal of Oriental Research,

vol. VII, part iv (October-December, 1934).

C. Sivaramamurti.—*Antiquity and Evolution of Art in India.* In this first instalment of the paper, texts giving an idea of the artistic conceptions of the ancient Indians and referring to works in wood, clay, and metal, have been collected from Sanskrit literature both Vedic and classical.

K. A. Nilakantha Sastri.—*Foreign Trade under the Kākatīyas.* Inscriptions found in Moṭupalli, a coast village in the Guntur district, show that the village was an important centre of coasting

trade in the Kākatīya kingdom of the 12th century A.C. One of the inscriptions dated in S. 1166 is a charter of protection given by king Gaṇapati to foreign merchants and is an invitation to them to come and trade without any fear of oppression.

V. Raghavan.—*Bahurūpa's Commentary on the Daśarūpa.* In the *Daśarūpaparyālōchyā* of Bahurūpa Miśra, there are references to and quotations from works not available at present. Bahurūpa mentions Bhoja and Śāradātanaya, and gives names of many dramas which are now lost.

C. R. Sankaran.—*Five Stages of Pre-Vedic Determinative-compound-accentuation as surmized by the historical Survivals of their Representations in Sanskrit.* Continued.

G. Harihara Sastri.—*Some Terms of Kauṭalīya Arthaśāstra in the Light of Commentaries.* The meanings of the terms *Parihāra*, *Varca*, *Paūcabandha*, and *Daśabandha* are discussed in this instalment of the article.

C. Kunhan Raja.—*Sūktaślokāḥ.* There is a small collection of nine stanzas attributed to Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, giving the number of Vargas in the various Sūktas of the Ṛgveda published here with an explanatory chart.

T. R. Chintamani.—*Subhūticandra's Commentary on the Amarakośa.* A list of the works and authors mentioned in the commentary is given in the paper together with short descriptions of the important treatises in the list.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, January, 1935.

N. K. Bhattasali.—*The New Saktipur Grant of Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva and Geographical Divisions of Ancient Bengal.* A plate recording a grant by Lakṣmaṇa Sena recently found at Saktipur in the district of Murshidabad, mentions the name of Kaṅkagrāma Bhukti which appears to have formed portion of old Bengal. The Bhukti consisted of the whole of the Birbhum district and a part of Murshidabad lying west of the Bhāgīrathī. The boundaries of this Bhukti as also of the Bhuktis Pauṇḍravardhana, Vardhamāna and Daṇḍa, into which Bengal is known to have been divided in ancient times, are pointed out in the paper.

Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society,
vol. VII, part ii (November, 1934).

EDWARD BLUNT.—*Europeans in the U. P. 1580 to 1800.*

BIMALA CHURN LAW.—*The Mālavas in Ancient India.*

S. N. DAS GUPTA.—*The Revolt of Tilok-Chand of Burdwan 1760.*
—*An Episode in the Relations between the East India Company and the Local Chieftains of Bengal.*

KAMTA PRASAD JAIN.—*The Significance of the Term 'Nirgrantha.'* 'Nirgrantha' means 'non-possession.' A person void of all possessions is called 'nirgrantha.' The Jains were known by this epithet from the pre-Buddhistic period, because, it is surmised, they did not possess even a covering on their persons.

RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI.—*Democratic Procedure in Ancient India.* The methods followed in the actual working of a democratic institution in Ancient India are described here mainly from the Pāli texts in which references to the meetings of the Buddhist Sangghas and their procedure are found.

PRAYAG DAYAL.—*Important Sculptures added to the Provincial Museum, Lucknow.*

Man in India, vol. XIV, nos. 3 and 4 (July-December, 1935).

BHUPENDRA NATH DATTA.—*Anthropological Notes on some West Bengal Castes.*

SASANKA SARKAR.—*The Mālers of the Rajmahal Hills.*

SARAT CHANDRA ROY.—*Caste, Race and Religion in India.*

Nāgaripracāriṇī Patrikā, (Hindi) vol. XV, no. 4.

PITAMBARDATTA.—*The Life of Kabīr* (कबीरका जीवन-वृत्त)

BHAGAVATSARAN UPADHYAY.—*The Social Institutions in Ancient India* कौटलीय)राभीवस ामाजिक स्थिति). The condition of the Indian society as can be gathered from statements in the works of Kālidāsa is described here.

VASUDEV UPADHYAY.—*Gaṅgā and Yamunā in Indian Sculpture* (भारतीय कला में गङ्गा और यमुना).

Philosophical Quarterly, vol. X, no. IV (January, 1935.)

RAMA KANTA TRIPATHI.—*The Mādhyamika Theory of Dialectic.*

Prasthāna (Gujarati) Māgha, Saṃvat 1991

H. D. SAUKALIA.—*Resemblance between Kundamālā and Uttararāmacarita.* The author has compared these two works and has concluded that the *Kundamālā* is earlier than Bhavabhūti.

M. C. MODI.—*Historical references to Rāsa.* He has given some references (beginning from the 9th century A.D.) to Rāsa-dance.

Ibid., Phālguna, 1991.

H. D. SAUKALIA.—*Resemblance between Kundamālā and Uttararāmacarita.*

D. E. MUNSHI.—*A Grant of Dhruvarāja II of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Family.*

Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, vol. XXV, nos. 1-3 (Silver Jubilee Number: July, Oct. 1934, Jan. 1935).

Silver Jubilee Celebrations Lectures:

B. M. SRIKANTIA.—*Treasures of Kannada Literature.*

S. KRISHNASWAMY AIYANGAR.—*Mysore through the Ages.*

A. B. WADIA.—*Philosophy and Religion in Mysore.*

M. H. KRISHNA.—*Gems of Mysore Architecture.*

Annual Meeting—Presidential Address:

R. NARASIMHACHAR.—*Expansion of Indian Culture Outside India.* It gives a brief account of the relations existing in ancient times between India and Bactria, Kabul, Mesopotamia, Chinese Turkestan, China, Tibet, Indo-China, Cambodia, Siam, Burma, Eastern Archipelago, Borneo, Java, Bali, Malaya, Lambok, Persia, Arabia, Mexico and Mecca.

JEAN PRZYLUSKI.—*The Name of the God Viṣṇu and the Kṛṣṇa Legend.* The name of the Vedic god Viṣṇu has no counterpart in other Indo-European Mythologies. In the Deccan, Viṣṇu is worshipped as Viṭhala or Viṭṭhala, while in Mahārāṣṭra, Viṭhala is called Viṭhu or Viṭhovā. Veṭhadīpa is a place-name in the Mahāparinibbāṇa-sutta corresponding to the inscriptional Viṣṇudvīpa. It is surmised that Viṣṇu connected with the

non-Aryan Viṭh, a race living in this Veṭhadīpa in the Deccan was the ancestral god of the people. The word Draviḍ has also in it a trace of *Viṭh*, which has changed into *miḷ* in Tamiḷ. The Āndhra kings of the south were called Śātakarṇis, a word of Austro-Asiatic origin, meaning "son of the Horse", and the Horse is an incarnation of Viṣṇu. A legend in the Ghaṭajātaka connects Vāsudeva and Balarāma with the Āndhras stating that they were the sons of Āndhakaveṇhu, i.e. Viṣṇu, the Āndhra. The story of the sons of Āndhakaveṇhu, who faught among themselves on the sea-shore is analogous to the story of the fratricidal fight of the kinsmen of Kṛṣṇa narrated in the *Mahābhārata*.

V. Raghavan.— *Sanskrit and Prakrit Poetesses.* Some verses of the poetesses of olden times who wrote in Sanskrit or Prakrit are quoted here mostly from anthologies. An English rendering of the verses together with information regarding the poetesses has been appended.

S. V. Viswanatha.—*The Viṇṇukuṇḍins.* The history of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins, an ancient ruling dynasty of the Deccan, is discussed here with reference to their architecture and other monuments, extent of their territories and their genealogy.

Ramchandra Chettiar.—*Jainism in Kongu Nadu.*

L. A. Krishna Iyer—*Taboo among the Primitive Tribes of Travancore.*

Sāhitya-parisat-patrikā, (Bengali) vol. XLI, no. 1.

Bibhutibhushan Datta.—*Decimal Notation in the Mahābhārata* (মহাভারতে দশাঙ্ক সংখ্যা). The writer seeks to trace the prevalence of the system of decimal notation during the time of the *Mahābhārata* (6th century B.C.) and even earlier.

Ibid., vol. XLI, no. 2.

Jogendra Chandra Ghosh.—*The original Home of the Rāḍhī and the Vārendra Brāhmaṇas* (রাঢ়ী ও বারেন্দ্র ব্রাহ্মণগণের আদি বাসস্থান). Against the traditional view that the ancestors of the Bengali Brāhmaṇa came from Kanauj, the writer contends that Kolāñca,

the original home of these Brāhmaṇas was in the district of Bogra in Bengal.

MUHAMMAD ENAMUL HAQ.—*The Poet Sayed Sultan* (কবি সৈয়দ সোলতান). This is an account of the literary works of the poet.

NAGENDRA NATH VASU.—*The Sena Capital in North Rāḍhā* (উত্তর রাঢ়ে সেন-রাজধানী). From the statements in the family chronicles it is inferred that Kaṅkagrāma, the modern Kagram in the district of Murshidabad was once the capital of the Sena kings of Bengal.

PRABODH CHANDRA SEN GUPTA.—*The Age of Kālidāsa* (মহাকবি কালিদাসের সময়). The interpretations suggested for the astronomical statements in Kālidāsa's works place him in the 6th century A.C.

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Selections from the Peshwa Daftar:

No. 41 The last days of the Maratha Raj (1779-1818).

„ 42 Papers referring to Pratapsinh, Raja of Satara.

„ 43 The Social and Religious matters under the Peshwas (1727-1797).

„ 44 Some Historical Families.

„ 45 Documents illustrating Maratha Administration.

—Edited by G. S. Sardesai. Government Central Press. Bombay 1934.

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The Harmikā and the Origin of Buddhist Stūpas

The *harmikā* is a square block of masonry placed on the top of the stūpa cupola, and is sometimes decorated in the manner of a pavilion. FERGUSSON took it for an imitation of a relic-casket. E. SENART criticized this suggestion, saying,: "By all that we know of buddhic relic caskets, nothing is more unlike one of them than this small pavilion behind its railing." But E. SENART's own interpretation does not seem more satisfactory. According to him, the stūpa is a stone reproduction of the round hut of the early fire-worshippers, and the *harmikā* imitates the altar of the fire. Unfortunately, supposing the dome of the stūpa derived from the round hut, one fails to see why the altar should have been placed on the roof instead of beneath it.

M. G. COMBAZ thinks that the *harmikā* is a reproduction of the pavilion erected in front of the Bodhi tree or around it. The tree beneath which Śākyamuni became Buddha was an object of particular reverence. In the early days it must have been surrounded by pales, and a pavilion crowned by the parasol of sovereignty had probably been built around, or in front of it.[1] M. COMBAZ thinks that an assimilation took place between the *yūpa* of the stūpa and the Bodhi tree and that, when the *yūpa* bearing the parasol was identified with the sacred tree, the shrine which surrounded, or was placed before it, became the *harmikā*.[2]

1 For a representation of this pavilion, see A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Early Indian Architecture, Bodhi-gharas*, Eastern Art, ii, p. 225, Philadelphia, 1930.

2 *L'évolution du stūpa en Asie*, in Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques, II, pp.

Two series of facts go against this explanation. For, one thing, we notice very often on the stūpas or sculptures on the relievos of Bārhut, Sāñchī and Amarāvatī, a *harmikā* topped with one or several parasols, but the top of a *yūpa* is not to be seen above it, and this goes against the supposition that the *yūpa* preceded and inspired the erection of the pavilion. Then, in Buddhist texts, we see that the sacred trees were originally enclosed in a fence (*vāra*), in order to retain the water of the ritual sprinklings.[3] Later on, as well shown by A. K. Coomaraswamy,[4] this fence was completed by the construction of a frame to allow the watering of the tree from its top, and this took the shape of a pavilion, but its use was well known and the pole of a stūpa could not be mistaken for a tree which had to be watered.

In an important work on the Barabudur, M. Mus offers a new explanation. In the stūpa he sees a closed microcosm containing, beneath a roof which is the vault of heaven, a miniature of the cosmic mountain—this mountain being shown under the shape of a *prāsāda*, that is to say, of a pyramid of terraces,—and the whole construction being lost in the mass of the stūpa. According to this theory, the *harmikā* would be the top of the Mount Meru piercing through the celestial vault, and towering above it.[5]

"Our hypothesis," says M. Mus, "would admit of great reinforcement if it could be proved that the square top of the stūpa was meant by the Indians themselves to picture the top of a *prāsāda*." And this is precisely what the term *harmikā* seems to confirm. We can hardly question that the word is here the technical term which describes the "look-out" which crowns a pile of terraces. Buddhaghosa himself could vouch for it if needed. Here are the terms in which his own commentary on the *Cullavagga*, VI, 1, 2, describes a *prāsāda* provided with this convenience: "The word *hammiya* means a many-storied succession of

196-199. M. Combaz considers another hypothesis without, however, insisting on it. Speaking of the *harmikā*, he says: "Is it, in India, a vestige of the 'shelter,' mentioned in the Brāhmaṇic rituals as the protection given to the urn containing the ashes of the dead before they are buried for good?"

3 J. Przyluski, *La Légende de l'Empereur Aśoka*, pp. 267, 433.

4 *Early Indian Architecture*, p. 225 and foll.

5 P. Mus, *Le Barabudur*, BEFEO, XXXII, 1932, 1, p. 381 and foll.

terraces, the highest of which is topped by a pavilion.[6] It is interesting to note that the pavilion on the top of the Meru forms so essential a part of it that, in the composition of some paintings of Touen-houang, it has probably been considered quite to indicate figuratively the Mount itself,—which characteristics it bears in suggesting the happy life led by the gods on its lofty summit. The description of this palace is a very common-place feature of the Buddhist texts, because it sums up essentially the domain of the gods. The term *harmikā*, connected with the architectural notion of the *prāsāda*, would lead us back perfectly, through this connection, to the second explanation of the top of the stūpa given above: *devatā kotuwa*, in Sinhalese "citadel of the gods."

"Considering everything, if in Central Asia the painter of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra* believed that he indicated the cosmic pyramid very clearly when he drew the little pavilion which crowns it, how can we help concluding that a similar speculation may quite possibly have happened, *mutatis mutandis*, where the *harmikā* of the oldest Indian stūpas is concerned?"[7]

It is permitted to suppose that, after the beginning of the Christian era, when the ideas relating to the stūpa had already undergone some changes, the *harmikā* was conceived as a "look-out" imitating the pavilion of the gods on the top of the Meru. But we cannot very well admit with Mr. Mus that this conception was an original one, and that "the cosmic mountain may be found in the earliest stūpas, concealed under the envelope."[8] When thinking of old stūpas, we see of course the big monuments of Bārhut and Sāñchī. But we must not forget that many stūpas were very much smaller than these. Here is an extract from a *Parinirvāṇa-sūtra*, translated into Chinese:

"All the Bhikṣus inquired of Ānanda: "What is the rule of the funeral?" He answered: "We must go out of the town, towards the east a distance of 30 li of the town, there is a village. This village is called Wei-Tcheu. At the crossing of four ways a pole shall be set up and a funeral monument shall be erected. The flat-stones to cover it

6 Cf. SBE., vol. XIII, p. 173, n. 1.

7 P. Mus, *ibid.*, p. 382-383.

8 *Ibid.* p. 382.

shall be made of jade. These stones must be 3 ft. square. The stūpa shall be 15 ft. square. The urn of gold containing the *śarīra* shall be placed exactly in the centre of it. A stūpa shall be erected and a mast shall rise out of it, at the top of which flags and silk stuffs shall be hung. Incense shall be burnt and lamps shall be lit; it shall be cleaned, dusted and strewn with flowers, and the 12 categories (of worshippers) shall rejoice from morning till night and shall honour it" (*Tripiṭ.*, ed. Tok, XII, 10, p. 21, col. 7).

The stūpa described above is of a late model, as we see it topped by a pole and covered with hard stone. However, its dimensions are moderate. Of course the value of the Chinese foot has varied with the different dynasties, also from a state to another. But if we adopt as a basis its actual average length: 0m. 35, we find 5m. 25 to be the length and width of the monument.

If a stūpa of the Buddha, built at a comparatively late period, had a diameter of only 5m., the stūpas of the disciples must have been smaller still, and it seems incredible to think that each one of these monuments could have been supposed to enclose the highest mountain of the universe—that which upholds the roof of heaven.

We believe that another explanation must be sought for for the presence of the *harmikā*.

According to the old Brāhmaṇic rituals, the shape and proportions of the *śmaśāna* varied with the different schools. It could be either circular or square. With the Mādyandhina and the Baudhāyana it could not exceed the length of a man. As to the height, it was proportioned to the height of the deceased. With the Mādyandhina, the *śmaśāna* of a Kṣatriya was as high as a man standing; for a Brahman it went up only to the mouth, for a Śūdra it stopped at the knees.[9]

As very well pointed out by Caland, the tomb was very small; it was feared, if the dead man were given too much space, he would try to carry away a companion with him.[10] The first Buddhists pro-

9 J. Przyluski, *Le Parinirvāṇa et les Funérailles du Buddha*, p. 209.

10 The legend of the Rāhula stūpa, in the Kapiśa, as recorded by Hiuan-Tsang, sounds like an echo of similar beliefs: a minister, having built a stūpa carries the relics to it himself and remains walled up in the stūpa, which closes up magically behind him. See Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, I, p. 61 and P. Mus, *ibid.*, p. 390, n. 1.

bably followed this rule, with the reserve that the tomb of a Buddha was larger than that of a disciple.

On the supposed site of Kapilavastu, a number of Buddhist tombs were found, clustering around a larger monument: prisms of brick, with no domes and with a square foundation. When announcing their discovery, BARTH observed their resemblance with the Brāhmaṇic funeral monuments.[11] We believe the *harmikā* to have been originally the dead man's dwelling, and the cube of masonry which crowns the bigger stūpas is an imitation of the brick prisms with a square basement discovered at Kapilavastu.

With the development of the Buddha-Cakravartin's legend appeared the notion that his tomb should have the dimensions of a palace, that is to say, of a pyramid of terraces: a *prāsāda*. This plan included as a matter of course a massive basement, crowned by a pavilion: the cupola of the stūpa stands for the basement; the *harmikā* is the pavilion, it is the deceased's dwelling, as its name seems to imply, and it perpetuates the Brāhmaṇic *śmaśāna*.

We do not question that the foundation may have been gradually replaced by the image of the cosmic mountain, where the king of the gods resides. But these ideas have not been more than accessory, in all probability, to the development of the stūpa.

The stūpa was, originally, the tomb of a Tathāgata, of a Pratyekabuddha, of a listener of the Buddha, or of a Cakravartin.[12] Where a Tathāgata or a Cakravartin, both equal in dignity, were concerned, one may have thought of Mount Meru. But for the tomb of a disciple there could be no question of a *prāsāda*, not to speak of a miniature of Mount Meru.

It can be objected that if the *harmikā* was the house of the deceased, a casket containing his remains should, logically, have been placed in it. But, against logic rose the wish to hide the relics from the greed of thieves, and the builders were obliged to bury them deep.

11 *Œuvres de A. Barth*, II, p. 311, n. 2 and see *Le Parinirvāṇa et les Funérailles*, p. 210.

12 *Mahāparinibbāna*, V. 12; *Dīrghāgama* in Chinese, *Tripiṭ.* ed. Tok., XII, 9, p. 17a col. 15.

In the study of this arduous problem we do not see the point of using a figure that M. FOUCHER and, recently, M. MUS have examined at length. It is an image engraved on some coins in the North-West.

"The stūpa," says M. MUS, "is clearly drawn in section. Inside the cupola, a central pillar indicated by a straight line rises up from the bottom and is crowned by what M. FOUCHER declares to be a parasol: his supposition is grounded on similarities which lend some veracity to it. This image, he adds, has probably lost its signification as time went, and the error may have led to think that it showed a bow and arrow.

"Error, or deliberate interpretation? The question deserves to be studied again. It is difficult to admit that the Buddhists could have so deeply misread the holiest symbol in their religious art, especially when the bow and arrow are given a place of such minor importance in the catalogue of their sacred images. If they have chosen at all this far-fetched interpretation, it can be owing to an allegorical sense, only. The cosmic axle is often identified in the Indian belief with the ray of sunlight piercing the spaces when the sun reaches its zenith. Though we cannot insist on this point, which is worthy of a special study, we may remind the reader that the celestial arrow is another illustration of the same cosmological conception.

"If the stūpa is entirely built around the cosmic axle, does it not present an unexpected similarity with a bow and its arrow?

"And this is our explanation of this symbolical figure."[13]

We are not convinced that this symbol has anything in common with the stūpa. The Annamites, before the feast of the New-Year, draw with lime on the earth the picture of a bow and arrow, in order to frighten away the evil spirits. The image printed on the North-Western coins may possess the same prophylactic value. The resemblance with a stūpa is doubtful and far-fetched. We consider it wiser not to bring in this drawing in a discussion on the origin of the stūpas.

From a passage in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* we learn that in ancient times square tombs were made by the people who were 'godly', that is probably by the Aryans, whilst the round tombs were made by 'asuric' people, that is probably by the Non-Aryans.

13 P. Mus, *Le Borabudur*, p. 386.

"Now the Gods and the Asuras, both of them sprung from Prajāpati, were contending in the (four) regions (quarters). The Gods drove out the Asuras, their rivals and enemies, from the regions, and being regionless, they were overcome. Wherefore the people who are godly make their burial-places four-cornered; whilst those who are of the Asura nature, the Easterners and others, (make them) round (*yā āsuryaḥ prāchyāś tvad ye tvat parimaṇḍalāni*), for they (the gods) drove them out from the regions."[14]

Mr. A. C. Banerji, who has recently quoted this passage, adds: "It is quite possible that the round form of Asura burial mound ultimately gave birth to round stūpas found all over India, because Buddhism, after all, is a religion of Eastern India."[15]

Besides, attempts have been made to trace the origin of the South-Indian temples to a primitive architecture that existed in the South prior to the advent of Brahmanism, Buddhism or Jainism.[16] As observed recently by M. V. Krishna Rao,[17] "the practice of constructing megalithic tombs and sepulchral memorials that was prevalent among certain tribes and castes of South India in the early centuries of the Christian era, and the testimony of epigraphical evidences showing the erection of Śiva temples as memorials on tombs of important personages seem strongly to justify the latter point of view. The crude megalithic structures, dolmens, cromlechs and hero-shrines essentially tumular and external, spread all over Mysore and the South, might have been the nucleus on the basis of which the early Buddhist architecture of the South developed."

But not in South-India only, the early Buddhist architecture was preceded by megalithic tumuli. "Pre-buddhic sepulchral mounds, some of which nearly 40 ft. high, and whose antiquity may be traced back five or six centuries B. C., exist near the villages of Lauriya and Pakhri; they are made of several layers of earth piled around a thick

14 *Sat. Brāh.*, SBE, vol. xliv, pp. 423-24.

15 *JBORS.*, vol. XX, part II, 1934, p. 182.

16 *Annual Report of the Archæol. Depart.*, Southern Circle, 1914, p. 34.

17 *Quarterly Journ. of the Mythic Society*, July-October 1934, Jan. 1935, p. 163.

wooden pillar which bores through them all and the fragments of which have been found inside the tumulus; human remains, calcinated, have been discovered in it, and a small leaf of gold bearing the print of a naked goddess."[18]

So every element of the stūpa existed already in Pre-Buddhist India. The *harmikā* perpetuates the Brāhmaṇic square tomb; as to the cupola and the railing of the stūpa, they have many points in common with the sepulchral mounds and the cromlechs of the megalithic period. However, it does not seem likely that the early Buddhists should have erected stūpas to honour the relics of the Buddha and of the saints.

In the society where primitive Buddhism developed, nothing prepared the minds for the celebration of a cult of the relics. The corpse was a thing unclean, dangerous, which must be kept away from human habitation. Some remains of this custom appear in the more ancient ceremonial of the Buddha's funeral.[19] It was indeed long before the time when the people regarded possession of his relics as leading to prosperity.

Many changes in the ideas must be supposed to have taken place in the interval: first, the ashes of Buddha lost their ill-omened character and became the objects of a recognized cult. It was admitted that one could acquire merit by paying reverence to the ashes of the Bhagavat, and they were looked upon as a source of blessings for the community which possessed them.

I have pointed out elsewhere[20] that in the times of Hiuan-tsang, there were three kinds of funerals: the corpse was either burnt, thrown into a river, or carried away into the jungle. It is probable that after the Buddha died, his corpse was immersed in the Ganges, or buried alongside the river. This may be the reason why, according to an ancient tradition, his corpse was first of all placed in a trough of oil (*teladoṇi*), to the purpose of preserving it from corruption until it could reach the river.

18 *Annual Rep. of the Arch. Surv. of India*, 1906-1907, pl. XXXIX, XL.

19 *Le Parinirvāṇa et les Funérailles*, pp. 179, 194, 213.

20 *Le partage des reliques du Buddha*, in *Shogo Kenkyu*, I.

Some worshippers asserted that the corpse of the Buddha had been carried by the flood as far as the ocean[21] and, notwithstanding the traditions which record the division of the relics, the people remained convinced that the remains of the Buddha had been first trusted to the guard of the *nāga*.[22]

The Brāhmaṇic custom ordered that the corpse of a holy hermit be buried on the banks of a river flowing out to the sea. It was not burnt, but was buried in the sand with the staff of the deceased and his water-jug.[23] This practice was probably followed for the funeral of the early Buddhist ascetics, but for the newly converted laics tombs of masonry were built, square or round according to the custom of the countries, and similar by their shape and dimension to the tombs of the Śākya discovered at Kapilavastu.

We are now faced with the following problem: when, and under the exertion of what influences, were the earlier stūpas erected, that is to say, constructions devoted to the cult of the relics were made. When the big stūpas like those of Bārhut and Sāñchī were built, the Buddha was not a human holy man any more, he was a Cakravartin king; he had become both a *rājādhirāja* and a *devātideva*. The transformation of the tomb into a stūpa derives necessarily from these changes in the ideas. In other words, we are to find out at what time and in what country the notion of a kingly and godly big funeral shrine, combining the square Brāhmaṇic tomb with the heavy megalithic tumulus, had taken birth.

Plutarch records that after king Menander's death his ashes were divided between the cities, and that over each one of the shares memorials (*mnêmeia*) had been constructed. Before Menander, Alexander had been deified. And the Indo-Greek kings, having inherited part of his glory and of his empire, were probably given the rank of deities as well. The indication given by Plutarch's testimony must by no means be neglected. We will show that in the times of the Indo-Greek kings, the ancient sepulchral mound and the Brāhmaṇic tomb may have welded together under the combined influences of Scythian, Parthian and

21 *Mahāvaṃsa*, chap. 31, v. 17 and foll.

22 *Le partage des reliques*, p. 39 and foll.

23 Caland, *Bestattungsgebräuche*, p. 94. See also Finot, *RHR*, 1897, p. 216.

Greek elements. In this mixed society the Scythians were constructors of sepulchral mounds, the Greeks contributed a new technic, and the Parthians perpetuated the cult of the king of kings. This is where the notion of the huge stūpa, essentially a regal mausoleum and religious building, must have been born.

From the north of the Black Sea to the Caspian stretches a country of steppes, which extends into Asia as far as the Altaï. On these immense spaces several pastoral races have lived who have played a prominent part in the history of Asia in general, and more particularly, of India: Turks, Mongols, Scythians, Aryans, Ougrians, etc.... The best known at the prehistorical period are the Scythians. Let us examine briefly the tombs which have been discovered in the northern part of Caucasus and of the Black Sea.

The mounds found in the Kuban (North-East of the Caucasus), belong to two different types: common or princely; the social rank of the dead ruled the dimension of his tomb.

In the big kurgan of Maikop, the tomb was divided into three rooms and it is supposed to have sheltered a high personage and his wives.[24] North of Pont, the tombs are always covered by a tumulus and these kurgans have a circular basis. Their size is not always the same: generally they do not exceed 3m. in height, and 30 to 50m. in diameter. Some of the mounds, however, are 15m. high with a diameter of 80m. Sometimes the kurgan covers several tombs instead of one.[25]

It appears then that the kurgans are just as diverse in kind as the Buddhist stūpas. The latter are either individual or collective tombs, the tombs of kings, of Buddhas, or of disciples. When the Buddhist stūpa is compared to the *zikkurat* or to Mount Meru, the more developed type only thought of. But the actual one is infinitely more complex.

Besides, the big stūpas do not appear before the second century B.C. Their construction in India seems to have coincided with the invasions. This fact raises the question whether some pastoral tribes—constructors of kurgans—may not have played a part in the creation of

24 Menghin, *Weltgeschichte der Steinzeit*, Wien, 1931, p. 455.
25 *Ibid.*, p. 460.

the Buddhist stūpa. We hear it often said that the latter has a hemispherical roof. But the dome of the big Sāñchī stūpa is not in reality an exact hemisphere: its diameter at the base is decidedly more than double its height, as observed on the pastoral kurgans.

True enough, the first Scythian invasions seem posterior to the first big stūpas. And although it is impossible to give with any certitude a date to the Bārhut stūpa, it was probably built prior to the establishment of the Saka dynasties in India. But we must not forget that there was the influence of the barbarians on Buddhist art before the Indian soil was actually conquered by them.

The contact between India, the West and the North was first achieved in the Greek kingdoms. Greek kings like Menander have rendered a great help to the creation of a mixed society, composed of Greek elements, Scythians, Hindus etc., where Buddhism found a ready soil for its development. Greco-Buddhist sculpture was born through this intermixture of races, and at the same time the type of the big stūpa was being elaborated. A certain amount of truth lies probably at the bottom of the tradition which relates the erection of memorials on the ashes of Menander. The sculptures on the railing of the Bārhut stūpa bear Kharoṣṭhi characters, which proves the collaboration of artists from the North-West.[26]

"The Besnagar pillar," says J. Ph. Vogel, "was set up by one Heliodoros who calls himself a Greek ambassador from king Antialkidas to king Bhagabhadra. It clearly shows in what manner, about the middle of the second century B.C., Greek influence could penetrate from Graeco-Bactrian kingdom to the Hindu states of Central India."[27] But when we speak of Greek influence we must by no means imagine a purely Hellenic factor, far from it. The Graeco-Bactrian kingdom was an aggregate where the Śaka and the Parthians were numerically more important than the actual Hellenes. Patañjali, whom we place about the middle of the 2nd century[28], looks upon the Śaka-Yavana as non-impure

26 L. De La Vallée Poussin, *L'Inde au temps des Mauryas*, p. 162.

27 *Arch. Surv.*, 1908-1909, p. 33 and see La Vallée Poussin, *ibid.*, p. 244.

28 On the much contested point of the date of Patañjali, see La Vallée Poussin, *ibid.*, pp. 199-202.

Śūdras. It appears that as far back as Menander's time the Scythians, associated with the Greeks, already enjoyed a certain ascendency upon the Brahmans.

Résumé: the big stūpas built prior to the advent of the Christian era, appear to us as hybrid monuments, revealing different influences.

(1) The tomb of the early converted laics was probably similar to the pre-Buddhist tombs; its dimensions were small because the deceased was an object of dread and it was feared that he would try to drag down a companion with him; its base was round or square; it was the room of the dead man. In the later stūpas, the *harmikā*—that is to say the dead man's 'dwelling',—perpetuates the Brāhmanic tomb.

(2) At the time when the northern influence began to exert itself, the stūpa developed into its real form. It took the shape of a mound, the dimension of which was proportioned to the social importance of the dead man. But the former room of the dead man does not disappear: it is placed on the top of the mound like a 'look out' on the top of a hill, whereas his ashes are hidden away under the dome as was the custom in the ancient tumuli.

J. Przyluski

The Date of the first Maurya Emperor

The accession of the first Maurya has been justly regarded as a land-mark in Indian history. The reasons are not far to seek. This event approximately marks the culmination of that career of conquest and absorption into which Magadha had entered two centuries ago under the able guidance of a scion of the Haryanka dynasty. By this time the foreign intruders had been obliged to retire from the theatre of Indian politics leaving the disintegrated sub-continent to be knit into unity under one paramount ruler. For the first time in history Uttarāpatha and Dakṣiṇāpatha, Madhyadeśa and Pratyanta, Prācya and Aparānta came into a close touch with each other united in ideal and sentiment, in hope and action.

But to antiquarians the date of the first Maurya emperor is important for two different reasons. It is at this date that the curtain of obscurity is lifted for the first time from the scenes in ancient Indian life. Secondly, this is the first certain date for pre-Gupta Indian history. This date has been fixed at about 324-23 B.C. The latest researches seem also to confirm this. A variation in it is now impracticable without affecting the whole scheme of the pre-Gupta chronology. But as it has been remarked, "fixity with regard to dates is a thing unknown in Indian history", it is no wonder that the date of the first Maurya emperor also will be made a subject of vigorous controversy even as late as now. In fact, an ingenious venture was made by Mr. Bhattasali in the *JRAS.*[1] to throw doubts on the correctness of the accepted date and even to push it forward to 313 B.C. Such an assertion, bold as it is, should not long remain unchallenged.

The only authority which seems to support this new theory is a passage in the Prākṛt work, *Therāvali*, ascribed to Merutuṅga Ācārya who probably belongs to the 13th century. The passage gives us an interesting list of dynasties alleged to have intervened between the

1 *JRAS.*, 1932, pp. 273-288.

accession of Vikramāditya of the tradition, and the death of Mahāvīra. According to it Pālaka reigned for 60 years. He was followed by the Nandas whose reign lasted 155 years. Then followed the 108 years of Maurya rule, the 30 years' reign of Pusyamitra, the 60 years' joint-reign of Balamitra and Bhānumitra, the 40 years' reign of Nahavāhana, the 13 years' reign of Gardabhilla and 4 years' usurpation by Saka in close succession. Last comes the accession of Vikramāditya. The number of years intervening between this last event and the advent of the Maurya dynasty is thus (4+13+40+60+30+108=) 255. Then taking the date of Vikramāditya to be 58 B.C. and adding to it 255 years, we get 313 B.C. as the date of the first Maurya's accession. But the unsoundness of this claim will be at once clear from the impracticability of associating Vikramāditya of the legends with the era which began from 58 B.C. No literary work which may be dated earlier than the 7th century A.C. knows anything of either the era or the exploits of a hero of such denomination. Subandhu, who is perhaps the earliest Sanskrit writer to have referred to the mythical king, flourished in the 7th century A.C.[2] The works, from which we learn the details about the Vikramāditya legend,[3] undoubtedly belong to much later dates. In the Gupta age the so-called Vikrama era whenever referred to in any connexion has been invariably described as 'Śri Mālavaganāmnāta Kṛta-saṃjñitā', i.e. the era known as the Kṛta traditionally handed down by the Mālava-gaṇa. There is nothing on record before the 9th century A.C. to establish Vikramāditya's connexion with the Kṛta era. It goes without saying that the information supplied by works which cannot be dated earlier than the 11th century A.C. for an event which occurred 1200 years ago cannot be trusted when there is clear evidence against it in earlier recorded inscriptions. When it has thus been established that there was no Vikramāditya in the 1st century B.C., there can no longer be the slightest justification for relying on the

2 Sa rasavatīā vihatā na vakā vilasanti carati na kānkāh sarasīva kīrtiśeṣam gatavati bhuvi Vikramāditye (Subandhu, *Vāsavadattā*).

3 E.g. *Kālakācaryakathānakam*, *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, Alberuni's *India*, etc.

dynastic list above referred to in order to ascertain the date of Candragupta.[4]

That the passage in question is absolutely untrustworthy will appear from a few other considerations. The crowding of all the names of rulers and dynasties in one continuous list is misleading. Some in the list are clearly local kings of Avantī having no connexion whatsoever with Magadha, while others are undoubtedly Magadhan potentates. Pālaka certainly, and Balamitra and Bhānumitra probably, belong to the former group. The notion, moreover, which the list apparently suggests that the reign of one ruler ended exactly when that of another began is far from accurate. For, it is certain that it was neither Balamitra nor Bhānumitra but Agnimitra who succeeded Puṣyamitra even in Avantī. Nor can it be urged that the succession of the Nandas to Pālaka implies a Nanda conquest of the latter's dominions. For if we are to believe the Purāṇas (which are certainly earlier works), it was Śiśunāga and not a Nanda who earned the distinction of having humbled the pride of the Pradyota dynasty. Moreover, Avantī did not lose her independence with the death of Pālaka. The combined evidence of *Kathā-sarit-sāgara*, *Bṛhat-kathā-śloka-saṃgraha*, *Mṛcchakaṭika* and the Purāṇas suggests the existence of at least two kings (Āryaka and Varti-vardhana or Avantī-vardhana) who ruled in succession after Pālaka's death. Nor does history know anything about a Śaka king ruling in Ujjain about 62 (=58+4) B.C., as the *Therāvali* would have us believe.[5] No credence can moreover be given to the

4 For a full discussion of the Vikramāditya problem see *Calcutta Review*, Dec. 1922, pp. 493-94 and *JRAS.*, 1913, pp. 637 and 994 ff.

5 There are good grounds for accepting the opinion that Śimuka, the first Śātavāhana, gave the death-blow to the Kāṇvayana power. If this means anything, he undoubtedly deprived the Kāṇvayanas of a considerable portion of the territory. It is certain that he did not conquer the Magadha region. None of the Śātavāhanas boast of overlordship over Uttarāpatha. They invariably call them *Dakṣiṇāpathapati*. The Pūrva-Malava or the Vidiśā region came definitely under the Śātavāhanas after the accession of Śātakarṇi I. It stands to reason, therefore, that the Avantī region is the territory where the Kāṇvayanas were supplanted by Śimuka. As Śimuka's conquest over the dynasty cannot be dated much later than 73 B.C., there hardly remains any possibility for a Śaka king reigning in that region about that date.

number of years put against the dynasties to denote duration of each. If, for example, we accept 155 years to be the actual length of the Nanda period, we can no longer regard the established synchronism of Bimbisāra with Buddha as correct, whichever of the dates 483 or 478 B.C. be assigned to the Nirvāṇa. The gap between Bimbisāra's death and the 1st Nanda's accession is, according to the *Mahāvaṃśa*, covered by 8 reigns lasting 148 years and according to the Purāṇas by 5 reigns lasting 167 years. Now, taking 313 B.C. as the date of Candragupta's accession and thereby making the Nandas to begin their reign about 468 B.C. (i.e. 313+155), and subtracting this number from 486 B.C. (the date of Buddha's death), we get only 18 years to cover the above reigns which included the long reigns of Ajātaśatru, Śiśunāga and Udayin. The acceptance of 323 B.C. as the date of Candragupta or 478 B.C. as the date of Nirvāṇa does not in any way improve the situation which the Jain list compels us to do.

The conclusion that at once suggests itself from the above considerations is that the Jain list in question is only a meaningless medley of names of rulers and dynasties belonging neither to one place nor to one time.

Another argument for accepting the date 313 B.C. rests on the assumption that Buddha's Nirvāṇa occurred in 477 B.C. Taking 214 years to cover the gap between Aśoka's accession and Buddha's Nirvāṇa in accordance with the tradition preserved in the *Mahāvaṃśa*, Aśoka's accession has been shown to have taken place about (477/8—214 or) 263/4 B.C. Then adding the total of both Candragupta's and Bimbisāra's regnal years to 263 B.C., the date of Candragupta has been made to fall about 313 (i.e. 264+24+25) B.C. The obvious fallacy in this reckoning consists in using two systems of chronology simultaneously. According to the Purāṇas, Bindusāra reigned for 25 years and according to the *Mahāvaṃśa* for 28 years. The Purāṇas never mention that Aśoka's accession took place 214 years after the Nirvāṇa. Once we have questioned the validity of the *Mahāvaṃśa* tradition, we can no longer be justified in using it until it is confirmed by other independent evidences. So, if we reject 28 years as the period of Bindusāra's reign, we shall also be justified in rejecting 214 as the number of years intervening between Aśoka and Buddha. The assump-

tion of 214 to be the actual total of the intervening years, in fact, rests on the *Mahāvaṃśa* chronology, as will appear from the following comparative tables:—

Purāṇic list			Mahāvaṃśa list		
Bindusāra	...	25 years	Bindusāra	...	28 years
Candragupta	...	24 ,,	Candragupta	...	24 ,,
Nandas	...	100 ,,	Nandas	...	22 ,,
Mahānandin	...	43 ,,	Kālāśoka's son	...	22 ,,
Nandivarddhana	...	40 ,,	Kālāśoka	...	28 ,,
Udayin	...	33 ,,	Śiśunāga	...	81 ,,
Darśaka	...	24 ,,	Anuruddha and Munda		8 ,,
Ajātaśatru	...	27 ,,	Udayin	...	16 ,,
Total		316 years	Ajātaśatru	...	32 ,,
			Total		222 years

Thus according to the second list above, it will appear that the period intervening Aśoka's accession and Bimbisāra's death is about 222 years. Now, since Buddha died in the 8th year of Ajātaśatru, the deduction of these 8 years from the total 222 will bring the Nirvāṇa date to about 214 years earlier than Aśoka's accession; the simultaneous acceptance of the 214 years and rejection of 28 years is a self-contradiction.

Even leaving the above incongruity out of consideration, it is still to be proved that the Nirvāṇa actually took place in 477 B.C. Hardly can any evidence be adduced in favour of the possible existence of such a reckoning. Working up from the recorded events in Buddha's life, Diwan Bahadur L. D. S. Pillai, it has been argued, has arrived at a similar date (*IA.*, Oct. 1914) on astronomical grounds. But it is often forgotten that these calculations have for their basis only works, many of which belong to a very late date. Our difficulty increases when we find two contradictory sets of information regarding the same event. Indian tradition, for example, assigns a full-moon day of Vaiśākha for the Nirvāṇa. The Sarvāstivādins of the North-West, however, if we are to believe Yuan Chwang, put the date about the 8th day of the 2nd half of the 8th month of the year (Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, II, 33) i.e. of Kārtika. As the full moon day recurs too often in Buddha's life, according to Fleet, the Vaiśākhī full-moon day as the Nirvāṇa date is open to doubt. He, therefore, relying on the actual practice of the Sarvāstivādins, astronomically reckons the date of Buddha's death as October 13, 483 B.C. It is difficult to make

our choice between these two rival astronomical results. So no special importance can be attached to the date offered by the Diwan Bahadur.

On the other hand, a direct evidence of the existence of a Nirvāṇa Era beginning from 486 B.C. may be put forward.[6] A Tanjore inscription of Rājendra Coladeva informs us that one of his expeditions occurred about 1015 A.D. at the beginning of Udaya III's reign. Now, Udaya III, according to the *Mahāvaṃśa*, began to reign about 1497 A.B. Assuming the expedition of Coladeva to have taken place in the 3rd or the 4th year of Udaya's reign—we get a corresponding date for this event in the year 1500/1. The subtraction of 1015 from 1500 will give 485/6 as the real date for Nirvāṇa. The date 477, however, does not fit in with this synchronism. By adding 477 to 1015 we get 1492 as the date for Coladeva's expeditions, a year when Udaya III had not still become a king. The date 486 moreover receives support from a Cantonese record known as the Dotted Record. It counts each year from the Nirvāṇa onward with a dot and has a total number of 975 dots up to the year 489 A.C. This would bring us to the year 486 B.C. The Cantonese record thus establishes a harmonious correspondence between the Southern and Northern tradition and thus adduces sound grounds for accepting 486 B.C. as the real Nirvāṇa year.[7] If this view be correct, Candragupta's accession cannot be pushed later than 324/3 B.C. [i.e. 486—214—(28+24 or) the total of Candragupta's and Bindusāra's reigns].

Another ground adduced for placing Candragupta about 313 B.C., is its alleged confirmation by the epigraphic records of Aśoka.

6 This point has been clearly established by Geiger in his introduction to the *Great Chronicle*. He, however, has been mistaken in thinking that the synchronism of Udaya III with Rājendra Coladeva can only be explained by reference to the so-called era of 483 B.C. As a matter of fact, the era of 486 B.C. fits in with the synchronism quite well.

7 Vincent Smith's rejection of 486 B.C. for Nirvāṇa in the light of the new reading of Khāravela inscription is absolutely unwarranted. The fixing of Nandivardhana's date about 470-69 B.C., and calculating thereby Buddha's date to be lying about 544/5 (i.e. 469+ the sum of the reigns of Ajātaśatru, Darśaka, and Udayin or 84-8 years) is based on the conjecture that Nandivardhana is the Nanda king referred to in the Khāravela inscr. The contrary of this, however, has been proved by Dr. Ray Chaudhuri in his *Pol. Hist. of Ancient India*.

Rock Edict XIII, it has been claimed, should be dated in 248/7 B.C., and as it was not promulgated earlier than the 12th year from Aśoka's coronation (i.e. the 16th year of his reign) the addition of 16+49 years (the some totalof Bindusāra's and Candragupta's reigns=24+25) to 248 will bring us to 313 B.C. as the date of the first Maurya king. A discussion of the validity of these calculations involves the consideration of the actual date of Rock Edict XIII. The edict refers to (1) Antiochos Theos, 261-246 B.C., (2) Ptolemy Philadelphos, 285-247, (3) Antigonos Gonatas of Macedonia, 276-39, (4) Magas of Cyrene, 308-258 and (5) Alexander of Epirus, 272-255, as living at the time of its promulgation. The latest date on which all the kings were living is 258, the date of Magas' death. So even when an allowance of two years is made for the news to reach Pāṭaliputra, Rock Edict XIII cannot be pushed later than 256 B.C. The dating of the above 248 B.C. follows from placing Magas' death about 250 B.C., a conjecture which does not fit in with known historical facts. Justin (26.3.2) puts Magas' death "about the same time as the attack of Alexander of Epirus upon Antigonos" which took place about 260-259 (Justin 26.2.9). Eusebius (1. 237) quotes the opinion of Porphyry to put Demetrios' death in Olympiaead 130, 2nd year, which is equal to 259-8 B.C. As Demetrios became king in Cyrene only after Magas' death, the latter event cannot be pushed later than 258 B.C. That Demetrios was not living in 250 B.C. may also be proved from Polybios (10, 22) and Plutarch (Philop. 1). Polybios says that the Cyraenaians were 'Elentherians' (Republican) before the coming of Ekdemes and Demophanes, though in a state of 'Stasis'. Plutarch agrees with Polybius in saying that the invitation to the heroes Ekdemos and Demophanes came from the Cyraenaeans themselves which proves that Cyrene was independent when the two heroes came to organise administration of the island. Plutarch moreover adds that Ekdemos and Demophanes visited Cyrene after their liberation of Sicyon in May 251. Had Demetrios been living at this time as king of Cyrene there would have been no sense in calling it a republic. There are a few coins belonging to Berenice II, Ptolemy III's wife, on which her head appears without the marriage-veil. These must be referred to a period when she was unmarried and actually reigning on her own account. Since Ptolemy III conquered Cyrene

and married Berenice not earlier than 248/47, and since the island was administered by a republican league before Ptolemy's conquest, Berenice II must have reigned long before 251. As Berenice's reign followed that of Demetrios, there is hardly any possibility that he lived about 251/50.[8]

Another astonishing fact is that Aśoka does not refer to the Bactrian kingdom in Rock Edict XIII. It is curious that he who had sent embassies to the distant kingdoms of the Mediterranean coast did not think it necessary to establish cordial relations with a powerful state just standing before the gateway of his empire. This omission can only be explained by the fact that Bactria had not become independent at the time of the publication of the above edict. Thus it stands to reason that the edict was not promulgated later than 256 B.C. (the date of Bactria's revolt). The date 256 B.C. receives further support from the Ceylonese tradition which places Aśoka's accession 214 years after Buddha. By subtracting 214 from 486, we get 272 as the date of Aśoka's accession. This would bring us to 256 B.C., as the 12th year from Aśoka's coronation, the year in which the edict was published.[9]

Attempts have also been made to bring forward the testimony of the classical writers to establish the date of Candragupta to be about 313 B.C. The arguments are on the following line. A passage in Justin quoted by Hultzsch (*Corpus Inscr. Ind.*, I., xxxii) contains the statement:—"The author of this liberation was Sandrokottos..... He having drawn together a band of robbers instigated the Indians to overthrow the existing government. When he was hereafter preparing to attack Alexander's prefects, an elephant of monstrous size approached

8 I am much indebted to Prof. W. W. Tarn, author of *Antigonos Gonatas*, for having kindly enlightened me on the above points. I however differ from him. I think that the monogram 'Dem' appearing on the Cyraenaic league coins may be referred to Ekdemos and Demophanes and need not be referred to Demetrios who was certainly a king. A detailed discussion of the question has been avoided for obvious reasons. This has been thoroughly dealt with in *A History of the Greek World from 323 to 146 B.C.* by Dr. M. Cary.

9 From the above consideration also the date of Candragupta appears to have been about 324/3 B.C., 256 (i.e. 16th year of Aśoka) +16+28+24=324.

him and.....received him upon his back."[10] Plutarch also has recorded, "Androcottos himself, who was but a youth saw Alexander." These two pieces of information have been twisted to yield the following result:—

(1) The 'existing government' refers to the Greek government in the Punjab.

(2) Candragupta's first step had been to collect a band of mercenaries and to effect a revolution in the Punjab.

(3) In doing so (?) he attacked the Macedonian prefects.

(4) The elephant's voluntary lifting of Candragupta on its back indicates his coming sovereignty and precludes the possibility of Candragupta having already been a king.

(5) Plutarch's statement also implies that Candragupta's early sphere of activities lay in the Punjab.

The sum and substance of the above is that Candragupta became a king at Pāṭaliputra after having driven away the Macedonian garrisons from the Punjab. To give this view additional support, an appeal has been made to a story in the *Mahāvaṃśa-ṭīkā*, representing Candragupta as taking a lesson about the folly of attacking the metropolis of an empire from the conversation between a mother and her son; and also to a story in the *Sthavirāvali-carita*, which recounts how Cāṇakya gave up the risky scheme of attacking the stronghold of the enemy without first having acquired a control over the surrounding country. The two stories, according to some, confirm the view that Candragupta began his military operations in the Punjab. It has been further argued that since Eudamos (one of the Macedonian prefects) did not leave India until 317, the liberation of the Punjab could not have been accomplished before that date. Thus if 4 years be accepted as the normal length of time required to complete the conquest of Magadha, there will be no incongruity in placing Candragupta's accession about 413 B.C.

10 Auctor libertatis Sandrokottus fuerat.....contractis latronibus Indos ad novitatem regni sotticitavit. Moliente deinde bellum adversus Praefectos Alexandri elephantus ferus infinitae magnitudinis etc. [*Epitoma Pompei Trogi*, XV. 4]

The main error in the above statement consists in the fact that it has been based on an inaccurate translation of the passage in question. The expression that "he instigated the Indians to overthrow the existing government"[11] does not necessarily imply that the revolt was directed against the Greek government in the Punjab. The only information about Candragupta's coming to the Punjab is supplied by Plutarch and Justin. But Justin himself says that 'having offended Alexander by his rashness...he saved himself by the swiftness of foot."[12] This flight from the Greek sphere of influence, according to the same writer, occurred before his gathering an army of mercenaries. There is nothing in Justin, therefore, to justify the assumption that the army was led against the authorities in the Punjab. Moreover, the lines '*Indos novitatem regni sollicitatavit*'[13] can only mean "he solicited the Indians to (accept) his new (acquired) sovereignty" (Justin, XV, 4, p. 142—Watson's edition) which combined with the information contained in the preceding words *contractis latronibus* i.e. 'a band of mercenaries being grouped together' seems to indicate that after his flight from Alexander's camp he collected a powerful army and overthrew with their help the monarch of Prasii. The very next sentence *Moliente deinde bellum adversus Praefectos Alexandri*....., which implies that some time elapsed between the acceptance by the Indians of his new government and his preparation for the fight with Alexander's prefects in the Punjab, confirms that the Prasii revolution preceded the expulsion of the foreign generals. Assuming the course of events to have been in the above order, the existence of Eudamos in the North-West until 317 B.C. can no longer preclude the possibility of Candragupta's accession to the Indian throne about 324 B.C. No serious importance can be attached to the

11 But this is an incorrect translation as will presently be seen.

12 Quippe cum procacitae sua Alexandrum regem offendisset, interfici captus iaceret.....

13 'Novitatem' is in the accusative case and means 'newness,' so that 'novitatem regni' denotes 'newness of sovereignty or newness of government.' It is only by an immediate inference that the sentence 'Indos ad novitatem regni sollicitavit' can be regarded as implying 'he asked the Indians to overthrow the existing government.' A people accepting a new government presupposes witholding their loyalty from the previous government.

stories contained in the *Sthavirāvali-carita* (11th century) and *Mahāvaṃśa-ṭīkā*, which are works of a very late date[14] nor to the strange interpretation which has been given to the elephant episode in the passage quoted from Justin.

Another statement in the above extract from Justin is that "Sandrocottos having thus acquired a throne was in possession of India when Selekos was laying the foundation of his future greatness." This at once suggests that Candragupta's accession preceded by a few years Seleucus' attempt to build up a political fortune for himself. Seleucus appears for the first time as a political figure of some consequence as early as the time of the second partition of Alexander's possessions at Triparadeisos in 321 B.C. The race for the paramount position in the Hellenic world had already begun with the death of Alexander. Seleucus perhaps joined this internecine struggle just at the time of the partition, immediately after which we find him established as the Satrap of Babylon. That he had already become an important rival to reckon with is perhaps illustrated in the repeated attempts of Antigonos to oust him from Babylonia which finally met with success in 315 B.C. It stands to reason therefore to accept 321 B.C. as the approximate date about which Seleucus was laying the foundations of his future greatness. So it will be no deviation from truth to place Candragupta's accession two or three years earlier.

The date 324/3 B.C. receives confirmation from two more important pieces of evidence.

(1) The synchronism of Demetrios with Puṣyamitra is now an established fact.[15] It was Demetrios who invaded the latter's empire and made extensive conquest therein. He was deprived of his Indian possessions by Eukratides about 175 B.C. which shows that he had invaded India before that date. Now if we accept the the date 313 B.C., Puṣyamitra's accession cannot be placed earlier than

14 The story that Candragupta did not direct his arms at first against the capital of the Nandas and tried to bring under his flag the whole of the surrounding country does not prove that he began his military operations in the Punjab which lay clearly beyond the empire of the Nandas.

15 Ray Chaudhuri, *Political Hist. Anc. Ind.*, p. 243.

(313-317/8)=175/6 B.C., a fact which renders it practically impossible for Demetrios to have invaded India during Puṣyamitra's reign. Thus the date 313 B.C. does not fit in with the synchronism.

(2) R. G. Bhandarkar in his *History of the Deklan* (p. 25) has adduced good grounds for accepting the date 41 B.C. for Sātakarṇi I.[16] This date has been also confirmed by the evidence of the *Periplus* which refers to a King Saraganus flourshing in the 1st century B.C. Basing our calculations on 313 B.C. as the date for the beginning of the Maurya dynasty we arrive at 30 B.C. [313 B.C.—137 i.e. the total of the Maurya reigns—112 i.e. the length of the Śuṅga-Kāṇvayana period—33 i.e. the total of the first two Śātavāhana reigns] as the date for Sātakarṇi I's accession. There can be no doubt as to the comparative accuracy of the earlier date, it being based on epigraphic information.

From the preceding discussions it will appear that no evidence as yet has been found indicating 313 B.C. as marking the beginning of the Maurya age. On the other hand, none of the records at our disposal would justify us in rejecting 324 B.C. We may, therefore, in the absence of anything to the contrary, accept with fair amount of certainty the above year for this great epoch-making event.

Sourindra Nath Ray

16 Gautamiputra's year 131 being deducted from the total of intervening reigns i.e. 171 yields the above result.

Kingship and Nobility in the 13th Century

Minhāj-ud-dīn, the author of the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, tells us that Sultān Mu'izz-ud-dīn Muhammad *ibn* Sām, the real founder of Muslim dominion in India,[1] was "wanting in (male) children."[2] He "had a great fancy for purchasing Turkish slaves, and he bought a great number of slaves of that race. Every one of them acquired renown throughout the whole of the countries of the East for activity, warlike accomplishments, and expertness; and the names of his slaves became published in the four quarters of the world, and during the Sultān's life-time every one of them became famous."

On one occasion "one of the confidential favourites of the Sultān's court" said to him, "……sons were necessary to thy empire, in order that ……sovereignty might continue permanent in this family." The Sultān replied, "Other monarchs may have one son, or two sons: I have so many thousand sons, namely, my Turk slaves, who will be the heirs of my dominions, and who, after me, will take care to preserve my name in the *Khutbah* throughout those territories."[3]

When Mu'izz-ud-dīn Muhammad was assassinated on the bank of the Indus in 1206 A.C., he left behind him four[4] able nobles who could try to seize the sovereignty of India. Qutb-ud-dīn was his master's

1 Sir Wolseley Haig (*Cambridge History of India*, vol. III, p. 41) regards Qutb-ud-dīn as "the real founder of Muslim dominion in India."

2 "He left no heir behind him except one daughter." B. De, *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, vol. I, p. 42.

3 Raverty, *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, pp. 496-7. See also p. 498, note 6.

4 The writer of the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī* gives the following names:—Qutb-ud-dīn, Tāj-ud-dīn, Nāsir-ud-dīn and Ghiyās-ud-dīn Khaljī of Bengal. Raverty (pp. 489-90) correctly remarks: "It is strange that neither Muhammad, son of Bakht-yār, nor his two immediate successors in the government of Lakhanawatī, are mentioned here....Strange to say, some of the copies have Shams-ud-Dīn I-yaltimish in this list also; but such is not correct. He was the slave of the Sultān's slave, Kutb-ud-Dīn I-bak, and did not acquire sovereignty until after I-bak's death, and long after the Sultān's decease." Dowson's translation (Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, vol. II, p. 298) contains the name of Iltutmish.

most favourite slave,[5] and he had been formally appointed viceroy of the Muslim dominions in India.[6] Tāj-ud-dīn, father-in-law of both Qutb-ud-dīn and Nāsir-ud-dīn,[7] was governor of Kārmān.[8] Nāsir-ud-dīn, son-in-law of Qutb-ud-dīn[9] as well as of Tāj-ud-dīn, was governor of Multān and Uch.[10] There was another important man, Ikhtiyār-ud-dīn Muhammad *ibn* Bakht-yār Khaljī, the conqueror of Bihar and Bengal.[11] Qutb-ud-dīn assumed the title of Sultān at his master's death,[12] and his suzerainty was acknowledged by Nāsir-ud-dīn.[13] Ikhtiyār-ud-dīn died soon after Mu'izz-ud-dīn,[14] and the fact that 'Alī-i-Mardān,[15] his successor's successor, was appointed governor of Bengal by Qutb-ud-dīn,[16] shows that the eastern province acknowledged the authority of Delhi. Tāj-ud-dīn, however, claimed the independent sovereignty of Ghaznīn and the Punjab, and he finally established himself in Ghaznīn.[17]

5 Badāonī (Ranking, p. 77) calls him "one of the specially favourite servants" of Mu'izz-ud-dīn Muhammad. Firishta (Briggs, vol. I, p. 139) says that the Sultān addressed him as his "son."

6 B. De, *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, vol. I, p. 43. Firishta (Briggs, vol. I, p. 191) says that Qutb-ud-dīn was appointed to the chief command of Mu'izz-ud-dīn's army in India.

7 Raverty, p. 500.

8 Raverty, p. 498.

9 Minhāj-ud-dīn (Raverty, p. 532) and Badāonī (Ranking, p. 90) are clear on this point. Yet Dr. Ishwari Prasad (*History of Mediaeval India*, Allahabad, 1928, p. 133) says that Qutb-ud-dīn "gave his sister in marriage to Nāsir-ud-dīn."

10 Raverty (p. 532, note 1) says that "the ten best copies omit Multān." Dowson's translation (Elliot and Dowson, vol. II, p. 302) also omits Multān. Badāonī (Ranking, p. 80) says that Mu'izz-ud-dīn had bestowed upon Nāsir-ud-dīn the governorship of Uch and Multān.

11 For his career, see Raverty, pp. 548-72. 12 Raverty, pp. 521-25.

13 It was after Qutb-ud-dīn's death that Nāsir-ud-dīn adopted "two canopies of state." Raverty, p. 532.

14 Raverty, p. 572.

15 Raverty (p. 572) clearly writes the name as 'Alī, the son of Mardān. But *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (B. De, vol. I, p. 54) has 'Alī Mardān.' It is difficult to understand why Sir Wolseley Haig (*Cambridge History of India*, vol. III, p. 50) prefers the latter to the former.

16 Raverty, p. 552.

17 Mu'izz-ud-dīn seems to have designated him his heir-apparent in Ghaznīn. (Raverty, p. 500. Badāonī, Ranking, p. 78). Later on Iltutmish dethroned and killed him. (Raverty, p. 506.)

It will be seen, therefore, that Qutb-ud-dīn could claim on his behalf no divine right of succession, no popular or baronial election,[18] and no title based on military conquest. Being a slave himself, he could not pretend that he ruled by the right of blood. The people in those days had no voice in the choice of a king, except in those extremely rare occasions when they increased the numerical strength of the followers of a candidate who tried to seize the throne on other grounds.[19] Nor is there any evidence to show that the nobles elected him as their suzerain, although it is true that all of them, except Tāj-ud-dīn, accepted an accomplished fact as the logical conclusion of the previous course of events. Qutb-ud-dīn had played a very important part in conquering the Indian empire for his master; but he had acted, in law as well as in fact, as his master's deputy and general, and could by no means claim his conquests as his independent achivements. His appointment as viceroy in India by Mu'izz-ud-dīn may be interpreted as an act of nomination for succession, and it may be argued that the sudden and accidental death of the conqueror prevented him from signifying his wishes in a more satisfactory and unambiguous manner. His nominal successor—his nephew—gave his formal sanction to an arrangement which he was neither inclined nor able to upset; and Qutb-ud-dīn ascended the throne of Delhi with a title into the regularity of which none ventured to enquire.

But Qutb-ud-dīn's lack of dynastic pre-eminence had a very important effect on the history of the Sultānate of Delhi. When the head of the state rules without the sanction of religion (for Qutb-ud-dīn had received

18 Badāoni (Ranking, p. 77) says that "With the consent of the nobles of Hindustān he established himself as Protector of the Kingdom of Delhi."

19 When Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq expressed his unwillingness to ascend the throne, he was pressed by the nobles to save the Empire, and the people came to their support. Barnī (Elliot and Dowson, vol. III, p. 266) says: "All ranks, young and old, Mussulmans and Hindus, horse and foot, women and children, assembled, and with one acclaim declared that Firoz Shāh alone was worthy of the crown." Barnī may very well have exaggerated the popular support secured by his patron; but it is significant that the acclaim of all ranks is regarded as a factor in favour of the nominee of the nobles. See the present writer's article on this subject in *Indian Culture*, vol. II, no. 1, pp. 47-52.

no investiture from the Khalifah[20]) and without the mysterious prestige and aloofness which spring from ancient lineage; when he is, in fact, merely one of a group of nobles, although the ablest or the most fortunate of them all, he cannot command that devoted loyalty and sincere respect from his nobles which they would willingly render to a sovereign who is legitimate from every point of view.[21] The inherent weakness of the king's position in such a case leads to the growth of a turbulent nobility, and reduces him, if he is weak, to the position of an ornamental head of a hierarchy of feudal nobles who defy the authority of the state simply because they have found it possible to become over-mighty subjects. The Parliamentary title of the Lancastrian kings of England weakened their position, strengthened the barons, and ultimately made the national king a mere puppet in the hands of aristocratic factions. Edward IV, who came to the throne as the nominee of a party, took a lesson from the sad history of his predecessors, and tried to consolidate his position as the master of all. Henry VII reversed the policy of some of his predecessors who had entered into matrimonial relations with the nobility, and thus made royal blood cheaper and more common than it ought to be. He raised the dignity of the Crown by providing the royal family with royal brides and bridegrooms. The Sultāns of Delhi did not pursue this policy of wisdom. They did not try to elevate themselves above all historic equalities and memories, and above all ties of kinship and family affection. These circumstances made it natural as well as possible for the nobles to interfere with questions of succession and to weaken the authority of the king by constant encroachments on his sphere of action.

What happened after the death of Qutb-ud-dīn is not clear. Minhāj-ud-dīn says that "the Amīrs and Maliks of Hindustan at once considered it advisable for the sake of restraining tumult, for the tranquillity of the commonalty, and the content of the hearts of the

20 The relations between the Sultāns of Delhi and the Khlifahs has been discussed by the present writer in *Presidency College Magazine*, April, 1935, pp. 233-37.

21 "These *Shamsi slaves*," says Barnī (Elliot and Dowson, vol. III, p. 99) "had been fellow slaves, and when they became all at once great and powerful, no one would give precedence or acknowledge inferiority to another."

soldiery, to place Ārām Shāh upon the throne."[22] It is difficult to discover Ārām Shāh's exact relationship with his predecessors. According to some writers, he was Qutb-ud-dīn's son[23]; but others say that the deceased Sultān had no son.[24] The statement of Minhāj-ud-dīn, that Qutb-ud-dīn had "contemplated Sultān Shams-ud-dīn's acquiring dominions, and he had called him son, and had conferred upon him the fief of Budā'un",[25] seems to set aside Ārām Shāh's dynastic claim, if any.[26] In any case, it was the powerful group of nobles who decided the question of succession. They enthroned a weak man when the throne could not have been left vacant without danger to public peace; and the weak man was set aside when a strong man came upon the scene.

The claim of Iltutmish was strong indeed. If Minhāj-ud-dīn is correct, he was the nominee of the late Sultān.[27] Secondly, he was an able man, and was raised to the throne by the nobles.[28] Thirdly, he sanctified his *de facto* right by marrying a daughter of the late Sultān,[29]

22 Raverty, pp. 528-29.

23 Ranking, p. 87. B. De, *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, vol. I, p. 60. Briggs, vol. I. p. 203.

24 See Raverty's comments, pp. 529-30, note 4. 25 Raverty, p. 530.

26 We are told in the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (B. De, vol. I, p. 60) that Ārām Shāh was "placed on the throne in accordance with the law of inheritance."

27 Badāonī (Ranking, p. 87) and Firishta (Briggs, vol. I, p. 203) say that he was Qutb-ud-dīn's "adopted son" as well.

28 Raverty, p. 530. Sir Wolseley Haig (*Cambridge History of India*, vol. III, pp. 50-51) implies that Ārām Shāh was elected by those nobles only who had accompanied Qutb-ud-dīn to Lahore, and says that "the nobles who had remained in the capital when Aibak marched to Lahore, and had no voice in the election of Ārām Shāh, were both to accept so feeble a ruler and invited Iltutmish..... to ascend the throne." But Minhāj-ud-dīn, who says that "the Maliks in concert" brought Iltutmish from Budā'un, gives us no reason to make such an assumption. There is no indication showing that the nobles who had been to Lahore were ready for all time to come "to accept so feeble a ruler" as Ārām Shāh. They evidently raised him to the throne in order to meet a temporary emergency. Sir Wolseley Haig has probably relied upon the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (B. De, vol. I, pp. 60-61), which says that Iltutmish was invited by "the Governor of the province of Delhi, in combination with some other nobles." Raverty's note (p. 529) is probably based on this version.

29 Minhāj-ud-dīn (Raverty, p 530) appears to state that Iltutmish married his master's daughter *after* his own accession to the throne. Later writers, however,

just as Henry VII of England consolidated his position by marrying the heiress of the House of York. Here also a member of the nobility[30] ascends the throne with the support of his brother nobles, and this precedent was liberally followed on other occasions.

The decisive part played by the nobles in the intoxicating play of king-making was clearly shown during the reigns of the immediate successors of Iltutmish. That Sultān was a strong man, and an able judge of character. He had at least as many as eight sons,[31] but he nominated his daughter Raziyyat as his heir-apparent. Minhāj-ud-dīn tells us that "she exercised authority" even during the life-time of her father,[32] that her mother was "the greatest (of the ladies) of the sublime *haram*", that "her place of residence was the royal palace", and that the Sultān "used to notice in her indications of sovereignty and high spirit, although she was a daughter." That the Sultān's startling choice was not determined by his weakness, if any, for the beloved daughter of his favourite queen, is shown by an interesting episode recorded by the contemporary historian. When the decree naming Raziyyat as the heir-apparent was being written out, the principal officers of the state submitted to Iltutmish their sense of disapproval of the course which the Sultān was about to adopt, on the ground that he had "grown up sons who are eligible for the sovereignty."[33] The Sultān replied that none of his sons possessed the capacity of managing the affairs of the country, and that none of them would be found to be more worthy of the crown than his daughter. The choice was made in

seem to imply that he was already Quth-ud-dīn's son-in-law when he assumed the throne. Ranking, p. 87. Briggs, vol. I, p. 203.

30 For the previous career of Iltutmish, see Raverty, pp. 599-604, and Ranking, pp. 89-90.

31 Raverty, p. 625.

32 We are told in the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (B. De, vol. I, p. 74) that during the lifetime of Iltutmish, Raziyyat "had been initiated into matters of state and had been invested with certain powers."

33 It is interesting to notice that the officers did not refer to the claim of the eldest surviving son, but recognised the right of the Sultān to have an unfettered choice among his *male* issues.

the interest of the state, and Minhāj-ud-dīn is correct in saying that this "case turned out as that august monarch had predicted."[34]

But even Iltutmish could not secure obedience to his will after his death. The nobles, who did not venture to oppose his decree while it was promulgated, set it aside when he could no longer control them, and placed his son Rukn-ud-dīn Fīrūz Shāh upon the throne.[35] Probably the idea of submitting to the rule of a woman was repugnant to them. Probably they preferred to keep on the throne a weakling who would allow them a free hand, instead of subjecting themselves to the control of a haughty woman. That the nobles acted in opposition to the true interests of the state is clear. And the significant fact is that the nomination of the dead ruler, deliberately and formally announced,[36] could be unceremoniously set aside by those whom it was intended to bind.

The inefficiency, tyranny and cruelty of Rukn-ud-dīn, and of his mother, Shāh Turkān, who had assumed "the decision and disposal of state affairs", alienated the sympathy of the nobles. They "joined Sultān Raziyyat, pledged their allegiance to her, and placed her on the throne." This is the second case of deposition in the history of the Sultānate of Delhi. Rukn-ud-dīn was murdered.[37] While Ārām Shāh lost his throne and his life because he had a strong rival, Rukn-ud-dīn lost his because he displeased those who had placed him at the top. The good government of the country was undoubtedly at stake, but the king-makers appear to have cared more for their own convenience than for the weal of the people.

Raziyyat owed her throne to the nomination of her father as well as to the choice of the nobles. Though the nobles had not at the beginning cared to trouble their conscience about the effect of the nomination, yet they appear to have attached some importance to it when Rukn-ud-

34 Raverty, pp. 638-39.

35 Raverty, pp. 631-32. His mother, Shāh Turkān, was not a legally married wife of Iltutmish. She was "a Turkish hand-maid," a mere concubine. It is interesting to find that no objection was raised on this ground against Rukn-ud-dīn's elevation to the throne.

36 The decision of Iltutmish was expressed in an official decree written out by the *Mushrif-i-Mamālik* (Secretary of State). Raverty, p. 638.

37 Raverty, pp. 634-36.

dīn's fall was imminent. Why did their choice fall upon Raziyyat, while there were male issues of Iltutmish who could be placed on the throne? The nobles do not appear to have been very anxious to have a strong and efficient ruler. Minhāj-ud-dīn says that Shāh Turkān had "conspired against Sultān Raziyyat to put her to death," and that the "people of the city" thereupon rose against the royal forces.[38] It may be that the ill-treatment of the princes had enlisted popular sympathy in her favour, and that the nobles found it impolitic, if not difficult, to overlook her claim as well as her strength. Be that as it may, the essentially selfish outlook of the nobles was soon clearly revealed by the subsequent course of events. Like the great Whig aristocrats of the eighteenth century Britain, the Turkish nobles of the thirteenth century considered themselves entitled to the "divine right monopoly of power." Minhāj-ud-dīn says, "Malik Jamāl-ud-dīn, Yā-kūt, the Habashī [Abyssinian or Ethiopian], who was Lord of the Stables, acquired favour in attendance upon the Sultān, so that the Turk Amīrs and Maliks began to be envious thereat."[39] This 'favour', we have reasons to believe, was hardly anything more than mere official preferment; the circumstances do not appear to justify the generally accepted view that Raziyyat was guilty of any "breach of decorum" due to ungovernable passion.[40] The nobles took the earliest opportunity to show that they would not tolerate the usurpation of power by any *novus homo*.[41] They

38 Raverty, pp. 635-36.

39 Raverty, pp. 642-43. Sir Wolseley Haig (*Cambridge History of India*, vol. III, p. 59, and *Combridge Shorter History of India*, p. 213) has fallen into a confusion on this point. He says that Raziyyat was responsible for promoting Yā-kūt to the office of the master of the horse; but Minhāj-ud-dīn implies that he already occupied that position when Raziyyat came to the throne. I owe this information to Prof. S. N. Sen of the Calcutta University. This point was also noticed by 'Ajax' in *Calcutta Review*, April, 1935, p. 84. Secondly, Sir Wolseley Haig writes the name as *Jalāl-ud-dīn*, while Raverty gives *Jamāl-ud-dīn*.

40 Raverty, pp. 642-43, note 3. *Cf.* Ranking, p. 120.

41 One of Badāonī's statements suggests that Raziyyat had already offended the nobles by her high-handedness. "Antagonism and strife shewed itself among the Amīrs, and Sultān Razziyah formed an excellent plan, and threw these disloyal Amīrs into confusion so that they fled in all directions, and she having selected certain of them for punishment put them to death....." (Ranking, p. 120.)

killed the rising Abyssinian, and put the indiscreet Queen "in durance."[42] The governor of "the stronghold of Tabarhindah," Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-dīn Altūniya, who was among the first to rebel against Raziyyat, and to whom her care was now entrusted, married her, and tried to "take possession of the kingdom." But their efforts were in vain, and they "attained martyrdom."[43] The only Queen who ever sat on the throne of Delhi, interesting both on account of her personality and her strength as a ruler of men, Raziyyat could not defy the nobles who divided between themselves the splendour as well as the authority of the state; and she failed only because she had dared to encroach upon their customary privileges. The contemporary historian gives us no reason to assume that her policy or her character—her unconventional manners, her contempt for the *purdah*—had alienated the sympathy of the people. He says that the revolt against Shāh Turkān had spread spontaneously among the citizens of the capital; but he does not refer to any such *popular* opposition to Raziyyat, and he clearly shows that her ruin was brought about by the nobles.

Her successor was her brother, Mu'izz-ud-dīn Bahrām Shāh, who was "raised to the throne of sovereignty" by the nobles.[44] They, however, were determined to make the kingship nominal. It was stipulated that the 'young' king "should, for the period of one year, leave the administration of the affairs of the realm" to a prominent leader of the nobles, Ikhtiyār-ud-dīn Aet-kīn.[45] Thereupon "the whole of the affairs of the country appertained to him." The Sultān naturally refused to

42 Raverty, p. 645.

43 Raverty, pp. 645, 647-48. Why did Altūniya marry Raziyyat? The usual interpretation is that he yielded to her feminine charm. But no historian—neither Minhāj-ud-dīn, nor Nizām-ud-dīn, nor Badāoni, nor Firishta—gives us any reason to assume it. Nizām-ud-dīn (B. De, *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, vol. 1, p. 77) says that Altūniya married her by "the nikah ceremony." Raverty's explanation (p. 647, note 9) is not unreasonable: "Others had obtained power at Delhi and he had been left out in the cold after being made a tool of, and now, therefore, he who formerly rebelled against Sultān Raziyyat became, out of revenge, her champion."

44 Raverty, p. 649.

45 This "compact," says Sir Wolseley Haig (*Cambridge History of India*, vol. III, p. 62) clearly indicated the determination of the nobles to "retain all authority for themselves."

tolerate this Mayor of the Palace, and had him assassinated.[46] Then began plots and counter-plots, and finally the offended nobles succeeded in deposing and murdering the Sultān.[47] This is the fourth case of deposition.

Malik 'Izz-ud-dīn Balban-i-kashlū Khān, a prominent noble originally purchased by Iltutmish,[48] was the "ring-leader" in the conspiracy against Bahrām Shāh; but when the troops of the nobles entered the city of Delhi, Malik Balban circulated a proclamation announcing his own assumption of the sovereignty. The other nobles "repudiated that proclamation," and raised to the throne 'Ala-ud-dīn Mas'ūd Shāh, son of the late Sultān Rukn-ud-dīn Fīrūz Shāh. Malik Balban quickly grasped the situation, and joined the royalist movement.[49] The spoils were naturally appropriated by the victors. While Mas'ūd Shāh was allowed to remain the nominal occupant of a discredited throne, the Wazīr, Khwājah Muhazzab-ud-dīn Nizām-ul-Mulk, "acquired complete power over the kingdom." But he unwisely committed a serious mistake; he wanted to take too much, and lost everything. "He took all functions out of the hands of the Turk Amīrs, so that their hearts became greatly irritated (against him), and those Amīrs, in concert together, put him to death."[50] The Sultān was powerless to protest against those to whom he owed his position; moreover, the previous acts of the late Wazīr were not likely to further the interests of the throne. The language used by the contemporary historian allows us to infer that Mas'ūd Shāh, as soon as his own position appeared to be comparatively secure, tried to crush the nobles. We are told that "(the custom of) killing and seizing his Maliks was gaining a place in his nature, and he was steadfast in resolve (in that habit)." But unfortunately he was not strong enough to accomplish his task. The nobles invited Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd Shāh to appear with his "auspicious retinue." Mas'ūd Shāh was deposed, imprisoned, and "received into the Almighty's mercy."[51] This is the fifth case of deposition.

46 Raverty, pp. 649-51, 751.
47 Raverty, p. 660.
48 Raverty, p. 777.
49 Raverty, pp. 660-61, 780.
50 Raverty, p. 662.
51 Raverty, p. 669.

When Bahrām Shāh "attained martyrdom," the nobles "with one consent, brought forth, from confinement, all three Princes (the sons and grandsons[52] of Sultān Shams-ud-dīn I-yal-timish), namely, Sultān (subsequently) Nāsir-ud-dīn, Malik Jālal-ud-dīn, and Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh."[53] We do not know what led the king-makers to prefer Mas'ūd Shāh to his uncles; nor is it clear what led them to neglect Jālal-ud-dīn, who was probably older than Nāsir-ud-dīn[54] and whose claim, after the fall of Mas'ūd Shāh, appears thus to have been superior to that of his brother. But the nobles in all probability cared very little for principles and claims; he who was the most likely to serve their purpose was to ascend the throne.

Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd Shāh, released from imprisonment[55] and raised to the throne by the nobles, received their "homage of congratulation", and reigned for twenty years.[56] He enjoyed that immunity from violence[57] and deposition which did not fall to the lot of his less fortunate predecessors. In a way this happy termination of the turmoils and conspiracies was due to the Sultān's policy of entrusting the affairs of the kingdom to a man who was more clever and stronger than his fellow nobles. Ulugh Khān is said to have been "of the posterity of the renowned Khāns" of a Turkish tribe. In his youth he was brought to Delhi and purchased by Iltutmish, who "made him his Khāsah-dār."[58] During the reign of Raziyyat he became Amīr-i-Shikār.[59] During the

52 Raverty is incorrect here. There were *two sons* and only *one grandson*.

53 Raverty, pp. 660-61.

54 Raverty, p. 670, note 1. According to *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (B. De, vol. I, p. 84), Nāsir-ud-dīn was the youngest son of Iltutmish. Jālal-ud-dīn played a conspicuous part in the intrigues and and conspiracies of Nāsir-ud-dīn's reign.

55 *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī* (Raverty, pp. 660-61) clearly suggests that Nāsir-ud-dīn, Jālal-ud-dīn and Mas'ūd Shāh were released *simultaneously* from confinement *by the nobles*. Yet Sir Wolseley Haig (*Cambridge History of India*, vol. III, p. 65) says that the uncles were released *by the nephew after his accession*. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (B. De, vol. 1, p. 91) follows Minhāj-ud-dīn.

56 The statement that he reigned for twenty-two years (Raverty, p. 672) is not true. Raverty, p. 716, note 5. Ranking, p. 134, note 2.

57 *Cf.* Raverty, Memoir of the Author, pp. xxix, 716, note 5.

58 Raverty, pp. 799-802. He says that the word 'khāsah-dār' "seems to signify a page, henchman, or personal attendant, perhaps a falconer."

59 Raverty, p. 806. He explains the term as 'Chief Huntsman.'

reign of Bahrām Shāh he became Amīr-i-Akhur, and "the horses of state and of sovereignty came under the bridle of his possession." Thereafter the fief of Rīwārī was entrusted to his charge.[60] On the fall of Bahrām Shāh he was rewarded, for the active part he had played in the conspiracy, with the fief of Hānsī. "Ulugh Khān's affairs became so flourishing that the whole of the Maliks and Amīrs began to be jealous at the freshness of his good fortune, and envy's disquieting thorn began to prick their minds."[61] Fortune, however, favoured him, and he became Amīr-i-Hājib.[62] His abilities attracted the attention of Sultān Nāsir-ud-dīn. The Sultān married his daughter, raised him to "the dignity and eminent position of Khān," and conferred upon him "the Deputy-ship of the kingdom and leadership of the forces."[63] There is a good deal of truth in Badāonī's remark that the Sultān entrusted to Ulugh Khān all the affairs of the kingdom and he "himself would generally retire into his chamber and occupy himself in devotion."[64] But the weak Sultān could not resist the time-honoured claims of the nobility. The nobles, whose "malicious eyes were beginning to regard his (*i.e.*, Ulugh Khān's) brilliant position with repugnance," forced the Sultān to dismiss Ulugh Khān from the capital and to order him to go back to his own fief of Hānsī. Later on Ulugh Khān was ousted from that fief and confined to that of Nāg-war. "Every one holding an office or employment which appertained to Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam's patronage was removed and transformed," and among those who lost their offices was Minhāj-ud-dīn, the historian.[65] But the turning of the tide came soon. The leading part against Ulugh Khān was taken by 'Imād-ud-dīn-i-Rayhān, who thereupon naturally occupied the chief place in Delhi. But he was "of the tribes of Hind,"[66] and the nobles of the court, who were all "Turks

60 Raverty, p. 806. 61 Raverty, pp. 806-7.

62 Raverty, p. 809. He explains the terms as 'Lord Chamberlain.' (p. 821, note 4).

63 Raverty, pp. 819-20.

64 Ranking, p. 127. 65 Raverty, pp. 826-28.

66 Raverty, p. 829. He explains the phrase as "a Hindu-stānī Musalmān, one of a Hindu family previously converted to the Muhammadan faith or, possibly, a new convert."

of pure lineage, and Tājziks of noble birth," were unwilling to submit to his authority. The "divine right monopoly" of the Turks was threatened, and 'Imād-ud-dīn had to share the fate of Jamāl-ud-dīn, the Abyssinian favourite of Raziyyat.[67] The nobles joined Ulugh Khān and broke out in open rebellion. The Sultān, under 'Imād-ud-dīn's guidance, proceeded to repel their attack. Finally, Ulugh Khān triumphed, and was restored to power.[68] We have described the incident in some detail, because it clearly illustrates the position of the Sultān. Raverty correctly says that he was "a mere puppet in the hands of the strongest party."[69] Succession and administration alike were dependent upon the caprice of selfish and unprincipled party politics.

As we pass on from the reign of Nāsir-ud-dīn to that of Ulugh Khān, who succeeded his master and son-in-law under the name of Ghiyūs-ud-dīn Balban, we are deprived of the guidance of a contemporary historian who himself enjoyed a direct personal acquaintance with the principal political incidents of the period which he describes. Minhāj-ud-dīn's career in India began under Nāsir-ud-dīn, governor of Multān and Uch, who "placed him in charge of the Fīrūzī College at Uch, and made him Kāzī of the forces of his son." In the reign of Sultān Bahrām Shāh he was made chief Qāzī of the kingdom, and of the capital as well. On the accession of Sultān Mas'ūd Shāh he had to resign his post; but he was restored to it during the reign of Sultān Nāsir-ud-dīn.[70] The story that he has left for us is neither complete nor always free from the respectful consideration due to his patrons. But we are fortunate in having a contemporary version of the history of that disturbed age—a version that is on the whole as satisfactory as the work of a courtier can be. Many years elapsed before Zia-ud-dīn Barani considered it worth his while to write the history of the successors of Nāsir-ud-dīn. He had no personal know-

67 After some vicissitudes 'Imād-ud-dīn "was taken prisoner and the sun of his existence set in death." Minhāj-ud-dīn (Raverty, p. 836) remarks: "The decree of the creator was on such wise that the prosperity of the Turks rose victorious, and the influence of the Hindus sank into the dust of defeat."

68 Raverty, pp. 830-34.

69 *Ibid.*, p. 829, note 1.

70 Raverty, Memoir of the Author, pp. xxvi-xxviii.

ledge about the later Slave Kings. Consequently his statements are not unoften incomplete and inaccurate.[71]

Some later writers say that Nāsir-ud-dīn, having no heir, nominated his father-in-law and Deputy, Ulugh Khān, as his successor.[72] This is quite natural, in view of the fact that Ulugh Khān had really ruled the kingdom in the name of his puppet (*nawīna*)[73] master, and Barnī tells us that "even while he was only a Khān he used many of the insignia of royalty."[74] "He was one of the Shamsī slaves, and belonged to the band of Turk slaves which was known as 'The Forty'.....'The Forty obtained power in the government of the country, and grew in strength and dignity."[75] Ulugh Khān hardly required the blessings of his master to push forward his claim to the throne; nor did he stand in need of the 'consent' of the nobles (which, says Badāonī, was given[76]) to sustain his position. His accession to the throne was merely a step forward in a process of consistent evolution. His claim was really based upon that success which justified everything, at least in the world of politics—and not upon heredity, nomination or election.

Ghiyās-ud-dīn Balban tried his best to restore the prestige as well as the authority of the monarchy, and to a large extent he succeeded. But it was nothing more than mere personal success, for it was not embodied in permanent institutional changes or incorporated within the structure of the body politic, and it could not outlive the Sultān. Knowing fully well "how things go on when kings die," he asked his "favourite servants" to set upon the throne his young grandson, Kaikhusrav, son of his eldest son, Muhammad Khān, who was already dead.

71 *Cf.* Elliot and Dowson, vol. III, p. 96.

72 Raverty, Memoir of the Author, pp. xxix, 716-17, note 5.

73 Elliot and Dowson, vol. III, p. 98.

74 *Ibid.*

75 Barnī (Elliot and Dowson, vol. III, pp. 97-8.). *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (B. De, vol. I, p. 98) says: "Sultān Shamsuddīn had forty Turkish slaves, every one of whom attained to the rank of an Amīr, and the whole body of them was known as the chehalgānī (the brotherhood or company of forty)." Sir Wolseley Haig (*Cambridge History of India*, vol. III, p. 62) says that this "college of forty..... divided among its members all the great fiefs of the empire and all the highest offices in the state."

76 Ranking, p. 183.

He set aside the claim of his own younger son, Bughrā Khān, governor of Bengal, on the ground that he "has shrunk from the work,"[77] and people shut their eyes at him." But if Bughrā Khān was not equal to the task,[78] neither was Kai-khusrav, whom Balban himself considered to be "young and incapable of ruling as yet." We may assume that the dying king's preference for his grandson sprang more from his painful but affectionate memory of that prince's father,[79] than from his belief in the right of primogeniture or from his solicitude for the welfare of the state. Be that as it may, Balban's "favourite servants" considered it unnecessary to obey his wishes when he was no more. "For a private reason, which it would be unseemly to expose, they had been unfriendly to the martyr prince[80] (*i.e.*, Muhammad Khān) and they were apprehensive of danger if Kai-khusrav succeeded, so they sent him at once to Multān. They then took Kaikubād, the son of Bughrā Khān, and placed him on the throne with the title of Mu'izzu-d-dīn."[81] Here the nobles acted altogether arbitrarily, for they set aside the nomination of the old king—a nomination which strengthened Kai-khusrav's hereditary claim—

77 Bughrā Khān was probably unwilling to change comfortable Bengal for disturbed Delhi. Balban offered him the throne, but he suddenly left for Bengal without leave from his father. Balban said, "He is gone to Lakhnawati, intent upon other views." Barnī, Elliot and Dowson, vol. III, pp. 123-24.

78 For Balban's estimate of Bughrā Khān's abilities, see Barnī's account in Elliot and Dowson, vol. III, p. 111–12, 120-21.

79 On the death of prince Muhammad Khān "the Sultān bestowed Multān, with the other territories, the canopy, and all the ensigns of royalty which he had given to the late prince, on Kai-Khusrau, his son." Barnī, Elliot and Dowson, vol. III, p. 123. This happened before Bughrā Khān was summoned from Bengal and offered the crown. The old Sultān might have contemplated the nomination of Kai-khusrav as his successor ever before he was aware of Bughrā Khān's attitude.

80 Sir Wolseley Haig (*Cambridge History of India*, vol. III, p. 82) says, "These expressions may indicate.....a suspicion that Kai-Khusrav was not the son of his putative father." Why, then, did Balban show the young prince so much favour? It is difficult to believe that Balban, who made an extensive use of a well-organised espionage system, was ignorant of such a piece of information which was known to his nobles. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (B. De, vol. I. p. 119) merely states that the nobles had been "hostile" to Muhammad Khān.

81 Barnī, Elliot and Dowson, vol. III, p. 124.

and enthroned a prince whose father was alive, free from any legal incapacity such as blindness. The obvious intention of the nobles was to usher in a period of reaction and baronial turbulence which would offer them the opportunity of regaining that factious power which the strong hand of Balban had snatched away from them.

"From the day that Balban, the father of his people, died, all security of life and property was lost and no one had any confidence in the stability of the kingdom." Kaiqubād, "then seventeen or eighteen years old," "gave himself up entirely to dissipation and enjoyment." The government of the country was in the hands of Malik Nizām-ud-dīn who, excited by "his ambition to acquire royal power," alienated the sympathy of the nobles.[82] But Nizām-ud-dīn lost the confidence of the Sultān, and was assassinated by his attendants. The Sultān was soon struck with paralysis, and the nobles placed his infant son on the throne. Among the nobles there were two parties, one of which consisted of the Turks and the other was led by Jalāl-ud-dīn Khaljī, Governor of Baran. We have already come across the hostility of the Turkish nobles to foreigners and to Indian converts alike. Jalāl-ud-dīn Khaljī "came of a race different from that of the Turks, so he had no confidence in them, nor would the Turks own him as belonging to the number of their friends."[83] The Turkish nobles were resolved to see that the throne "might be preserved to the family of Balban, and might not pass from the Turk to any other race." The inevitable conflict culminated in the victory of Jalāl-ud-dīn Khaljī. Kaiqubād was murdered, and Malik Chhajū, brother's son of Sultān Balban, and rightful heir to the throne, was for the time being satisfied with the grant of Karra. "By the death of Sultān Kaikubād M'uizzu-d-dīn the Turks lost the empire."[84] Jalāl-ud-dīn Khaljī came to the throne by the greatest of all rights—the right of conquest.

We clearly see that during the thirteenth century there was no recognised law of succession, no recognised procedure to which recourse

82 Barnī, Elliot and Dowson, vol. III, pp. 125-29.

83 *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (B. De, vol. I, p. 131) says that "all the Balbani Amīrs combined together, and determined that such of the nobles as were strangers, and were not real Turks, should be removed out of the way."

84 Barnī, Elliot and Dowson, vol. III, pp. 132-5.

might be had in cases of dispute. Broadly speaking, the choice was limited, as a matter of convenience, to the surviving members of the deceased Sultān's family; but in the process of selection hardly any importance was attached to the priority of claim originating from the priority of birth. Nor did considerations of efficiency receive their due share of attention, inasmuch as the factious nobles in almost all cases preferred a puppet to an able and strong man.

When we speak of the nobility, and of the part—the really predominant part—which the nobility undoubtedly played in making and unmaking kings, it is well to remember that it was in no sense a homogenous and exclusive order or class.[85] The nobles of the thirteenth century did not constitute a hereditary class like the nobles of France and England. They did not act as a well-recognised, well-defined and more or less organised body like the nobles of France and England and the ecclesiastical nobles of the Roman Church at the time of Papal election. The Muhammadan nobles sprang from different races. The majority of them must have been Turkish in origin; but there were Abyssinians like Jamāl-ud-dīn Yāqūt, converted Indians like 'Imād-ud-dīn-i-Rayhān, and men like Jalāl-ud-dīn Khaljī whose claim to pure Turkish descent was not above suspicion.[86] Most of these nobles originally started their careers as slaves, although some of them, like Iltutmish and Balban, might have been of real aristocratic lineage. They owed their rise to political power and social prestige to the favour

85 Sir Wolseley Haig (*Cambridge History of India*, vol. III, Preface, p. vii) says, "..... there has never been a recognized hereditary aristocracy in Muslim kingdoms. The 'nobles' were military officers, or officers of state with military rank, whose titles, though occasionally revived in favour of a deserving son, did not become hereditary until the crown became so weak that a son was able to assume his father's office and title."

86 *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (B. De, vol. I, p. 132) says, "I have seen in one of the authoritative histories, that the tribe of Khalj are the descendants of Kālij Khān, son-in-law of Chengiz Khān," who "settled down" in "the hilly country of Ghūr and Gharjistan with his family and tribesmen." Sir Wolseley Haig (*Cambridge History of India*, vol. III, p. 91) says that the Khaljīs "were, in fact, a Turkish tribe but they had long been settled in the Garmsīr, or hot region, of Afghānistān, where they had probably acquired some Afghān manners and customs, and the Turkish nobles refused to acknowledge them as Turks."

of the Sultāns. It is a characteristic feature of their conduct that, instead of rallying round the monarchy to which they owed everything, they tried, as soon as they found their position secure, to assail and even to destroy it. Their efforts to limit the otherwise absolute authority of the monarchy were in principle justifiable. By virtue of their services to the state, and of the responsible posts which they occupied, they were undoubtedly entitled to claim a fair share in the government of the country. For two principal reasons their conduct degenerated into disloyalty and anarchy, and produced nothing but extremely disastrous consequences. In the first place, they acted selfishly for the promotion of personal interests, and neglected, even sacrificed, the welfare of the kingdom. Secondly, mutual jealousy, intensified by racial hatred, prevented them from acting in union and from defining a programme which could have reconciled the claims of a powerful nobility with those of a strong monarchy. While each noble hated the other and was ever prepared to destroy him by all conceivable means, the Turks hated the Afghāns, the Abyssinians and the Indian converts, and would not render willing obedience to any of them. No effective party could be formed, because the success of the leader would be inevitably followed by the jealousy and treachery of the followers.[87] The nobility was nothing more than a mere agglomeration of disintegrating atoms, and it is no wonder that it failed alike to secure its proper position in the state and to evolve a workable constitution for the country.

ANILCHANDRA BANERJEE

87 Sir Wolseley Haig (*Cambridge History of India*, vol. III, p. 62) rightly observes, "There can be no doubt that the throne itself would ordinarily have been the prize of one of the forty had not the jealousies of all prevented them from yielding precedence to one."

The Seleucidan Emperors : their Coins and Coin-imitations in India

The death of Alexander the Great in 323 B.C. in Babylon was followed by the overthrow of the Greek power in the Punjab, and by 317 B.C. every trace of Greek domination was wiped off. Seleucus received the satrapy of Babylon in 321 B.C. But a few years after, he had to fly away to Egypt before Antigonus who had upset the balance of power. In 312 B.C., however, Seleucus re-entered Babylon in triumph and the Seleucidan Era is dated from October 1 of that year. For a period of nine years (i.e. 311-302 B.C.) he was engaged in extending his territorial possessions and conquered the eastern provinces of the Persian empire, pushing the boundary of the empire to the Punjab and the Jaxartes. It was during this period, perhaps in 303 or 304 B.C., that he led his expedition against the Indian prince Sandrakottos or Candragupta, the founder of the Maurya empire. Seleucus had to come to terms with the Maurya emperor. Whether there was actually a fight between them, our authorities are silent about it. The terms of settlement clearly point out that Candragupta had the upperhand. Seleucus had to give up the satrapies of Arachosia or Kandahar, Paropanisadae or Kabul, of some portion of Gedrosia (Beluchistan) and Aria or Herat. The Maurya empire thus came to include the southern half of Afghanistan and a large portion of Beluchistan. In return Candragupta gave him 500 trained war-elephants and the transaction was sealed by a matrimonial alliance.[1] During this period Seleucus organised his empire into 72 satrapies and made Seleucia his capital, a city on the Tigris about 40 miles north of Babylon.

1 *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I (Ancient India), p. 431.

What it exactly means, we are not sure, as our authorities on the subject Arrian and Strabo use two terms which are "scarcely consistent with each other." It may be that Seleucus gave his daughter in marriage to Candragupta, though some times on the authority of Strabo it is taken to imply "a convention establishing a *jus connubii* between the two families."

After the battle of Ipsus in 301 B.C. the third partition of the Alexandrine empire was effected. Syria was annexed by Seleucus and he transferred his capital to Antioch on the Orontes, and gradually his empire came to include "most of the old Persian empire." It was inconvenient to rule the big empire from Antioch, so his son Antiochus was put in charge of the government of all the provinces to the east of the Euphrates and was granted the title of king, perhaps in 293 B.C. Their joint sovereignty came to an end with the assassination of Seleucus in 281 B.C. This practice was continued by his son and successor Antiochus I Soter (the Saviour) and he posted a Viceroy to the east at Seleucia when he went to the west. His son Seleucus, the Siluku of the cuneiform inscriptions, was a joint king from 275 (or 280 B.C.) to 269 B.C.; and after his execution on a charge of conspiracy against his father, his younger brother became the sole ruler in 261 and came to be known as Antiochus II Teos (or the Deity). His death in 245 B.C. led to a bitter civil war. Seleucus II Callinicus (or splendid victor) led a campaign against Parthia. His successor Seleucus III Soter had a very short reign 226-223 B.C. which ended with conspiracy and murder. Antiochus III the Great was a youth of eighteen when he unexpectedly came to the throne of the Seleucids in 223 B.C. He was incessantly engaged in wars. After his Parthian campaign in 209 B.C. he marched on Bactria where he was opposed by Euthydemos. The result was indecisive and a treaty was concluded and he gave his daughter in marriage to Demetrius, son of Euthydemus.[3] Antiochus then crossed the Hindukush, moved down the Kabul valley and marched into the Punjab through the Khyber Pass. He came upon the territory of a king named by Polybius "Sophagasenos (Subhagasena) king of the Indies." He bought off the invader with a number of war-elephants and rich gifts. Antiochus then hurried back to Mesopotamia, taking the road which passed through Arachosia and Drangiana (Seistan) to Carmania and he returned to Seleucia in 204 B.C. The crushing defeat that he sustained in the hands of Rome marks the decline of the empire and his reign

3 *Camb. Hist. of India*, I, p. 441.

closed with his murder in 187 B.C. The next king Seleucus IV Philopater had a peaceful reign of 14 years but he was murdered by his minister in 176-175 B.C. His successor Antiochus IV Epiphanes is memorable for his relations with the Jews. After his death in 164 B.C ensued a period of anarchy and at last Demetrius Soter the son of Antiochus IV occupied the throne in 162 B.C. He died in the battle-field in 150 B.C., and was the last powerful member of the famous Seleucid dynasty which was continued for a few years more ending with Antiochus Sidetes who was defeated by the Parthian king Phraates II. The last Seleucid king threw himself from a cliff to avoid capture and his death ended the dynasty of Seleucus as a great power in 129 B.C.

For generations a close and friendly intercourse was maintained between the Seleucidan and Maurya princes. Candragupta is said to have sent certain strange drugs as a present to Seleucus, while his son Bindusāra or Amitrochates (the Greek form of Amitraghāta) requested Antiochus I to send him some sweet wine, some figs, and a sophist or philosopher. 'Antiochus sent the figs and the wine but regretted that "Sophists were not a marketable commodity among the Greeks."[4] Megasthenes was sent to the court of Candragupta by Seleucus and Daimachus of Plataea to Bindusāra by Antiochus I. Other Hellenic states also had friendly relations with the court of Pataliputra. Dionysius was sent as an ambassador to India by Ptolemy Philadelphus. Asoke sent out missionaries to the Greek monarchs of Egypt, Syria, and Macedonia for the propagation of his new religion in these distant countries.

It is but natural to suppose that side by side with diplomatic relations, an active commercial intercourse was also maintained. Three great trade-routes connected India with the West. The Persian Gulf route was perhaps the oldest and the easiest. It ran from the mouth of the Indus to the Euphrates. The sea route was continued from the coasts of Persia and Arabia to Aden and up to the Red Sea to Suez. But the overland route through Bactria down the Oxus (Amu Daria)

4 *Camb. Hist. of India*, I, p. 432.

was much frequented early in the 3rd century B.C. and formed "a link in an important chain along which Indian goods were carried to Europe by way of the Caspian and Black Sea."[5] The caravans travelled from immemorial times to the great emporium of Bactria, where the roads from India, China, and the West converged. There the cargoes were shipped on to rafts and floated down the Oxus to the Caspian, and thence, partly by land and partly by river, to the Euxine. Or else travelling entirely by land, the merchants followed the great road which still skirts the Karmanian Desert to the north, passes through the Caspian Gates, and crossing the Euphrates at Thapsacus, ends at Antioch and the Levantine ports."[6]

Many Seleucidan coins must have entered this country in the course of commerce. Certain specimens have been discovered generally in the Punjab region. The Seleucid coins after Antiochus II are not generally found in India and their supply is practically extinct, and under later kings the intercourse failed to be as intimate. This would be explained by the introduction of the fine coinage of Bactria. India was, it seems, practically cut off from close connection with the great kingdom of Asia Minor and she was supplied by a stream of fine and copious supply from the new kingdom which gradually pushed its way through Afghanistan to the Punjab. But the influence of India is manifest in the introduction of elephant as a type in the Seleucid coins (Rapson, *I.C.*, p. 4). And there is no doubt that the Sophytes coins were closely imitated from some of the coins of Seleucus I and testify to the influence of the Seleucid coinage on some of the Indian states which imitated the contemporary types of the Syrian kings.

Coins of Seleucus I.

A. A specimen of a silver coin issued by Seleucus before his adoption of the title of king in 306 B.C. was found in India. It has on

5 *Camb. Hist. of India*, I, p. 433.

6 Rawlinson, H. G.—*Intercourse between India and the Western World*, p. 9.

7 Marshall, Sir John—*A Guide to Taxila*, p. 24.

the *Obv.* the laureate head of Zeus r. within a border of dots, and on the *Rev.* the legend *Alexandroy*, eagle standing r. on thunderbolt with head turned behind, olive spray with berry and in front satrapal tiara. Coins were issued in Alexander's name long after his death. The gold staters with the name of Alexander were issued by the king of Macedonia down to the Roman times. It is supposed to be a Rhodian tetradrachm on account of its weight.[8]

B. A series of silver coins of Seleucus—Type: *Obv.* laureate head of Zeus; *Rev.* fighting Athena in a quadriga drawn by elephants—testify to the prosperity of Central Asia. These are of Attic weight and had the four denominations of tetradrachms, drachms, hemidrachms and obols. They are assigned to a date after 306 B.C. from the legend where Seleucus is designated the king (Basileos Seleykoy) which he assumed in that year. It is supposed that these coins were minted either at Babylon or Seleucia. A smaller number of coins of this type have been obtained for the British Museum at Rawalpindi or secured from collections made in India. So it is evident that coins of this type were procurable in this country and they are "of a quite distinctive and somewhat coarser fabric."[9] These coins are similar to certain imitations of the Athenian coins and are generally struck from regularly adjusted dies, while a few have monograms on the obverse."[10] On the *Obv.* (similar to Type A) Head of Zeus laureate with a border of dots and behind head a monogram r. On the *Rev.* the legend "Basileos Seleykoy;" Athena in a quadriga of horned elephants r. holding thunderbolt in r. hand raised and shield on l. arm, in field r. above anchor. The date of these coins is supposed to be later than 306 B.C. (*c.* 306-281 B.C.) The anchor was the badge of Seleucus I (*Camb. History of India*, pl. I, fig. 15; Head—pl. 28, no. 3, p. 57).

C. Another class of coins of Seleucus in *gold* has the well-known type—*King's Head and Horned Horse's Head.* On the *Obv.* the Head of Seleucus r. diademed and having Bull's horn, on the *Rev.* the legend

8 *Camb. Hist. of India*, vol. I, p. 462. pl. I, no. 14.

9 *Ibid.*, I, p. 435.

10 *Ibid.*, p. 434.

Basileoz Seleykoy, and the head of the horned Horse r. bridled, in front a monogram and beneath another. It is an Attic stater and is dated c. 306-281 B.C. (*Camb. Hist.*, pl. II, no. 3, p. 463).

D. The coins in the joint names of Seleucus I and Antiochus I his son were perhaps issued after 293 B.C. when Seleucus conferred upon his son the title of king. These coins are very rare and are lighter than the Attic drachm, perhaps these were based upon the Indian standard weight of 58 grains. The coin is described as follows—*Obv.* Head of Zeus r. laureate within a border of dots. *Rev.* the legend-*Basileon Seleykoy kai Antioxoy*, Athena in biga of horned elephants r. holding thunderbolt in raised r. and shield on l. arm in field r, above monogram. (date c. 293-281 B.C.). (*Camb. Hist.*, p. 463, pl. II, no. 1).

Coins of Antiochus I.

A. The type is similar to that of Seleucus (Class C); on the *Obv.* the elderly Head of Seleucus I (and not of Antiochus I) diademed and having a Bull's horn; *Rev. Basileoz Antioxoy*, Head of horned horse r. without bridle, in front two monograms and around a border of dots. There are only two in the British Museum, a drachm and a tetradrachm and as these are in Attic weight, it is not sure whether these were issued in the reign of Seleucus I or Antiochus I. The date is therefore tentative and the type is assigned to *c.* 293-261 B.C. Perhaps these belonged to the joint reigns and the monograms are perhaps of the magistrates issuing them. (*Camb. History*, pl. II, no. 4).

B. This class is similar in type but on the *Obv.*, we have the Head of Antiochus I diademed. *Rev.* same legend, Head of horned Horse r, bridled, in front a monogram. It is an attic stater in *gold* and is assigned to *c.* 281-261 B.C. (*Camb. Hist.*, pl. I, no. 5).

C. These coins have the same *Obv.*, and on the *Rev.* the same legend, Apollo seated left on omphalos, holding arrow and bow in front, star and a symbol. It is an Attic stater in gold and is assigned to *c.* 281-261 B.C. (*Camb. Hist.*, pl. II, no. 9).

D. Seleucus II a son of Antiochus I issued a number of tetradrachms and drachms when he was a viceroy under his father. The

coins were minted from regularly adjusted dies and omit the kingly title of his father. Perhaps this signifies his assertion of independent power leading later on to his execution. The weight standard which is referred to the Rhodian system was perhaps based upon the Indian indigenous system and the chronology for the issues is supposed to be 275-266 B.C. These coins have the usual type of "Zeus: Athena." On the *Obv.* Head of Zeus r. laureate within a border of dots. On the *Rev.* the legend *Basileoz Seleykoy Antioxoy*, Athena in quadriga of horned elephants r. holding thunderbolt in raised r. and shield on l. arm, in field r. above a monogram. (*Comb. Hist.*, pl. II, no. 2).

Coins of Antiochus II.

A. The coins of this king in gold and silver are dated in *c.* 261-246 B.C. The usual type is *Obv.* Head of Antiochus II r. diademed; *Rev.* the legend *Basileoz Antioxoy*, Head of horned Horse r. bridle and in front a monogram,  for the gold Staters or Didrachms, or  for the silver tetradrachms (pl. II, no. 6 gold; No. 8 silver). These coins are from regularly adjusted dies, and the monograms stand for the names of the magistrates. It is pointed out that the device "Horse's Head" is "peculiarly appropriate to Bactria, with its famous cavalry, or to Sogdiana, and it is undoubtedly from Afghanistan or Bokhara that the coins in question usually come."[11]

B. The second class is of gold and the type is King's Head: Apollo. On the *Obv.* Head of Antiochus II diademed; *Rev.* Legend-*Basileoz Antioxoy*, Apollo seated l. on Omphalos, holding arrow and bow, in front monogram . The dies are regularly adjusted and the magistrate's name in the monogram seems to be the same as in the previous group. The view that the monogram stands for the name of a mint has to be rejected as a result of the discussion on the subject by Dr. Macdonald. He also points out that the two series "differ not only in type but also in style, the treatment of the ends of the king's diadem being specially characteristic."[12]

11 *Comb. Hist. of India*, I, p. 436.

12 *Ibid.*

We have no doubt that the foreign type coins were imitated by some of the states in Arachosia i.e. in Afghanistan and Punjab region where the foreign influence was active and intercourse with foreign countries in Asia Minor and Central Asia very close. Naturally some of the small states preferred the fine looking coins from outside, perhaps to facilitate, to some extent, their trade and commerce. When the imitation was merely the exact reproduction of the original, correct identification is not only very difficult but well nigh impossible. The only datum that can help us in the matter is the correct provenance and sometimes the style. The find-spots of these coins have not always been recorded, so our inference can never be as convincing as we would desire. Only when slight modifications are introduced in the type, that we can differentiate the imitations from the originals. Monograms or on occasions the legends might betray the true origin. But the difficulty for correct identification remains. Our work however is greatly simplified when the weight system points to Indian origin. An attic drachm weighs 67·5 grains but the extant pieces do not generally reach the standard. They fall short by a few grains, for example, the 5 tetradrachms with the name of Alexander the Great (in pl. 27, Head's Coins of the Ancients) weigh 265, 265, 262·7, 258, 259 grains respectively and a stater of Alexander weighs 133·1 grs. and of Philip III Aridaeus 131·3. So drachm in actual weight varied from 66·25 to 64·4 grs. That the majority of the coins of this period was based upon the Attic weight admits of no doubt. But some of the coins have a weight standard which is characterised as 'abnormal'. These are much below the Attic standard—the drachm according to this standard weighed at the outside no more than 58 grains[13] and it even goes down to a much lower level. The average weight of 3 tetradrachms supposed to be Macedonian in origin is found to be only 217·5 grs. a piece i.e. the drachm is only 54·4 grs. An attempt has been made to ascribe them to the Rhodian standard of 60 grs. a drachm. But no reason can be assigned why in this corner of the Syrian empire, the weight system of a Mediterranean island came to be adopted. When we find that this weight system

13 *Camb. Hist. of India*, I, p. 387.

exactly tallies with the indigenous weight system of India which was in use for centuries in the North Western part of the country, the more reasonable inference is to refer the weight system to the Purāṇa or Dharaṇa weight of 32 ratis which was applicable to precious metals only i.e. gold and silver. India had another standard for copper coins, namely that of a Kārṣāpaṇa of 80 ratis. Now the weight of a *rati* can never be constant as it was based upon the weight of a Guñjā seed. The results of the calculations of the scholars are as follows:—a rati is equated to 1·83 gr. by Cunningham, 1·68 by Elliot, 1·75 by Bhandarkar and 1·825 by Smith.[14] So the weight of the *Purāṇa* coin varied from 56 to 58 grains which may be taken to be the maximum. But the extant pieces weigh much less, even going below 50 grs. So the abnormal weight standard can more reasonably be referred to the Indian indigenous system than the Rhodian which was slightly heavier. The identification of the weight standard would refer these coins to the Eastern part of the Syrian empire or to the region to the east of the Hindukush. The introduction of this weight system might be due to one of the two reasons—the adoption of the Indian weight system by the Seleucid emperors for the eastern part of their empire which was intimately bound up in trade and commerce with the N.W. Provinces of India; or the Indian states to the east of Hindukush might have deliberately adopted the fine foreign type coins discarding their own issues and with a view not to jeopardize their system of coinage retained the weight system to which they had been accustomed. However it is very difficult to differentiate the foreign piece from the Indian issues, while the influence of India on the weight is clearly evident. The Sophytes coins are identified with Attic drachms. The five specimens which are described by Rapson, Smith and Head weigh as follows—58·3, 57, 48·5, 48 and 58·2 grains.[15] But the standard weight of Attic drachm was 67·5 grs. and in extant coins it went down to 64·5 grs. To take the drachm

14 Chakrabortty, S. K.—*A Study of Ancient Indian Numismatics*, p. 51.

15 Rapson, *Indian Coins*, pl. I, no. 8. Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, p. 7. nos. 1, 2 & 3; B.V. Head, *Coins of the Ancients*, IV, II, 17; *Cambridge History*. pl. I, 17—Attic Drachm.

weight down to 48 grs. seems to be unreasonable. The weight of these coins may very well be referred to the *Purāṇa* weight of 32 ratis and actually punch-marked coins of silver of similar weight based upon the Indian standard weight may be found in Smith's *Catalogue*, e.g., nos. 7, 8, 9, 10, 17, 20 weigh 50·3, 51, 49, 48, 54·9, 52·3 grains respectively and so on.

The oldest coins of India had no legends or portraits. The devices or the symbols in the punch-marked coins had surely some significance but their origin is generally lost in obscurity. But there is no doubt that these symbols were originally based upon religious views, ancient mythology or astronomical facts. In course of time these came to be intimately connected with the princes and peoples of ancient India who accepted them as their signets or *ankas*;[16] and a number of them came to be punched on the coins. When one of these devices or symbols came to occupy the most prominent place on coin, it was denominated the Type. These Types were originally the crest or device of authority i.e. mere signets and 'in their essence they were heraldic.'' Some of the states adopted the representation of an animal or object closely connected with the patron deity e.g. the tortoise at Aegina, and the owl at Athens, owl being the *Vāhana* or Vehicle of Athena, the patron goddess. By the middle of the 4th century B.C. in the West an intimate connection was established between coins and religion, and consequently the Types were religious in subject. The coins of Athens had on the *Obv.* the Head of the goddess Athena and on the *Rev.* the Owl; and similar combinations like Zeus and his thunderbolt, Heracles and his club, Apollo and his lyre etc. were very common among the Greeks. The Head as a type became gradually popular in the West and it was found to be a peculiarly fit object to cover the circular surface of the coins. By the time of Alexander the Great's accession a coin had usually "on its *Obv.* the Head of a Divinity";[17] though in some cases the older devices were retained. The general practice was to have the figure of a Divinity on

16 Jayaswal, K. P.—*Hindu Polity*, pp. 42, 43.

17 Macdonald, G.—*The Evolution of Coinage*, p. 80.

the *Obv.* and the crest of the city or the state was transferred to the *Rev.* or "was reduced to a mere subsidiary device or symbol."[18] It was deemed sacrilegious to put the portrait of a human being on the coins. But a great change was introduced in their religious ideas as a result of oriental intercourse. Not only were dead kings deified but living kings were hailed as gods and divine honour came to be bestowed on them. Alexander secured divine honour in his life-time and after his death he was acclaimed first as a hero and then as a god. Ptolemy Soter and Demetrius Poliorcetes were hailed as gods in their life-time. This practice came to exercise great influence on coinage. Alexander the Great introduced his portrait in his coins in the garb of Zeus or Heracles and thus he was the "first historical personage whose portrait can be recognised in coins with absolute certainty;"[19] and after his death his portrait came to be "used as a type" and 'his head was promoted to the place which convention had reserved for that of a divinity."[20] Ptolemy Soter was the first king to place his own head on the coins "wearing a plain royal diadem and gave up definitely" the semblance of a Greek divinity." This practice was continued not only by the Potlemy kings of Egypt, but was also adopted by the Seleucids.[21] Seleucus Nicator,[22] before his adoption of the title of king in 306 B.C. issued coins with the name of Alexander the Great and the only clue to the identification are an anchor in the field and our knowledge that the anchor was the badge of Seleucus I.[23] Even when he issued coins in his own name, he retained the Alexandrine type. At first he did not adopt the title of king and these coins must be dated between 312 & 306 B.C.[24] After the adoption of the title also (Basilaus or King) he retained the old Alexandrine type. At last he gave up the old practice and definitely introduced his portrait in his coins. On the *Obv.* of these coins, we have the Head of Seleucus, in helmet adorned with horn and ear of Bull.[25]

18 Macdonald, G.—*The Evolution of Coinage*, p. 81.
19 *Ibid.*, p. 82
20 *Ibid.*, p. 82.
21 *Ibid.*, p. 89.
22 Head, B. V.—*Coins of the Ancients*, p. 57.
23 *Ibid.*, p. 57, pl. 27. no. 8.
24 *Ibid.*, pl. 27, no. 11.
25 *Ibid.*, pl. 27, no. 14.

The example of the Seleucidan monarchs came to be followed by the neighbouring kingdoms of Western Asia, viz., Bactria, Parthia, Cappadocia, Bithynia, Pontus etc. A portrait of the reigning king was now regarded as the "natural obverse type" for the coin and the practice is continued even at the present time.*

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കേരളസാഹിത്യ അക്കാദമി

* This paper was read before the Oriental Conference at Baroda, 1933.

Mir Qasim's Army

Himself no soldier, Mir Qasim caused an all-round and drastic reorganisation to be made in the army in a manner, and with a zeal that were truly remarkable. In fact, military reform received his greatest attention after the increase and improvement of the revenues. In the short space of his rule, the army of the 'Nizamat' underwent a thorough overhauling, and little remained of its mediæval character and organisation. The Nawab's interest in the military administration was profound and unflagging, and, although himself lacked military ability, or aptitude, he secured the services of talented adventurers under whose guidance a new army was created on European lines within a very short period.

The Nawab's desire for possessing efficient and well-disciplined troops like those of the English did not arise from sheer whim, or vanity, but grew out of certain circumstances that have to be borne in mind in this connexion. The Nawab realised at the very outset of his rule that the forces of the Nizamat had grown both effete and antiquated. No more than a disorderly and ill-disciplined horde, it had proved to be positively dangerous and undependable on more occasion than one. The Nawab was himself an eye-witness of the rebellion at Murshidabad when his predecessor's life had been endangered by this arrogant and ungovernable rabble. The disgraceful mutiny as well as the openly rebellious attitude of the troops in Bihar during the raids of the Shahzadah were a sufficient indication of the rottenness of the existing forces. No reliance could be reposed in such an army, and its only reform was complete disbandment.

The morale of the army of Murshidabad had deteriorated during the period of confusion following the death of Ali Vardi Khan, and Plassey marked the virtual collapse of the military system of the Nawabs. Mir Jafar had been too old and pleasure-loving to have given any attention to the army, and during his inefficient administration it had become a hopeless mass of uncontrolled mercenaries mutinous for

pay that happened always to be in arrears. The very safety of the Nawab required its supersession by a properly trained and disciplined forces. Besides being unreliable the army of his predecessors was thoroughly inefficient and demoralised. The Nawab had witnessed its shameful discomfiture during his attack against the Raja of Birbhum, who was defeated only by the Company's troops under Major Yorke and Captain White. The inability of his troops to cope with the armed retainers of even a local landholder showed a glaring inefficiency, and it is hardly surprising, therefore, that the Nawab should have deemed it essential to safeguard his position and honour by introducing a drastic reform, in his army in particular, and military adiministration in general.

What lent an added importance to the necessity for an efficient army was the Nawab's aversion to his acknowledged dependence on the Company's troops. It was the Company's arms which had been the mainstay of the Nizamat since the accession of Mir Jafar, and but for the successful resistance offered to the Shahzadah and the Marathas by the English, Mir Jafar's authority would not have survived long. Soon after the accession of Mir Qasim the war with the Shahzadah was brought to a successful close by the English troops alone. The Nawab was thus perfectly conscious of his absolute subjection to the English in the matter of the military defence of the 'Subah'. Such a position was galling to an ambitious spirit like that of Mir Qasim who resolved to free himself from the yoke of the Company's troops as early as possible.

It was only by raising an equally strong and efficient army that the Nawab could afford to dispense with the assistance of the English. But the main reason for the army re-organisation was his innate ambition for independence. The *defacto* supremacy which the English had obtained after the revolution of 1757 was apparent to the Nawab who strove from the beginning to undermine it by slow degrees and prepared assiduously for the inevitable rupture with his present allies. He was shrewd enough to realise the futility of setting their power at defiance without an army trained after their fashion. The inherent superiority of the European troops over the hordes of ill-led,

ill-disciplined, and ill-equipped oriental mercenaries had been more than once demonstrated in the Deccan; and in Bengal too, Clive's spectacular successes established beyond all doubt the pre-eminence of the Western methods of warfare. Intent on liberating himself from the control of the English, the Nawab got his army completely re-modelled. His military policy was further actuated by the desire for territorial aggrandisement. The ill-fated expedition against Nepal showed his love for conquest. Thus, it was from a variety of consideration that Mir Qasim needed an effective and dependable military force of his own.

Bengal was perpetually in danger of invasion from the north-west by either Shah Alam, or the Wazir of Oudh, and from the south-west by the Marathas. Besides these external dangers, there were more than one powerful chief in the province, who could seriously endanger the authority of Murshidabad. The Rajas of Bishnupur and Birbhum, for instance, had for some time past adopted an attitude of open defiance against the Nawab, because of their immense military resources, and this rise of baronial power was a real menace to the Government, when Mir Qasim came to the 'masnad'. Sheer prudence necessitated a radical reform of the army. The Nawab's ambition made it all the more imperative.

The Nawab found at his accession a huge standing army of no less than ninety thousand men.[1] It has to be remembered that these forces had served a number of his predecessors successively, and that some of the veteran 'jamadars' had been enlisted even before the time of Nawab Sarfaraz Khan, and so the Nawab could not have trusted them implicitly. He had made it a rule to replace the subordinates of the previous regimes by new men who owed their rise to his generosity alone. In accordance with the policy which he consistently enforced in every department of the Government, the Nawab systematically overhauled the entire personnel of the army. His disgust[2] at the despicable con-

1 Vansittart's *Narrative*, II, p. 185. Mir Jafar had evidently paid no heed to Clive's advice to dismiss the faithless 'Jamadars' and reduce the number of the forces to 18,000. Vide (*Beng. Sel. Con.*, Jan. 13-1760).

2 Siyar (Lucknow Text), p. 699.

duct of the troops during the attack on Birbhum was, however, so bitter that he decided on an immediate reform. The huge arrears of their pay were cleared off by instalments[3], and even assignments[4] upon the land-revenues had to be made for a speedy liquidation of the debts. No sooner had the Shahzadah left the province, than a general disbandment of the troops was commenced.[5] The Nawab took care to see that the disbanded people were expelled from the country outright,[6] obviously because their presence was considered to be a source of possible danger and anxiety. By this means, the most part of the unwieldy forces were summarily dismissed, and only those who were deemed fit for service were retained.[7] The way was now clear for a fresh enlistment on a different footing altogether. The thoroughness with which this reduction of an unnecessarily large army came to be made was indicative of the Nawab's determination to stop the ruinous waste in military expenditure, which had been one of the principal causes of the financial embarrassments of his predecessor. In fact, the Nawab had given his word to Mr. Vansittart that he would maintain no more than five or six thousand horse, and would thus retrench the expenses.[8]

As soon as the state of his finances improved, the Nawab began entertaining new troops in opposition to the wishes of the Governor.[9] He had a number of plausible pretexts at hand. The threatened approach of Shujauddaulah,[10] the disaffection of the Bhojpur Zemindars,[11] the rebellious activities of Kamgar Khan,[12] the danger from Sheo Bhat,[13] and the refusal of several Zemindars to pay the revenue[14] were apparently a sufficient justification for raising additional troops. Mr. Vansittart's willing acquiescence in the Nawab's decision was in keeping with his policy of absolute non-intervention. It is needless to

3 Khulasat (*JBORS.*, V, p. 350).
4 Siyar, p. 697.
5 Abs. *PLR.*, 1759-65, p. 9.
6 Gleig's *Memoirs*, I, p. 114.
7 Abs. *PLR*., 1759-65, p. 7.
8 Trans. *PLI.*, 1761, No. 286, p. 134.
9 *Ibid.*
10 Abs. *PLR.*, 1759-65, p. 9.
11 *Ibid.*, p. 12.
12 *Ibid.*, p. 17.
13 *Ibid.*, p. 13.
14 *Ibid.*, p. 11.

add that Mir Qasim could never have flouted the authority of Clive in this manner.

Encouraged by the benevolent neutrality of the Governor, the Nawab quietly forged an efficient instrument of war, and the total strength of the army at the out-break of his war with the English was about twenty-five thousand men.[15] Though far inferior in number to the forces of his predecessor, it was decidedly superior in point of quality, efficiency and organisation. The vast wealth which the Nawab had been amassing[16] by means of confiscations, and fines, and strict revenue collection were freely utilised[17] for the equipment, training and maintenance of his force.

Mir Qasim was one of the first among the Indian princes who had realised the importance of organising their troops on the Western model. The dramatic successes of small European forces against the vast hordes of the country powers had conclusively proved the excellence of European methods and discipline, and the efficient sepoy regiments of the European Companies were a standing example of the fact that the 'Hindustani' soldier could be successfully disciplined in the European manner. Although lacking the soldierly talents of Haidar Ali, Mahadji Scindhia, or Ranjit Singh, the Nawab was no less eager to Europeanize his army, and during his short rule, he practically revolutionised the army of the Nizamat.

These changes were effected under the supervision and control of a host of adventurers, European and Armenian, who had been warmly welcomed by the Nawab for training his forces after the latest fashion. Among these soldiers of fortune, the names of Gurgin Khan, Marcat, Arratoon, Samroo, and Gentil are the most conspicuous. Besides these, there were a number of foreigners who had been diligently sought out

15 It may be noted that even in the best days of the Mughal Empire, the standing army of the Subah of Bengal consisted, according to *Ain-i-Akbari*, of 23,000 cavalry, and 801,150 infantry.

16 Siyar, p. 708.

17 An idea about the lavish expenditure can be made from the following instance mentioned by the author of *Imadus Sadat* (Lucknow Text, p. 92). Even barbers, water-carriers, and washer-men serving in the army had elephants to ride on.

by the Nawab, and they were entrusted with the reformation of his army. Every vagabond European, or Armenian with the least pretension to military experience was sure to be taken in the Nawab's service. Even sepoys who had been discharged, or had deserted from the English regiments were gladly entertained on a higher salary. In fact, towards the end of the Nawab's rule, such desertion was deliberately encouraged by the latter's agents.[18] It appears from a contemporary account[19] that the number of such European or Indian deserters in the Nawab's service was not inconsiderable. Among the Nawab's troops that encountered Major Adams at Sooty, there were numerous sepoys who had deserted from the Company's battalions at Patna, and one hundred and fifty English deserters as well.

Gurgin Khan (Khajah Gregory), brother to the well-known Armenian diplomat and merchant, Khawajah Petruse, was the principal military adviser of the Nawab, and was virtually both commander-in-chief and war minister. It was under his superintendence that the army was reformed,[20] and it was to his supreme genius that the remaking of the Nawab's infantry, artillery and cavalry was due. Born at Ispahan, and originally a humble cloth-merchant,[21] he had risen by sheer merit at a comparatively early age, and at the time of his murder he was barely thirty-six.[22] Nothing, in the words of Raymond who was a contemporary of the general, was wanting in that man to render him capable of shining even in Europe, excepting a general education; he owed everything to his own genius, and nothing to art, or culture. That such a man became the chief favourite[23] of the Nawab is hardly surpris-

18 *Beng. Sel. Cons.*, June 17, 1763.

19 "A short sketch of the Troubles in Bengal" (Powis MSS), vide Forrest's *Life of Lord Clive*, II, p. 238.

20 Siyar, p. 696; Khulasat (*JBORS.*, V, pp. 351-2).

21 Siyar, p. 738.

22 Raymond's translation of Siyar. Calcutta Reprint, II, p. 502, Vide its footnote No. 267. Raymond who personally knew Gurgin has paid an eloquent tribute to "the soaring genius" of the latter, and has rightly criticised Ghulam Husain's prejudiced opinion about him.

23 Siyar, p. 708.

ing and that his extraordinary influence with his master should have excited the bitterest jealousy[24] of others may be easily understood. First appointed as the 'darogah' of artillery, Gurgin Khan was commissioned to remodel the whole army, and thus by virtue of superior talents he held the supreme command of the army till he fell a victim to the machinations of a treacherous conspiracy.[25]

Discipline was enforced in the new army with such strictness and exactitude as had never been known to the proud mercenaries who constituted the Nawab's forces. Mir Qasim recruited mainly Persians, Tartars, Afghans, and veterans of the northern provinces,[26] who chafed under the irksome control of the Europeans and the Armenians. Ghulam Husain has poured redicule[27] on the vain attempt of Gurgin Khan to introduce such strictness of discipline as was enforced in the English army. Anxious to imitate the English model, Gurgin Khan and his staff strove to drill the men of the proud races of the north into orderly and civilized regiments, and might have succeeded, only if more time had been available to them. Although a semblance of success was achieved during the short space of Gurgin Khan's authority, the latter's severity earned him the bitter hatred of the soldiery,[28] which was further heightened by Muslim animosity against Armenians. In fairness to Gurgin Khan, it must be admitted that under his guidance, the Nawab's troops became far better disciplined than any other army of Hindustan, and fought on more than one occasion with a bravery that surprised their antagonists.[29] The only Muslim officer who shared with Gurgin Khan the credit for having reformed the army was Muhammad Taqi Khan, a native of Persia.[30] Possessed of a re-

24 Khulasat (*JBORS.*, V, p. 351).

25 Siyar, p. 696.

26 Khulasat (*JBORS.*, V, p. 352).

27 Siyar, p. 738.

28 *Ibid.*

29 Third Report (Carnac's evidence.) Vansittart's *Narrative*, III, p. 395. Bolts, *Considerations on Indian Affairs*, p. 43. Lt. Glen to Major Carnac, July 13, 1763. (Vide *Bengal, Past and Present*, vol. VI, p. 247).

30 Siyar, p. 708; Khulasat (*JBORS.*, V, 225).

markable capacity for leadership and organisation, he himself raised and trained a picked body of Musketeers who were considered to be the most efficient ones in the whole army.[31] "Ghulam Husain prejudiced as he was against Gurgin regards[32] Taqi Khan as more worthy of the post of Commander-in-chief than the latter whom he frequently calls in contempt "the seller of cloth by the yard."

One of the most praiseworthy features of the Nawab's military administration was the punctual payment of salaries. Arrears were never allowed to accumulate, and the Nawab took every care to ensure a regular payment of the troops. According to Ghulam Husain, Mir Qasim was so scrupulously exact in this respect that no complaint of non-payment was ever heard of in his time, nor was a false muster imposed.[33] The Nawab was never easy till the dues of the army were regularly paid.[34] When it is remembered that it was the traditional habit of the Indian rulers including even the Great Mughals to allow the salaries of the soldiers to fall into arrears,[35] one cannot but appreciate the wisdom of Mir Qasim's innovation in this direction. Being fully cognisant of the troubles that had arisen in the past owing to the irregular payment of the army, he was determined not to repeat the mistake of his predecessors like Sirajauddaulah and Mir Jafar. He had no faith in the belief that a soldier who had been paid up to date was more likely to desert than one with a large amount standing to his credit. Clive did not exaggerate when he stated, "it is the custom of the country never to pay the army a fourth part of what they promise them; and it is only in times of distress that the army can be paid at all, and that is the reason the troops always behave so ill."[36] Not only was punctuality of payment rigorously enforced, but there was also an all-round increase of salaries.[37] In short, the Nawab was keen on keeping his soldiery contented and loyal.

31 Siyar, p. 730.
32 *Ibid.*, p. 708.
33 *Ibid.*, p. 712.
34 Abs. *P.H.R.*, 1759-65, p. 3.
35 Scrafton's *Reflections on the Government of Indostan*, pp. 28-29.
36 First Report, 1773, p. 155.
37 Siyar, p. 730.

Mir Qasim's endeavour to start an extensive manufacture of arms and ammunition was an unusual move on the part of an Indian ruler of those days. The Indian princes had so far hardly cared to master the technique of arms manufacture, and they usually depended on the Europeans for the supply of guns and other military stores. The Nawab resolutely aimed at making himself less dependent on the foreigners in this respect. That his ambitious project did not end in smoke reflects great credit on Gurgin Khan under whose efficient management the casting of cannon and the manufacture of muskets were successfully commenced.[38] A huge foundry was set up for this purpose at Monghyr, which became the principal depôt, although there seem to have been a large number of smaller magazines and factories in different parts of the country.[39]

It is indeed remarkable that the arms manufactured at Monghyr were not inferior to those imported from Europe. The flints of the muskets were made of the Rajmahal agates, and the metal of the barrels was considered to be better than that of the English muskets.[40]

The guns cast at Monghyr were chiefly made of brass, and the most parts of the field artillery had either been secured from the Company,[41] or clandestinely purchased from the Europeans.[42] The gun carriages were, however, all made locally with elevating screws, and were, in every respect, as good as the English models.[43] The gun powder prepared in the country was equally excellent, although a large part of the bullets and shells had to be imported.

38 Siyar, p. 708; *Reflections on the Present Commotions in Bengal*, pp. 9-10.

39 Third report,1773, p. 302.

40 Raymond's footnote to his translation of the Siyar (Calcutta Reprint II, p. 421). He writes, "The European reader may possibly hear with surprise that those fire-locks manufactured at Monghyr proved better than the best Tower-proofs, sent to India for the Company's use, and such was the opinion which the English officers gave them when they made the comparision by order of the Council of Calcutta."

41 Rumbold to R. Smith (Orme MSS., f. 182). Vide Professor Dodwell's *Dupleix and Clive*, p. 226, (footnote 3).

42 Third Report, 1773, p. 304.

43 First Report, 1772, p. 43; Second Report, 1772, p. 10; Third Report, 1773, p. 304.

In the organisation of the forces, there was a consistent attempt at a close imitation of the English system. The Infantry was modelled[44] on the Company's sepoy battalions, and the soldiers were dressed, disciplined, and equipped exactly like the English sepoys. They even bore the name of Tilangas like the latter. There was, however, a class of irregulars who, though disciplined in the same manner as the Tilangas, were dressed in Indian style. The infantry was composed, as usual, of regiments and companies with the fixed proportion of common soldiers, Hawaldars, Jamadars, and Subahdars. It is interesting to note that the musketeers of Muhammad Taqi Khan were divided[45] by tens, hundreds, and thousands after the traditional Persian style with an officer at each of these divisions. This arrangement was, however, confined only to the battalions under Taqi Khan. In the Infantry regiments, the commanders were principally Armenians and Europeans. The whole force, in short, was trained, accourted, and organised in imitation of the English troops. Fire-locks were also introduced in place of the old match-locks, and were used for the first time by the Nawab's troops during his war with the English.[46]

The Artillery was likewise organised after the European fashion, and was exclusively put under foreigners[47] such as Armenians, Frenchmen, Germans, Portuguese, Topasses, and even English deserters. It has already been mentioned that Gurgin Khan had started his career in the Nawab's army as the chief commandant of the artillery which was first re-modelled under his superintendence. An immense number of field pieces,[48] partly imported and partly manufactured in the country, were collected, and the Ordnance and the 'Top Khanahs' constituted probably one of the most expensive items of military expenditure.

The cavalry formed the only part of the army, wherein the officers were solely drawn from the warlike races of the north. The ranks were

44 Siyar, p. 696. 45 *Ibid.*, p. 730.

46 Siyar, p. 708. "A summary view of the East India Company of Great Britain." (Dublin MDCCLXXXIV, p. 21). "Transactions in India (1765-1783)", London. MDCCLXXXVI, p. 42.

47 Second Report, 1772, p. 8. 48 Siyar, p. 708.

filled, as usual, by picked Hindustanis and other Asiatic mercenaries. This force was divided into Regiments and 'Risalahs'. For each troop of ten, it is recorded, there was a special officer armed with a sabre, whose peculiar function was to kill anyone attempting to desert from the field of battle.[49] The strength of the Cavalry was no less than 16,000.[50] The troopers were well-paid, and well-mounted, and their organisation was not much different from that of the Irregular Cavalry Regiments of the Company.[51]

Such was the army raised by the Nawab in the course of a little more than two years, with which he confidently embarked on a war against the English. He had hoped that his newly trained troops would successfully hold their own against the English, and redeem the honour of Muslim rule in Bengal. All hopes were shattered at Katwa, Sooiy, and Udanala. In spite of the best available training imparted by foreigners, and notwithstanding the reforms introduced by the Nawab, his army ultimately broke down like a house of cards. An explanation for this can be found from an analysis of its inherent nature and composition.

In the first place, the army having been promiscuously composed of mercenaries of all races lacked cohesion. In the second place, the indiscriminate elevation of Armenians and Europeans created a feeling of bitter rancour and jealousy in the minds of the Muslim commanders, and was responsible for the wide gulf between the Muslim and the non-Muslim elements in the army. The universal hatred for Gurgin Khan and the conspiracy that culminated in the latter's assassination were the outward symptoms of this hostility to non-Muslims. In the third place, the foreign adventurers belonging to different nationalities, and thus lacking any real bond of union proved half-hearted in the hour of need. In the fourth place, even among the Muslim officers there was no harmony or unity, and their mutual jealousies marred the chances of success. In the fifth place, discipline was lax inspite of all efforts of Gurgin Khan and his staff. In the sixth place, sufficient time had not been available for an adequate training of the forces, and at the time

49 Siyar, p. 697. 50 Vansittart's *Narrative*, II, p. 185.

51 Broome's *Rise and Progress of the Bengal Army*, vol. I, p. 351.

of the commencement of war they were at best only half-trained. In the seventh place, the disastrous expedition for the conquest of Nepal, and the consequent destruction of the flower of the forces had shattered the morale of the troops, and they had hardly breathing time before they were called again to fight against the English. Lastly, the death of Muhammad Taqi Khan and the murder of Gurgin Khan deprived the army of its only two leaders of genius.

The failure of Mir Qasim's army is not without its inner significance. The Nawab's attempt to fight with the Europeans in their own way marks the beginning of a century during which Tipu and the Marathas in the Deccan, and the Sikhs and the mutineers of 1857 in Hindustan made a futile stand against the English with armies sedulously trained after the Western fashion. From Udanala to the mutiny, the same story of frustrated hope is repeated again and again. Mere superficial imitation of the European mode of warfare proved to be of no effect in the absence of that national consciousness and patriotic feeling which gave the English a strength unknown to the heterogeneous levies of the country powers.

NANDALAL CHATTERJI

The Smṛti-chapters of the Kūrma-Purāṇa

The Smṛti-chapters of the *Kūrma-Purāṇa* (Vaṅgavāsī edition) are mainly I, 2-3 and II, 12-33, though there are other chapters dealing with the Tīrthas. Of these we shall take up those chapters in which Varṇadharma, Āśramadharma, Ācāra and Āhnika are dealt with. In this Purāṇa Varṇadharma is the subject-matter of I, 2 and II, 19 and 25, Āśramadharma of I, 2-3 and II, 12-15, 24 and 27-29, Ācāra of II, 16 and Āhnika of II, 18-19. The corresponding chapters of the Veṅkaṭeśvara Press edition of the same Purāṇa are:—

Vaṅga. ed.		Veṅkaṭ. ed.
I, 2	=	I, 2
I, 3	=	I, 3
II, 12	=	II, 12
II, 13 (except verse 12)	=	II, 13
II, 14 (except verses 57b-61a dealing with the method of the uddhāra of Gāyatrī)	=	II, 14
II, 15	=	II, 15
II, 16	=	II, 16
II, 18 (except verses 77c and 84a)	=	II, 18 (except verse 87a)
II, 19	=	II, 19
II, 24	=	II, 24
II, 25	=	II, 25
II, 27	=	II, 27 (except verse 39)
II, 28	=	II, 28
II, 29	=	II, 29

Variations in readings in the two editions are numerous. Sometimes the Vaṅga. ed. gives better readings and sometimes the Veṅkaṭ. ed. Some of the variations in the former are clearly due to careless printing.

The extant Kūrma-Purāṇa informs us that the original Purāṇa of this name consisted of four Saṃhitās—Brāhmī, Bhāgavatī, Saurī and Vaiṣṇavī, and that the edition of the Purāṇa which we now possess contains only the Brāhmī Saṃhitā (cf. Kūrma-Purāṇa, I, 1, 21-23). About the other three Saṃhitās which seem to be extinct, the extant Kūrma-P. gives us no information. The Nāradīya-Purāṇa (Veṅkaṭeśvara Press edition), however, contains a list of contents of all the four Saṃhitās, the contents of the Brāhmī Saṃhitā tallying fully with those of the extant Kūrma-Purāṇa. According to the Nāradīya-P., the

Bhāgavatī Saṃhitā, which consisted of five Pādas (parts) and was called 'Pañca-padī,' dealt with the means of livelihood (*vṛtti*) of the different castes—the first Pāda being devoted to the means of livelihood of the Brāhmaṇas, the second to those of the Kṣatriyas, the third of the Vaiśyas, the fourth of the Śūdras and the fifth of the mixed castes; the Saurī Saṃhitā being divided into six parts dealt with the methods of performing the 'six acts' (*ṣaṭkarma* i.e. vaśīkaraṇa, māraṇa, uccāṭana, etc.); and the Vaiṣṇavī Saṃhitā was divided into four Pādas dealing with Mokṣadharma for the twice-born. As regards the extent of these four Saṃhitās the Nāradīya-Purāṇa says that they contained 6,000, 4,000, 2,000 and 5,000 verses respectively.[1]

The present Kūrma-Purāṇa reveals the two main stages[2] through which it has passed to attain its present form. The earlier portions—especially the first two chapters of Book I—which have escaped,

1 अतःपरं भागवतीसंहितार्थनिरूपणम् ॥
कथिता यस्य वर्णानां पृथग्-वृत्तिरुदाहृता ।
पादेऽस्याः प्रथमे प्रोक्ता ब्राह्मणानां व्यवस्थितिः ॥
सदाचारात्मिका यत्स[ः]भोगसौख्यविवर्धनी ।
द्वितीये क्षत्रियाणां तु वृत्तिः सम्यक् प्रकीर्तिता ॥
यया त्वाश्रित्य पार्थं विधूयेह व्रजेद्दिवम् ।
तृतीये वैश्यजातीनां वृत्तिरुक्ता चतुर्विधा ॥
यया चरित्वा सम्यग् लभते गतिमुत्तमाम् ।
चतुर्थेऽस्यास्तथा पादे शूद्रवृत्तिरुदाहृता ॥
यया संतुष्यति[ः]श्रीशो नृणां[ः]श्रेयोविवर्द्धनः ।
पञ्चमेऽस्यास्ततः पादे वृत्तिः सङ्करजोदिता ॥
यया चरित्वाप्नोति भाविनो गतिमुत्तमाम् ।
इत्येषा पञ्चपद्युक्ता द्वितीया संहिता मुने ॥
तृतीयाऽलोदिता सौरी नृणां कार्यविधायिनी ।
षोढा षट्कर्मसिद्धिं बोधयन्ती च कामिनाम् ॥
चतुर्थी वैष्णवी नाम मोक्षदा परिकीर्तिता ।
चतुष्पदी द्विजातीनां साक्षाद्ब्रह्मस्वरूपिनी ॥
ताः क्रमात् षट्चतुर्द्वीषुसाहस्राः परिकीर्तिताः ॥

Nāradiya-P. (Pūrva-khaṇḍa), 106, 1-22.

2 Though there are traces of Śākta (Kūrma-P., I, 12) and Nakulīśa (Kūrma-P., I, 52) influence, they may be passed over.

though not totally, the ruinous hands of the rival sectaries, show that the Kūrma-P. originally belonged most probably to the Pāñcarātra sect of the Vaiṣṇavas and that afterwards it was appropriated by the Pāśupatas who added to it many new myths, legends, accounts of holy places, and the like, in order to attain their sectarian end.

The first two chapters of the Kūrma-P. strike the keynote of the whole work. So the summary of contents of these two introductory chapters is given with a view to show not only the originality of these two chapters but also their vital connection with the contents of other chapters which seem to have belonged to the Kūrma-P. in its Viṣṇuite form. In Kūrma-P., I, 1 the sages of the Naimiṣa forest ask Romaharṣaṇa to narrate the Kūrma-P. Consequently, Romaharṣaṇa refers to the five characteristics of the Purāṇas, names the eighteen Mahāpurāṇas as well as the Upa-purāṇas, mentions the four Saṃhitās of the original Kūrma-P., and proceeds to report what Viṣṇu in the form of the Tortoise said to the gods and the sages who attended the churning of the ocean of milk. During the churning, Romaharṣaṇa says, Śrī arose and was taken by Viṣṇu who introduced her as his own Śakti to the inquisitive gods and sages. The latter then asked the Tortoise to narrate what would happen at Kāla-kṣaya. Consequently, the Tortoise began with the story of Indradyumna to whom, he said, he had formerly narrated the Purāṇa Saṃhitā and given instructions on Karma (meaning the duties of the castes and stages) and Jñāna. The Tortoise narrated briefly the story of Indradyumna referring to the latter's desire to gain the knowledge of the Supreme God (i.e. Viṣṇu Brahman), the appearance of Śrī who referred him to Viṣṇu, and the appearance of Viṣṇu who told Indradyumna how the Supreme God could be experienced through Jñāna and Bhakti by those observing the rules of castes and stages; but the gods and the sages were not satisfied with it. They asked the Tortoise to repeat what he had said to Indradyumna. Here ends Kūrma-P., I, 1. The next chapter narrates what the Tortoise said to his audience; viz., the origin of Brahmā, Rudra and Śrī from Viṣṇu himself; the appointment of Śrī to delude the people with a view to compel them to undergo rebirths; the creation of the nine sages, the four Vedas and the four castes by Brahmā; and the establishment of the rules of Dharma for the different castes and the stages of life.

The originality of these two introductory chapters is shown by the vital connection which the story of Indradyumna has with the narration of the Kūrma-P. As regards the contents of the Kūrma-P. the Matsya-Purāṇa says: "That in which Janārdana, in the form of a Tortoise, in the regions under the earth, explained the objects of life— duty, wealth, pleasure, and liberation—through the story of Indradyumna to the Ṛṣis in the presence of Śakra, which refers to the Lakṣmī Kalpa, and contains seventeen thousand stanzas, is the Kūrma-Purāṇa."[3] The Agni-P.[4] and the Nāradīya-P.[5] also say that the Kūrma-P. was narrated by the Tortoise through the story of Indradyumna. Thus, these Purāṇas testify to the traditional connection of the story of Indradyumna with the narration of the Purāṇa. The originality of these two chapters is further corroborated by some of the interpolations that have been made by the worshippers of Śiva and Brahmā even in these chapters. For example, we may refer to Kūrma-P., I, 1, 107-121 in which Indradyumna is made, quite irrelevantly, to go to see Brahmā, obviously with a view to add to the glory of the latter; and to chapter I, 2, 91ff. wherein the position of Śiva seems to have been raised higher than that of Viṣṇu by attributing to him the three kinds of meditation (*bhāvanā*) and by attaching more importance to the Śaiva sect-mark 'tripuṇḍra' wherein the Pradhāna comprising Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva is said to dwell.

3 यत्र धर्म्मार्थकामानां मोक्षस्य च रसातले ।
माहात्म्यं कथयामास कूर्मरूपी जनार्दनः ॥
इन्द्रद्युम्नप्रसङ्गेन ऋषिभ्यः शक्रसन्निधौ ।
अष्टादश सहस्राणि लक्ष्मीकल्पानुषङ्गिकम् ॥
Matsya-P., 53, 46-47.

4 कूर्मश्चाष्टसहस्रञ्च कूर्मोक्तञ्च रसातले ।
इन्द्रद्युम्न-प्रसङ्गेन..... ॥
Agni-P., 272. 19.

5 लक्ष्मीकल्पानुचरितं यत्र कूर्मवपुर्हरिः ।
धर्मार्थकाममोक्षाणां माहात्म्यं च पृथक् पृथक् ॥
इन्द्रद्युम्न प्रसङ्गेन प्राहर्षिभ्यो दयान्वितः ।
तत् सप्तदशसाहस्रं सुचतुःसंहितं शुभम् ॥
Nāradīya-P., I, 106, 1b-3a.

Let us now examine the theology of these two chapters, for then we shall be able to know the original character of the Purāṇa. In these two chapters Viṣṇu (also called Nārāyaṇa, Hṛṣīkeśa, Vāsudeva etc.) is identified with the Supreme Brahman. He is described as imperishable (*avyaya*—I, 1, 29 and 68), eternal (*śāśvata*—I, 1, 63), indivisible (*niṣkala*—I, 1, 63 and 71) and higher than the highest (*parāt-para*—1, 1, 65). In I, 1, 69-79 Indradyumna eulogises Viṣṇu by giving him all the attributes which are expressive of the Supreme Brahman. Here Viṣṇu is described as viśvātman, paramātman, nirguṇa, niṣkala, viśvarūpa, nirvikāra, nisprapañca, ādi-madhyāntahīna, jñāna-gamya, bhedā-bheda-vihīna, ānanda-rūpin, ananta-mūrti, cinmātra and the like, and is called Brahman capable of being experienced only through knowledge (*prapaśyanti.....jñānadīpena kevalam*). In several other places Viṣṇu himself identifies his own self with the only Reality—the Supreme Brahman. Referring to the conduct of Indradyumna, Viṣṇu says to the gods and the sages:

इत्वा मां वासुदेवाख्यं बल द्वे निहितेऽक्षरे ।
विद्याविद्ये गूढरूपं यद्ब्रह्म परमं विदुः ।
सोऽर्चयामास भूतानामाश्रयं परमेश्वरम् ।
(Kūrma-P., I, 1; 51-52)·

in answer to a question put by Indradyumna, Viṣṇu describes his own self and his 'pravṛtti' as

अहं हि सर्वभूतानामन्तर्यामीश्वरः परः ।
सर्गस्थित्यन्तकर्तृत्वं प्रवृत्तिर्मम गीयते ॥
(Kūrma-P., I, 1, 95);

and in a third place he says that before creation there was none second to himself (*aham Nārayaṇo devaḥ pūrvamāsaṃ na me paraṃ*). There seems to be a distinction made between the Viṣṇu-Brahman and the inferior Viṣṇu of the Trinity. The former is 'akṣara' and 'gūḍha-rūpa' but the latter is under the influence of Kāla and manifests himself before worshippers.

Śrī, the wife of Viṣṇu, is his Śakti. She is said to have been born of Viṣṇu himself in the Śrī-kalpa (*prāgeva mattaḥ saṃjātā Śrī-kalpe Padma-vāsinī*,—Kūrma-P., I, 1, 38; also cf. I 2, 7) and is characterised by the same signs as her consort (*Viṣṇu-cihnāṅkitā*—I, 1, 56)

viz., she has four arms, carries the conch, the disc and the lotus, and is adorned with a garland (*caturbhujā śaṅkha-cakra-padma-hastā sragavitā*,—I, 1, 39). She is the main source from which Brahmā Śiva and other gods derive their Śaktis and became known as Śaktimat.[6] In the supreme state Viṣṇu and his Śakti are indistinguishable and constitute the Supreme Brahman[7] but in creation the latter manifests herself as Māyā Śakti and is vested with the three 'guṇas' (I, 1, 34-38). It is this Mahāmāyā who deludes the people and compels them to undergo rebirths (cf. I, 2, 12—*devīdam-akhilaṃ* etc.).

The position which Śiva and Brahmā occupy in the earlier portions of the extant Kūrma-P. is certainly inferior to that of Viṣṇu. They are ranked as common gods, so much so that even Indradyumna, as Viṣṇu says, was invincible to Śaṅkara and others (*adhṛṣyaḥ Śaṅkarādibhiḥ*—I, 1, 43) in his former birth. Regarding the origin of these two gods Viṣṇu himself says in I, 2, 3-6 that before creation he was sleeping on the serpent-bed with none second to himself and when, at the end of the night, he awoke and thought of creation the four-faced Brahmā was born of his 'prasāda' and the three-eyed Rudra from his anger. In I, 2, 22 Viṣṇu says that Brahmā created beings at his command.[8] As Viṣṇu himself is the creator, preserver and destroyer and as Śiva and Brahmā are said to have been born of Viṣṇu, he is sometimes addressed with the names of these two gods.

6 अस्यास्त्वंशानविद्याय शक्तिमन्तोऽभवन् सुराः ।
ब्रह्मेशानादयः सर्वे सर्वशक्तिरियं मम ॥
Kūrma-P., I, 1, 37.

Also cf. I, 1, 44b-45a wherein Viṣṇu says "Indradyumna resorted to me after knowing that Brahmā, Mahādeva and the other gods with their own Śaktis are situated in my Śakti."

7 Cf. Kūrma-P., I, 1, 59 wherein Śrī explains her identity to Indradyumna as

न मे नारायणाद्भेदो विद्यते हि विचारतः
तन्मय्यहं परं ब्रह्म स विष्णुः परमेश्वरः ॥

8 ततोऽसृजत् स भगवान् ब्रह्मा लोकपितामहः ।
चराचराणि भूतानि यथा पूर्वं ममाज्ञया ॥

When, in I, 1, 69 ff., Viṣṇu appears before Indradyumna, the latter addresses him with various names including 'Mahādeva', 'Śiva' and 'Parameṣṭhin'. The epithets 'Maheśvara', 'Parameśvara' and 'Iśa' also are applied to mean Viṣṇu but these should be taken in their literal sense and not as names. For example, Viṣṇu calls himself 'Iśvara' which is synonymous with 'Iśa'. Hence we shall be wrong if we think that Indradyumna 'desired to gain knowledge of the glory of Śiva'.[9] But it is highly probable that Indradyumna wanted to realise the Viṣṇu-Brahman[10] who remains screened by his Māyā, namely Lakṣmī. But none can realise the Viṣṇu-Brahman until one knows the true self of this Māyā, and thus look beyond her, by worshipping Viṣṇu.[11] Hence Indradyumna worships, the great god Viṣṇu for which reason Lakṣmī, the Māyā of Viṣṇu, reveals her true self (*svarūpaṃ darśayāmāsa*—I, 1, 54), explains her identity and refers him to Viṣṇu—the Viṣṇu of the Trinity—for true knowledge. Indradyumna is found afterwards to gain it from Viṣṇu and realise the One, viz., Supreme Brahman. It should be noted that if Indradyumna desired to gain the knowledge of Śiva, he would not have to look beyond the Māyā of Viṣṇu, as, we know, Śiva has his own Māyā Śakti.

The theology of these two introductory chapters of the Kūrma-P., in which there is a considerable amount of Śākta element, approaches very closely to that of the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās like the *Ahirbudhnya*.[12] The philosophy in both is also based on the theistic Yoga.

9 Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, vol. 1, p. 573.

10 Cf. कथं स भगवानीशः शाश्वतो निष्कलोऽच्युतः ।
ज्ञातुं हि शक्यते देवि ब्रूहि मे परमेश्वरि ॥

wherein Acyuta, one of the names of Viṣṇu, occurs.

11 Cf. Kūrma-P., I, 1, 60 wherein Lakṣmī says to Indradyumna: "I fail to overpower those who worship Puruṣottama, the prop of all beings, with Jñāna and Karma-yoga." Also cf. Kūrma-P., I, 1, 122 wherein Viṣṇu himself says:

तस्मात् सर्वप्रयत्नेन वर्णाश्रमविधौ स्थितः ।
समाधिस्थान्तिमं भावं मायां तद्मीं तरेद्बुधः ॥

12 Vide Dr. Schrader, *Introduction to the Pāñcarātra and Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā*.

The very name 'Brāhmī Saṃhitā' which is given to our extant Kūrma-P. and the numerous references to 'Jñāna' in the first two chapters[13] naturally raise the doubt that the original Kūrma-P. in its Viṣṇuite form must have contained some chapters on the knowledge of the Viṣṇu-Brahman. There are, of course, some chapters (viz., II, 1-11) in the extant Kūrma-P. which deal with Jñāna-yoga and constitute the Iśvara-gītā, but these are Pāśupata documents pure and simple. Then, where are the original chapters on knowledge to be sought for? In the extant Kūrma-P. itself there are evidences to show that the chapters which now go by the name 'Iśvara-gītā' once belonged to the original Viṣṇuite Kūrma-Purāṇa in some other form and that these were first spoken out by Viṣṇu in the form of the Tortoise but reported perhaps by Vyāsa to the sages of the Naimiṣa forest at the request of Sūta Romaharṣaṇa. At the very outset of the extant Kūrma-P. we find lines which tend to ascribe the authorship of these chapters to Viṣṇu himself. For example, in Kūrma-P., I, 1, 47 we see that in a previous birth of Indradyumna Viṣṇu promised to impart to him the most secret knowledge so that Indradyumna might merge into himself in the end; and in Kūrma-P., I, 1, 64 Lakṣmī, the Māyā of Viṣṇu, reveals herself to Indradyumna and being asked to tell him how the Viṣṇu-Brahman could be realised, says: "Nārāyaṇa himself will impart the knowledge to you" (*sākṣān-Nārāyaṇo jñānaṃ dāsyatītyāha* etc.). Towards the end of the Kūrma-P. also the knowledge (of Brahman) is said to have been communicated by Nārāyaṇa (*etadākarṇya vijñānaṃ Nārāyaṇa-mukhoditam*— II, 43, 1). These evidences are corroborated by the Iśvara-gītā itself, at the very beginning of which the sages refer to the topics,

13 वक्तव्यं तद् गुह्यतमं दास्ये ज्ञानं तवानघ ।
लब्ध्वा तन्नामकं ज्ञानं मामेवान्ते प्रवेक्ष्यसि ॥
Kūrma-P., I, 1, 47.

साक्षान्नारायणो ज्ञानं दास्यतीत्याह तं मुनिम् ।
Ibid., I, 1, 64.

.....यदुक्तं भवता पुरा ।
इन्द्रद्युम्नाय विप्राय ज्ञानं धर्माविगोचरम् ॥
Ibid., I, 1, 124-5.

and so on.

viz., creation in the Svāyambhuva Manvantara, the expansion of the universe, and the description of the Manvantaras, as matters already explained by Romaharṣaṇa. Further, the sages want to have from him that knowledge which will enable them to experience the Supreme Brahman (which is no other than Viṣṇu himself in his supreme state). Accordingly Romaharṣaṇa first remembers his teacher Vyāsa and is about to begin when the latter arrives there all on a sudden. Romaharṣaṇa receives him with due honour and requests him to narrate the knowledge of the Brahman saying:

इमे हि मुनयः शान्तास्तापसा धर्मतत्पराः ।
शुश्रूषा जायते चैषां वक्तुमर्हसि तत्त्वतः ॥
ज्ञानं विमुक्तिदं दिव्यं यन्मे साक्षात् त्वयोदितम् ।
मुनीनां व्याहृतं पूर्वं विष्णुना कूर्मरूपिणा ॥

(Kūrma-P., II, 1, 12-13)

But Vyāsa replies: "I shall tell you what Śiva himself, being asked by the sages Sanatkumāra and others, spoke out to them in ancient times", making no mention of the Tortoise and begins with the story in which Śiva is brought in to declare the knowledge of Śiva-Brahman to the sages Sanatkumāra, Sanaka and others. Vyāsa's reply to Romaharṣaṇa's request is so irrelevant that the ruinous touches of later hands are easily detectable in these chapters.

We have seen above that there are sufficient reasons to hold that the extant Kūrma-P. was originally a Pāñcarātra document.[14] It was afterwards recast so successfully by the Pāśupatas that its Viṣṇuite character was shadowed almost totally. The Pāśupatas not only rewrote some of the original sections giving up others that went against their own interest but introduced much new material in the form of myths and legends for the glorification of Śiva and the Pāśupata *vrata* and *yoga*.

14 For want of sufficient space here, I intend to scan the contents of the extant Kūrma-P. in a separate paper with a view to show that the Kūrma-P. in its Viṣṇuite character approached much, like the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, to the old definition of Purāṇa of 'five characteristics' and that it lacked the Tīrtha-māhātmyas. Cf. Kūrma-P., II, 1, 1-2 (*bhavata kathitaḥ* etc.) and II, 43, 1-2 (*etat-ākarṇya* viśiṣṭaṃ etc.) both of which certainly belonged to the original Kūrma-P. as they do not mention the contents of those preceding chapters which were interpolated by the Pāśupatas.

They were not satisfied with these changes even. In Kūrma-P., I, 25 Viṣṇu is presented as worshipping the Śiva-liṅgas and accepting the Pāśupata *vrata* and *yoga* for obtaining a son through Śiva's favour.

Here we should like to give a brief account of the Pāśupatas as they are described in the Kūrma-P. in order to acquaint ourselves with their true character and to distinguish them from other sects of Śiva-worshippers. In Kūrma-P., I, 14, 22 ff. there is a story about Suśīla, one of the grandsons of King Pṛthu, wherein an ascetic named Śvetāśvetara is said to have founded the Pāśupata order. The story narrates that Suśīla went to the Himalayas to practise asceticism and worshipped Śiva. All on a sudden there came a Pāśupata ascetic named Śvetāśvetara (*Śvetāśvetara-nāmānaṃ mahā-pāśupatottamaṃ*—Kūrma-P., I, 14, 31b) and gave him instructions on divine knowledge as well as on the vow of his own order (*dadau tad-aiśvaraṃ jñānaṃ svaśākhāvihita-vratam*—Kūrma-P., I, 14, 37b). He also addressed his disciples present there and referred to the holiness of the place adding "Yogins, who have studied *the order founded by me*, sit absorbed in meditation on the impartible and blissful Mahādeva."[15] This Śvetāśvetara seems to be identical with the first incarnation of Mahādeva, namely Śveta, according to the Nakulīśa Pāśupatas. This Śveta also is said to have been incarnated on the Himalayas and to have a grand following (Kūrma-P., I, 52, 2 f.). The scriptures of this Pāśupata order are the Atharvaśiras Upaniṣad and the Śatarudriya section of the Yajurveda (Kūrma-P., I, 20, 69 and I, 14, 30). These Pāśupatas hold the Vedas in high esteem and look down upon those who decry these holy scriptures (Kūrma-P., II, 16, 16). The regular study of the Vedas is one of their main duties (I, 25, 8a; I, 14, 48b etc.). They recite only the Vedic hymns (I, 14, 30b), perform the Agnihotra, use the Vedic mantras (II, 37, 89), follow Vedic rules (II, 37, 88), and meditate on the syllable 'Oṃ' (I, 33, 7a). Once Śiva is even made to say "Oh Brāhmaṇas, my form is the Vedas; none versed in other Śāstras realises my true self....." (II, 37, 148). The Pāśupata vow consists in besmearing the body with ashes (I, 25, 11

15 मया प्रवर्त्तितं शास्त्रमधीत्यैवेह योगिनः ।
समासते महादेवं ध्यायन्तो निष्कलं शिवम् ॥
Kūrma-P., I, 14, 40.

etc.), wearing a piece of rag or remaining naked (I, 33, 8; II, 37, 100 etc.), putting on the sacred thread (I, 33, 7 and I, 14, 32), living on roots and fruits, bathing thrice daily, bearing ugly signs, holding a torch in the hand, laughing, singing, dancing, making amorous jestures, shouting (II, 37, 100-101), and so on. The Pāśupatas also worship Śiva with flowers and meditate on the god as seated in the sun. Those who enter heart and soul into the Pāśupata order are required to take up 'sannyāsa' and practise the Pāśupata-yoga which is described in the Saṅkara-gītā. The Pāśupatas hate those sects which are guided by the Tantras. These scriptures, they say, were originally promulgated by Śiva with a view to delude the sages cursed by Gautama (vide Kūrma-P., I, 16, 96-122).

We have seen above that the extant Kūrma-P. belonged originally to the Pāñcarātras but was later on appropriated by the Pāśupatas as distinct from the Āgamika Śaivas and other Śivaite sects. We shall now proceed to discuss the date of composition of the Viṣṇuite Kūrma-P. and also of that of its appropriation by the Pāśupatas, for, then we shall be in a position to determine the periods during which the Smṛti-chapters were interpolated.[16]

16 I have shown in a separate paper vide *Indian Culture*, vol. 1, 1935, pp 587-614 that the Smṛti-chapters (12-33) of the Kūrma-P., (Uparibhāga) which constitute the Vyāsa-gītā are nothing but the *Uśanas Saṃhitā* (*Uśanaḥ-śaṃhitā*, Vaṅgavāsī edition, pp. 226-271) with a few additional chapters. That in the Viṣṇuite Kūrma-P., nothing intervened between the section on Mokṣa-jñāna (which now appears in a changed form under the name of Saṅkara-gītā constituting Kūrma-P., II, 1-11) and Kūrma-P., II, 43 dealing with Pralaya, is shown by the opening verses of the latter. These verses are:—

सूत उवाच :—

एतदाकर्ण्य विज्ञानं नारायणमुखेरितम् ।
कूर्मरूपधरं देवं पप्रच्छुर्मुनयः प्रभुम् ॥

ऋषय ऊचुः :—

कथितो भवता धर्मो मोक्षज्ञानं सविस्तरम् ।
लोकानां सर्गविस्तारो वंशो मन्वन्तराणि च ॥
इदानीं देवदेवेश प्रलयं वक्तुमर्हसि ।

The word 'vijñāna' in the first verse certainly points to the so-called Saṅkara-gītā at the beginning of which the sages request Sūta to narrate to them that 'vijñāna' (knowledge) which he has received from Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana (Kūrma-P.,

A comparison between these two chapters on the one hand and the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, the Harivaṃśa and the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa on the other, shows the advance, so far as theology is concerned, made by the Kūrma-P. over these Vaiṣṇava documents, in none of which there is traceable any Śākta influence. In the Viṣṇu-P. there is, of course, a solitary line in which Lakṣmī has been called Viṣṇu's Śakti[17] but that the verses 15 to the end of Viṣṇu-P. I, 8, including the line referred to above, must have been interpolated later on I shall show when I take up the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa. Now, if the Harivaṃśa was added to the *Mahābhārata* after the latter had attained its present form, if the date of the Viṣṇu-P. is pushed up to as early as the beginning of the fourth century A.D.[18] and if the Bhāgāvata-P. is placed somewhere about the fifth century A.D.,[19] then

II, 1, 4). Moreover the knowledge that is dealt with in the Śaṅkara-gītā is often called 'vijñāna' (cf. Kūrma-P., II, 2, 1—*avāpyam-etad-vijñānam ātmaguhyaṃ sanātanam*; II, 2, 36b—*kevalaṃ Brahma-vijñānam* etc; II, 2, 38—*tasmād-vijñānam* etc.; II, 2, 39—*vijñānaṃ* etc. and *sarvaṃ vijñānam* etc.; II, 2, 556—*yaduktam-etad-vijñānaṃ* etc.; and so on). Therefore the fact that in the Viṣṇuite Kūrma-P. the chapter on Pralaya was immediately preceded by the so-called Īśvara-gītā seems to be undeniable. The word 'dharma' in the second verse quoted above points not to the Vyāsa-gītā but to the Smṛti-sections (viz., Kūrma-P., I, 2-3) which occur at the very beginning and which belonged, as we shall see below, to the Viṣṇuite Kūrma-P. These original Smṛti-sections are also referred to by the opening verses of the Śaṅkara-gītā.

From all this it appears that the Vyāsa-gītā was interpolated by the Pāśupatas most probably at the time of recasting the Viṣṇuite Kūrma-P., for there is nothing to show that it was interpolated afterwards. On the other hand, in the Vyāsa-gītā the Āgamic Śaivas are called Pāśupatas but are classed with the Pāṣaṇḍas i.e. the non-Vedic sects). Of the Śāktas the Vāmas only are mentioned. That such a state of things cannot but point to a date earlier than 800 A.D. we shall see below. The Pāśupata tinge of the Vyāsa-gītā seems to strengthen the above supposition. It speaks so often of the Pāśupata *vrata* and *yoga* that it could have been interpolated by none but the Pāśupatas.

17 अविष्टम्भो गदापाणिः शक्तिर्लक्ष्मीर्द्विजोत्तम ।
Viṣṇu-P., I, 8, 27a.

18 Mr. Pargiter is of opinion that the Viṣṇu-P. was composed not earlier than the 5th century A.D. See *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 80.

19 B. N. Krishnamurti Sarma in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, vol. XIV, 1932-3, pp. 182-218. Mr. Amar Nath Roy has tried to show that the Bhāgavata-P. was composed in the sixth century A.D.

the date of the Viṣṇuite Kūrma-P. cannot possibly earlier than the beginning of the sixth century A.D. There is a Pāñcarātra Saṃhitā named the *Jayākhya*[20] which, though replete with Tāntrik rites, remarkably lacks the Śakti theory unlike the *Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā*. The *Jayākhya* mentions Lakṣmī as the wife of Viṣṇu along with three others, namely Jayā, Kīrtti, and Māyā (p. 47), but she plays no part at all in creation as Viṣṇu's Śakti. Hence the very nature of the theology of the *Jayākhya* shows that it is earlier than the *Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā*. Dr. B. Bhattācharya, in his Foreword to the *Jayākhya* (pp. 26-34), assigns it to about 450 A.D. on the strength of doctrinal and palæographical evidences. If a period of at least 100 years be allowed for the Pāñcarātras' acceptance of the Śakti theory and their writing of the Kūrma-P.—for it is more probable that the Śakti theory was first imbibed by the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās which are the main literature of the sect and then by other works—then the date of the Viṣṇuite Kūrma-P. cannot be earlier than about 550 A.D. Thus we get the upper limit of the date of composition of the extant Kūrma-P. It may be questioned whether the upper limit can be placed so late. As an answer we may refer to the opinion of Mr. Pargiter who says: "The Kūrma account is a composite production. Now and again it has a few lines like the Vāyu text, and like the Matsya text, in the Aikṣvāku genealogy, but it follows the Matsya rather, where they differ. It is a late composition and shows Brāhmaṇical features; thus it omits most of the Vāyu's tales and introduces Brāhmaṇical fabrications instead: for instance, it makes Gautama (who was far later) a contemporary of Yuvanāśva I, and tells long fables about king Vasumanas and the Haihaya kings Jayadhvaja and Durjaya."[21] We should remember that the age of a Purāṇa depends more upon the genuineness of its most vital constituents, viz., account of creation and the dynastic lists, than upon anything else.

Let us now try to determine the period when the Viṣṇuite Kūrma-P. was recast by the Pāśupatas, because that will help us to determine the lower limit. Sāyaṇa Mādhavācārya (1330-1385 A.D.), in his com-

20 Edited by Embar Krishnamacharya, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, vol. LIV.

21 Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

mentary on the *Parāśara Smṛti* (ed. by V. S. Islampurkar) quotes numerous verses from chapters 12-16, 18-20, 22-25, 27-29, 33, 36, 39 and 43 of Kūrma-P. II;[22] Devaṇabhaṭṭa (1150-1225 A.D.) quotes in his *Smṛti-candrikā* a good number of verses from Kūrma-Purāṇa, I, 3 and II, chapters 12, 13, 15, 16, 18-20, 24 and 25; Aniruddha (about 1150 A.D.) in his *Hāralatā*, quotes numerous verses from Kūrma-P., II, 23; and Ballālasena (about 1150 A.D.) quotes verses from Kūrma-P., II, chapters 18, 26 and 44 in his *Dāna-sāgara*. These quotations show that the Kūrma-P. became a Pāśupata document not later than at least 1100 A.D. Bhāskarācārya, in his *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya*,[23] quotes in p. 62 three verses (*anādinidhanā* etc.) as declared by the Paurāṇikas. Two of these verses tally with Kūrma-P., I, 2, 20 and I, 7, 66. In pp. 64-65 Bhāskarācārya quotes from 'Smṛti'[24] three more verses, two of which are traceable in the Kūrma-P. (viz., I, 7, 67 and 68). One of these four verses, which are common to the Bhāskara-bhāṣya and the Kūrma-P., contains the word 'Maheśvara' (*Veda-śabdebhya evādau nirmame sa Maheśvaraḥ*). But these do not carry us farther, as the word 'Maheśvara' has been used in its literal sense to mean Viṣṇu in the introductory chapters of the Kūrma-P. and as we are not sure that the verses were quoted by Bhāskara from the Kūrma-P. So we are in need of other evidences. A perusal of the extant Kūrma-P. convinces us of the fact that the object of appropriating the Purāṇa was not only to feed fat the grudge the Pāśupatas had against their Pāñcarātra rivals but also to make an attempt to popularise their faith which was in a deteriorating condition (cf. Kūrma-P., I, 29, 9 and 25). In several places of the Kūrma-P. the sects which were originally Tāntrik or which had Tāntrik rites and practices are mentioned with hatred. The non-Vedic Pāṣaṇḍa Śāstras, viz., the Kāpāla,[25] Bhairava, Yāmala,, Vāma,

22 The verses have been traced by Mr. Islampurkar. Therefore it is needless to give the list here.

23 Edited by Pandit Vindhyeśvarī Prasāda Dvivedin, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Benares.

24 The term 'Smṛti' as distinct from 'Śruti' is used by Śaṅkarācārya, Bhāskara and others to mean all works except Vedic.

25 This is the literature of the Kāpāla or Kāpālika sect which is very old. In an inscription dating from the first half of the 7th century A.D. Kapāleśvara and

Ārhata, Kāpila, Pāñcarātra, Ḍāmara, Nākula, Pūrva-paścima, Pāśupata, Soma, Lāṅgala, Sāttvata,[26] and many others (*anyāni sahasraśaḥ*), are said to have been declared by Śiva with a view to delude the sages who were cursed by Gautama (cf. Kūrma-P., I, 12, 256-258; I, 16, 115-117; I, 24, 31-33; I, 29, 25; II, 16, 15-16; II, 21, 32-33; and II, 37, 146-147). The Vedic Pāśupatas hate even to speak with the followers of these Pāṣaṇḍa Śāstras (Kūrma-P., II,16, 15) and consider the latter's presence in Śrāddha ceremonies as improper (Kūrma-P., II, 21, 32-33). It is to be noted that in the Kūrma-P. those Pāśupatas who accept Tāntrik practices and attach more importance to the Tantras are also called Pāśupatas but are characterised by the epithet 'Pāṣaṇḍa'. The literature of these Pāṣaṇḍa Pāśupatas is callled the Pāśupata Śāstra. It is clear that the distinctive names 'Śaiva' for these Pāṣaṇḍa Pāśupatas and 'Āgama' for their literature did not come into use at the time the Kūrma-P. was recast by the Vedic Pāśupatas. If these terms were known at that time, the Vedic Pāśupatas would never have called their unworthy rivals 'Pāśupatas' when they also are known by the same name; nor would they have liked to connect the name of their deity with the literature which they hated so much. Now, the evidences of Aparārka, Bhāskarācārya and others show that the distinctive epithets 'Śaiva' and 'Āgama' to mean the Pāṣaṇḍa Pāśupatas and their literature had been widely recognised before the tenth

his ascetics are mentioned (cf. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious sects*, p. 118). Varāhamihira knew the Kāpālas (*keśāsthi-śakala-śavalā Kāpālam-iva vrataṃ dhatte*—Bṛhat-Saṃhita, edited by Kern, p. 61. This line has been quoted by Ballālasena in his *Adbhuta-sāgara*, edited by Muralidhara Jhā, p. 237). According to Aparārka the Śivaite sects (the Kāpālikas? Cf. *kapāla* etc.) are intended by a sūtra of Āpastamba (vide, Aparārka's *Commentary on Yājñavalkya*, pp. 12-13).

26 According to the Kūrma-P. (I, 24, 31-33) Sattvata, son of Aṃśu of the Yadu family, is said to have worshipped Vāsudeva and promulgated the Sāttvata Śāstra which was heard by the bastards (*kuṇḍa-golādibhiḥ śrutaṃ*). This Sāttvata Śāstra is most probably a branch of the literature of the Pāñcarātras. "In the Īśvara-Saṃhitā.....the Pāñcarātra literature is divided into two broad classes Divya and Munibhāṣita or as Revealed and Traditional. The prominent among the Divya class are considered to be three, namely, the Sāttvata, Pauṣkara and the Jayākhya called as the three jewels of the Pāñcarātra literature." (Dr. B. Bhattacharya, Foreword to the *Jayākhya Saṃhitā*, p. 12).

century A.D. The Skanda-Purāṇa mentions the 'Śaivas' and the 'Āgamas' at every step. The Śravaṇa-Belgola inscription of Mallişeṇa (A.D. 1129) mentions the Śaivas, Pāśupatas, Bauddhas, Kāpālikas and the Kāpilas.[27] The repeated mention of the Śaivas and the Pāśupatas together by Aparārka shows that he was very familiar with these two sects. In his time, the literature of the Śaivas was called Śaivāgama or Śaiva Śāstra. He also refers to the philosophical doctrines of the Śaivas, Pāśupatas, Pāñcarātras, Sāṁkhyas and the Pātañjalas (cf. Aparārka's comm. on Yāj., Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series edition, p. 11). In pp. 10-11 and 18 Aparārka quotes two verses common to the Devī-Purāṇa and the Yoga-Yājñavalkya, and a third one from a 'Smṛti' in which the Śaivas and the Pāśupatas have been differentiated. These quotations show that the names 'Śaiva' and Āgama' came to be used before the time of composition of at least those portions of the Devī-Purāṇa, the Yoga-Yājñavalkya and the 'Smṛti' from which the quotations have been made. Aparārka flourished about 1125 A.D. Therefore these distinctive epithets could not have possibly come into vogue later than the beginning of the eleventh century. The evidence of the Varāha-Purāṇa (Vaṅgāvasī edition) also points to the same date. In Varāha-P., 70 and 71 which are included in the Rudra-gītā, Rudra is brought in to declare the supremacy of Viṣṇu over all other gods including himself and to denounce the non-Vedic (*Vedabāhya*) Śaiva scriptures, namely the *Nīḍśvāsa-Saṃhitā* and the *Śiva-siddhāntas*, of the Pāśupatas meaning undoubtedly the Āgamic Śaivas. These non-Vedic scriptures, Rudra, adds, were first delivered by himself at the request of Viṣṇu in order to delude the people who were crowding the heaven as a result of Viṣṇu-worship. To explain why Rudra declared such 'filthy' scriptures, the story of Gautama's curse on the sages, who sought his shelter on account of famine, is introduced. This story runs as follows:

Gautama practised austerities in the Daṇḍaka forest and received a boon from Brahmā to have plenty of crops. Now, in course of time there broke out a severe famine which lasted for twelve years and compelled the sages, who lived in the forests, to have recourse to Gautama for maintenance. Gautama supported the sages throughout

27 *Epigraphia Indica*, III (1894-5), p. 192.

the whole period and requested them to stay with him even when the famine was over. So, for a pretext to leave the place the sages thought out a plan. They created a cow by means of their magic power and put her in the hermitage. Gautama understood that it was a magic cow and sprinkled water on her citing '*jahi*'. The cow fell down and the sages also left the hermitage. Gautama then began austerities anew. As a result Rudra was pleased to come and give him a piece of his matted hair which Gautama brought to his hermitage and which caused the Ganges to flow through the place where the magic cow lay senseless. The touch of the water revived the cow and the river was named Godāvarī. At the sight of this strange event the 'seven sages' came and thanked Gautama for causing the Ganges to flow through the Daṇḍaka forest. Gautama then realised the whole plan and cursed the sages to be outside the pale of Veda-dharma. As a result of this curse Rudra was compelled to declare the *Niḥśvāsa-Saṃhitā*.

A comparison between this story and that found in the Kūrma-P. (I, 16, 95 f.) at once suggests that the Rudra-gītā was written much later than Kūrma-P., I, 16, 95-123. In the Kūrma-P. the story is shorter as well as simpler. It does not refer to Gautama's austerities for plenty of crops or to the origin of the river Godāvarī. The story of Gautama's killing the magic cow is not so clumsy as in the Varāha-P. As there are verses common to the Varāha-P. and the Kūrma-P. (viz., Varāha-P., 70, 43—*Veda-mūrtir-ahaṃ vipra* etc. = Kūrma-P., II, 37, 148) it is probable that the story in the former had its prototype in that in the latter. Aparārka (about 1125 A.D.) quotes Varāha-P., 70, 35b-36 and 41-42 and 71, 52-54 in p. 12 of his commentary. Therefore Kūrma-P., I, 16, 95-123, which seem to be earlier than Varāha-P., 70 and 71 cannot be dated later than 1000 A.D. The repeated mention of only the Vāmas (cf. Kūrma-P., I, 12, 258; I, 16, 117; I, 29, 25; II, 16, 15; and II, 37, 147) among the Śākta sects tends to suggest that the Right-hand school did not originate at the time of recasting the Viṣṇuite Kūrma-P. As the Kūrma-P. names a good number of sects which were influenced by the Śāktas, it is not probable that it would have left out the name of one of the two most noteworthy divisions of the Śāktas themselves, if it were at all acquainted with those two divisions. Now, Aparārka is quite familiar with the Left and Right-hand Śāktas. He not only mentions these

two schools himself in his commentary,[28] but quotes from the Devī-Purāṇa a few verses in one of which these two Śākta schools are mentioned.[29] The nature of the quoted verses shows that the two Śākta schools were well-known to the people at the time this part of the Devī-Purāṇa was written. So the Right-hand movement must have begun not later than the beginning of the eleventh century.

The evidences adduced above show that the Kūrma-P. must have been recast not later than 1000 A.D. Let us now see whether the date can be placed earlier still. Bhāskarācārya in his *Brahmasūtra-bhāṣya* speaks of the four sects of the Māheśvaras, *viz.*, Pāśupatas, Śaivas, Kāpālikas and Kāṭhaka-siddhāntins.[30] As Bhāskara is placed between 850 and 980 A.D. and 'probably at some point near the beginning of the period' (ranging from 900 to 1350 A.D.),[31] the epithet 'Śaiva' as distinct from 'Pāśupata' must be dated not later than 900 A.D. "The Tamil poets Tirumūlar, who lived somewhere about A.D. 800, Sundarar, who was either a contemporary of Tirumūlar or came a little later, and Māṇikka Vāchakar, whose date is not far removed from A.D. 900, all refer to the Āgamas, and both Tirumūlar and Māṇikka use much of their phraseology."[32] Mr. J. C. Chatterjee[33] informs us that the teaching of the Āgamas was popular in Kashmir before Vasugupta who flourished about

28 न च वाच्यं—स्वधर्मप्रतिष्ठादितन्त्रोपस्कारकर्तुः स्थापकादेर्वामदक्षिणाम्नायज्ञानं तदुक्तदीक्षाग्रहणपूर्वकमेव। (p. 17).
Also cf. p. 16—तथाप्यापि वामदक्षिणाम्नायादिज्ञानमावश्यं etc.

29 यद्यपि देवीपुराणे
वामदक्षिणवेत्ता यो मातृवेदार्थपारगः।
स भवेत् स्थापकः श्रेष्ठो देवीनां मातरा(तृका)सु च॥
Aparārka, p. 16.

30 माहेश्वराश्चत्वारः पाशुपताः शैवाः
कापालिकाः काठकसिद्धान्तिनश्चेति॥
Bhāskara-bhāṣya, p. 127.

31 Farquhar, *Outline of the Religious Literature of India*, pp. 221-2. Also cf. the introduction to Vindhyeśvarī Prasāda's edition.

32 Farquhar, *Outline* etc., p. 193.

33 *Kashmir Saivism*, pp. 7-10 and 36n.

850 A.D. and supports this statement by references to the Āgamas. These evidences show that the 'Āgamas' became current not later than 800 A.D. Therefore the Kūrma-P. which, as we have seen above, does not seem to be familiar with the 'Āgamas' cannot possibly be later than 800 A.D. References to the worship of Brahmā[34] in those parts of the Kūrma-P. which did not certainly belong to the Viṣṇuite Kūrma-P. tend to indicate that, at the time of recasting, the worship of the god did not die out totally. In the opinion of scholars which is corroborated by Varāhamihira,[35] the sect of Brahmā became prominent during the period ranging from 200 to 600 A.D. and the five-gods of the Smārtas threw Brahmā into the background towards the beginning of the seventh century.[36] Hence from the consideration of the Brahmā-worship also the date of recasting cannot be placed later than 800 A.D. Thus we get the lower limit of the date of recasting.

We have seen above that the upper limit of the date of composition of the Viṣṇuite Kūrma-P. cannot possibly be earlier than 550 A.D. and now we get the lower limit of the date of recasting. If a period of at least fifty years be allowed to intervene between the date of composition of the Viṣṇuite Kūrma-P. and that of its recasting, then the date of composition of the Viṣṇuite Kūrma-P. falls roughly between 550 and 650 A.D. and that of its recasting between 700 and 800 A. D.

34 In Kūrma-P., I, 2, 100b each of the four Āśramas is further divided into three kinds, viz., the Vaiṣṇava, the Brāhma and the Hara-āśrama. (Note that Kūrma-P., I, 2, 90 ff. deal with the different sect-marks of which the Śaiva sect-mark is said to be the most effective. Therefore this part of the chapter was certainly added by the Pāśupatas). In Kūrma-P., I, 2, 104 it is said that those who have recourse to Brahmā should always bear the sect-mark (*tilaka*) on the forehead; and in Kūrma-P., I, 28, 19a Brahmā, Viṣṇu and the Sun are said to be worshipped in the Kali age. Also cf. Kūrma-P., II, 18, 90b-91 :—

स्वैर्मन्त्रैरर्चयेद्देवान् पुष्पैः पत्रैरथाम्बुभिः ।
ब्रह्माणं शङ्करं सूर्यं तथैव मधुसूदनम् ॥
अन्यांश्चाभिमतान् देवान् भक्त्या चाकोधनो नरः ।

and Kūrma-P., II, 26, 39 :—

.....पूजयेत्.....ब्रह्मवर्चसकामस्तु ब्रह्माणं ब्रह्मसूक्तकः ।

35 *Bṛhat-Saṃhitā*, edited by Kern, chapters 58 & 60.

36 Farquhar, *Outline* etc., pp. 148 and 179-180.

Let us now pass on to the Smṛti-chapters with which we are concerned here. The Kūrma-P. contains two groups of such chapters, one in each Book, viz., I, 2, 36-75 and I, 3 and II, 12-33. In the introductory chapters of the Kūrma-P., *Jñāna* and *Karma* (meaning the duties of the four castes in the different stages of their life) are mentioned more than once as the two main factors in the attainment of final beatitude. The Indradyumna story being inseparably connected with the description of these two factors, it is sure that the Viṣṇuite Kūrma-P. contained chapters on Varṇāśramadharma. The Kūrma-P., I, 2, 36-75 and I, 3 seem to be parts, if not the whole, of these original chapters. The topics of Varṇāśramadharma in these chapters have been interwoven with the accounts of creation in such a manner that they cannot be considered as interpolations. Hence it is highly probable that these chapters also belong to the same date as the Viṣṇuite Kūrma-P.

We have seen that in the Viṣṇuite Kūrma-P. nothing intervened between the so-called Īśvara-gītā (i.e. Kūrma-P., II, 1-11) and II, 43, and that the Vyāsa-gītā (comprising Kūrma-P., II, 12-33) was added by the Pāśupatas at the time of recasting the Viṣṇuite Kūrma-P. Therefore the date of this Vyāsa-gītā is the same as that of recasting. It should be mentioned here that there is no evidence which goes against the integrity of the Vyāsa-gītā.

Here a question may be raised as to whether the Uśanas Saṃhitā was incorporated into the Kūrma-P. to form the Vyāsa-gītā or it was some chapters of the Vyāsa-gītā which were taken off from their source and given the name 'Uśanas Saṃhitā'. The Pāśupata character of the Saṃhitā, of course, appears to indicate that the Kūrma-P. was the source of the Saṃhitā. But a comparison of readings of the Uśanas Saṃhitā, the Vyāsa-gītā and the chapters (51-60) of the Ādi-khaṇḍa of the Padma-Purāṇa (AnSS. edition) shows that the Uśanas Saṃhitā is the original. That the sectarian character of the Saṃhitā is no argument against its originality is further proved by a verse quoted by Vijñāneśvara under Yāj., I, 253-254. The verse is ascribed to Uśānas and it pretends to report the speech of Bhagavān Śiva himself,[37]

37 उशनसा तु.....। तथा—पिता पितामहे बोज्यः पूर्वे संवत्सरे सुतैः ।
माता मातामहे तद्वदित्याह भगवाञ्छिवः ॥

As this verse and many others also ascribed to Uśanas are not traceable in our Uśanas Saṃhitā, it is probable that there existed another Smṛti of Uśanas and that it was influenced by the Śiva-worshippers.

As regards the contents of Kūrma-P., I, 2, 36-75 and I, 3, there is little worth mentioning. In I, 2, 36-75 the duties of the castes and stages are briefly laid down and the practice of Dharma is emphasised. In naming the regions which are meant for the people of different castes and stages, the Yogins are mentioned separately and are said to belong to a fifth Āśrama. In verses 76-87 of the Kūrma-P., I, 2 the four Āśramas are subdivided in the following manner:

A. Brahmacārin—(1) Upakurvāṇa.
(2) Naiṣṭhika.
B. Gṛhastha— —(1) Udāsīna.
(2) Sādhaka.
C. Vānaprastha —(1) Tāpasa.
(2) Sānnyāsika.
D. Yati — —(1) Pārameṣṭhika— (i) Jñāna-sannyāsin
(ii) Veda-sannyāsin
(iii) Karma-sannyāsin
(2) Yogin — — (i) Bhautika
(ii) Sāṅkhya
(iii) Antyāśramin.

These verses seem to have been added at a time later than Kūrma-P., I, 2, 36-75, because the verse 87 denies the existence of a fifth Āśrama. The Kūrma-P., I, 3 lays down the duties of the fourth Āśrama and contains no peculiarity.

Though in chapters 12-16, 18-19, 24-25 and 27-29 of Kūrma-P., II, the duties of the different castes in the different stages of their life are described generally in the same strain as in Manu and Yājñavalkya, there are some notable changes. The worship of the sectarian deities with leaves and flowers is included in the daily duties of a student. Much more attention is paid to the sipping of water (*ācamana*) for the purification of the body. The occasions, on which sipping is urged, are numerous and often of little importance. A student, who is unable

to read the Vedas, is said to derive the same benefit by muttering the Gāyatrī. There are some verses (viz., Kūrma-P., II, 14, 57b-61a) dealing with the method of Gāyatrī-uddhāra but these verses occur neither in the Veṅkaṭ. ed. nor in the Ādi-khaṇḍa of the Padma-P. Therefore there can be little doubt about the fact that these verses were added much later. Among the multifarious duties of a Snātaka, the baths and the worship of the Sun deserve special notice. Baths have been divided into six classes, viz., (1) Brāhma, (2) Āgneya, (3) Vāyavya, (4) Divya, (5) Vāruṇa, and (6) Yaugika, according to the different processes which are often intricate and troublesome. The custom of meditating on Śiva as seated in the Sun is perhaps at the base of the worship of the latter by the Pāśupatas. The Snātaka is also expected to worship Brahmā, Śaṅkara, Viṣṇu and other gods with flowers, leaves and water. The importance of the five great sacrifices is acknowledged but in cases where suitable Brāhmaṇas, guests and beggars are not available one may offer a part of one's food to the cows instead. A twice-born house-holder is required to perform the Agnihotra sacrifice. Of the two branches of 'dharma', viz., Śrauta and Smārta, the Śrauta is said to be superior. Any one, who can follow neither, will do well by practising sadācāra. House-holders are divided into two classes (1) Sādhaka i.e. those who attach importance to worldly prosperity and are consequently ready to labour for their subsistence, and (2) Asādhaka i.e. those who are rather indifferent.*

Rajendra Chandra Hazra

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Ancient Vidarbha



View of Padmapur

The Birth-place of Bhavabhūti

The birth-place of the great Sanskrit dramatist Bhavabhūti is still a matter of controversy. It is indeed fortunate that we are not left to mere conjecture in this case; for, unlike his great predecessor Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti has given considerable information about himself in the prologues of his plays. From the *prastāvanā* of the *Mahāvīracarita*[1] we learn that he came of a family of learned and pious Brahmins of the Kāśyapa gotra and Taittirīya Śākhā with the surname Udumbara, who lived in the city of Padmapura situated in the Dakṣiṇāpatha. They maintained the five fires, observed sacred vows, drank soma juice and expounded Brahman. Bhavabhūti was fifth in descent from Mahākavi who had performed the Vājapeya sacrifice. His grandfather was Bhaṭṭagopāla, father Nīlakaṇṭha and mother Jātūkarṇī. Now, Dakṣiṇāpatha is generally taken to mean South India. 'The country south of the Narmadā is called Dakṣiṇāpatha' says Yaśodhara, the commentator of Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*. Rājaśekhara defines it as the country lying to the south of Māhiṣmatī. It is evident, therefore, that Bhavabhūti was a southerner. We have an even more definite statement in the prologue of the *Mālatī-Mādhava*, where the Sūtradhara says, "There is a city named Padmapura in Vidarbha in the Dakṣiṇāpatha."[2] These statements should leave no doubt about the location of the ancestral home of the poet. But some scholars have questioned their accuracy and interpretation. Jagaddhara and Tripurāri, commentators of the *Mālatī-Mādhava*, identify Padmapura, the author's native place, with Padmāvatī where the scene of the drama is laid.[3] In the beginning of the

[1] अस्ति दक्षिणापथे पद्मपुरं नाम नगरम्। तत्र केचित्तैत्तिरीयिणः काश्यपाश्चरण-गुरवः पद्क्षिपावनाः पञ्चाग्नयो धृतव्रताः सोमपीथिन उदुम्बरनामानो ब्रह्मवादिनः प्रति-वसन्ति। तदामुष्यायणस्य तत्रभवतो वाजपेयवाजिनो महाकवेः पञ्चमः सुगृहीतनाम्नो भट्टगो-पालस्य पौत्रः पवित्रकीर्तेर्नीलकण्ठस्यात्मसंभवः श्रीकण्ठपदलाञ्छनो भवभूतिर्नाम जातूक-र्णीपुत्रः..... । (Oxford University Press Ed. pp. 2-3)

[2] अस्ति दक्षिणापथे विदर्भेषु पद्मपुरं नाम नगरम्। *Mālatī-Mādhava.*

[3] पद्मनगरं पद्मावती।

drama we find that a minister of Kuṇḍinapura, the capital of Vidarbha, sends his son Mādhava to Padmāvatī ostensibly for education, but really for the purpose of getting him married to the daughter of the minister of Padmāvatī. This shows that Padmāvatī was not situated in the country of Vidarbha. General Cunningham was the first to show that the description of the environs of Padmāvatī, that occurs in the *Mālatī-Mādhava*, suits Narvar in Gwalior State. "The Sindhu River (mentioned in *Mālatī-Mādhava*, IX, 1) is clearly the Sindh on which Narvar is situated, and the Pārā River is the Pārvatī or Pārā, which flows only five miles to the north of the Sindh. The subsequent mentioned of Madhumatī and Lavaṇā as streams in the neighbourhood of the city further confirms the identification, as the first must be Mohwar or Madhuwar on the south, and the other the Lun or Nun to the north. Bhavabhūti further places the holy shrine of Suvarṇabindu near the confluence of the Madhumatī and Sindhu which may be identified with Suhenda or Sonabindu (=Sonenda), which is close by."[4] Since then Mr. M. B. Garde, Superintendent of the Archæological Department, Gwalior State, has, by trial excavations, identified Padmāvatī with the modern village Pawāyā situated at the confluence of the Sindh and the Pārvatī about 40 miles south-east of Gwalior.[5]

The late Mr. M. V. Lele of Gwalior has tried to prove that Padmāvatī (modern Pawāyā) was the birth place of Bhavabhūti on the following grounds[6]:—From the detailed and accurate description of Padmāvatī that Bhavabhūti gives in the *Mālatī-Mādhava*, he infers that it was the birth-place of Bhavabhūti. The city was not situated in Vidarbha (modern Berars in the Deccan): but it should be noted in this connection that the corresponding passage in the prologue of the *Mahāvīracarita* omits the word *Vidarbheṣu* and only states that the city was in the Dakṣiṇāpatha. Besides though the word occurs in the printed editions of the *Mālatī-Mādhava* it is absent in the oldest Ms. of that play. Then, there is the authority of Jagaddhara, an old commentator of the *Mālatī-Mādhava*, that Padmapura was identical with Padmāvatī. As for the statement

4 Cunningham—*Coins of Mediæval India*, p. 22.

5 *Archæological Survey Report for* 1915-1916, pp. 101-109.

6 See his Marathi book *Mālatī-Mādhava Sāru na Virāru*, p. 5.

in the *Mahāvīracarita* that Padmapura is in the Dakṣiṇāpatha it should be remembered that it occurs in the speech of the Sūtradhāra. From the prologues of Bhavabhūti's dramas it seems that they were first staged at the fairs of Kālapriyanātha. This god is generally identified with Mahākāla of Ujjain.[7] The identification is not, however, correct. It is more likely to refer to a temple of Śiva at modern Kalpi. As Pawāya (which, according to Lele's view, represents ancient Padmapura) is to the south of Kulpi, the statement of the Sūtradhāra that Padmapura is in the Dakṣiṇāpatha can be easily justified.

These arguments of the late Mr. Lele are not convincing. The poet need not have been born at Padmāvatī to be able to describe it minutely. It is, of course, possible that there was a temple of Kālapriyanātha at Kalpi[8] but it is doubtful if the Sūtradhāra speaking at a fair in Kalpi would refer to Padmāvatī, which is less than 100 miles to the south, as situated in the Dakṣiṇāpatha. Besides, as shown above, Dakṣiṇāpatha is generally taken to refer to the country south of the Narmadā. Dr. Belvalkar, who has examined this question, is, therefore, inclined to believe that Padmapura was in ancient Vidarbha. As no place of that name was, however, known from ancient records as situated in Vidarbha, he says somewhat cautiously, "Pending the discovery of new data, then, we may *assume* that Bhavabhūti's ancestral home,

7 Cf. Tripurāri's Commentary on the *Mālatī-Mādhava*—नाथस्य महाकालास्पदस्य शम्भोः ।

8 From Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* we learn that a place called Kālapriya was to the south of Kanauj, (cf. अनियतत्वाद्दिशामनिर्धितो दिग्विभाग इत्येके । तथाहि ... यो गाधिपुरस्य दक्षिणः स कालप्रियस्योत्तरः । *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, p. 94 (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, First Ed.). This is corroborated by the following verse in the Cambay plates of Govinda IV, which describes Indra III's conquest of Kanauj—

यन्मायद्द्विपदन्तिदन्तविषमं कालप्रियप्राङ्गणं
तीर्णां यत्तुरगैरगाधयमुनासिन्धुप्रतिस्पर्धिनी ।
येनेदं हि महोदयारिनगरं निर्मूलमुन्मूलितं
नाद्यापि त्रिदशैः कृशस्थलमिति ख्यातिं परां नीयते ॥

This verse seems to speak of Indra III's halt at the temple of Kālapriya, his crossing of the Jumna and devastation of Kanauj as events following in close succession. This description suits Kalpi best.

Padmapura, was in the Berars, and not near the site of Narvar in Gwalior State."[9]

The data necessary for the identification of Padmapura, fortunately, are *now* available. A copper-plate, inscribed on one side, has recently been discovered at Mohallā, the headquarters of the Pānabāras Zamindari in the Drug district of the Central Provinces. It was intended to be the first of a set of three or four plates recording the grant of a Vākāṭaka king. Like almost all other plates of the Vākāṭakas, it is inscribed in box-headed characters. It refers only to two kings viz., Pravarasena I, who assumed the Imperial title of Samrāṭ and performed several great Vedic sacrifices, and his grandson and successor, who was the daughter's son of Bhavanāga of the royal family of the Bhāraśivas. The record breaks off just before the mention of the second king's name. From some indication, it seems that it has remained unfinished. The plate does not thus contain any new information about the Vākāṭakas, but there is one statement in it which is of great importance. It purports to have been issued from Padmapura. As there are no words like *Vāsakāt, Sthānāt, Vijayaskandhāvārāt*, etc. added to Padmapura, we cannot say that the king who intended to grant the plate was then temporarily encamped at Padmapura. Nor is Padmapura known to be a holy place. We can, therefore, conclude that Padmapura was the capital of the Vākāṭaka king who intended to issue this plate.

It would not be out of place to enter here on a short discussion about the capitals of the Vākāṭakas. It seems that they changed their capital from time to time. Their earliest capital known from inscriptions is Nandivardhana which is mentioned in the Poona plates[10] of Prabhāvatiguptā, the daughter of Candragupta II Vikramāditya, who was married to the Vākāṭaka prince, Rudrasena II. Her son Pravarasena II shifted the capital to Pravarapura, which he seems to have founded and called after himself. Soon after Pravarasena II, Bhavattavarman who from the recently published Pāḍāgadh inscription[11] seems to have ruled in the south-east of C.P., perhaps in the state of Bastar, invaded

9 *Rama's Later History, Introduction*, p. xxxvii (Harvard Oriental Series).

10 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XV, p. 39. 11 *Ibid.*, vol. XXI, p. 153.

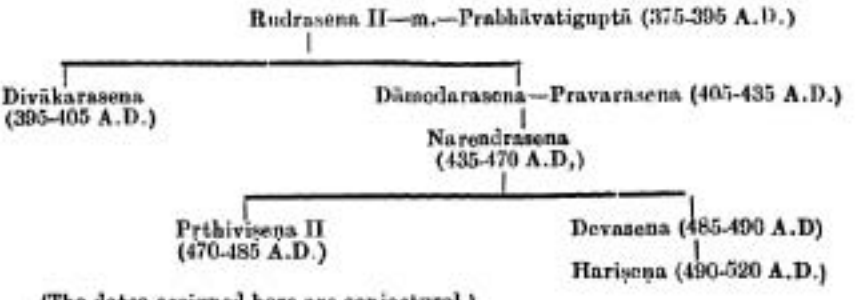
Vidarbha and made Nandivardhana his capital. His Rithpur plates are issued from that city[12] and record the grant of Kadambagirigrāma which the editor Mr. Y. R. Gupte has identified with Kalamba in the Yeotmal district of Berar. Bhavattavarman seems, therefore, to have made himself master of the western part of the Vākāṭaka kingdom comprising modern Berar and some portion of C.P. In this emergency the Vākāṭakas very likely shifted their capital to Padmapura. Later on Pṛthiviṣeṇa II regained his ancestral kingdom[13] evidently with the help of his loyal feudatories and his father-in-law, the king of Kuntala. Only one incomplete inscription of this king has been discovered viz., the Bālāghāṭ plates which were intended to be issued when he was encamped at Vembūra. Two other Vākāṭaka princes viz., Devasena and Hariṣeṇa[14] are known from two mutilated Ajanta inscriptions, but we do not know the name of their capital. The present unfinished plate may have been intended to be issued by Narendrasena or his son Pṛthiviṣeṇa II, as its characters closely resemble those of the inscriptions of Pravarasena II.

The discovery of this plate has settled the disputed question about the location of Bhavabhūti's birth-place Padmapura and proved incontrovertibly that the poet was born in ancient Vidarbha. The Vākāṭaka kings were patrons of Vedic learning and performed several Vedic sacri-

12 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XIX, p. 100.

13 द्वि (नि) मग्नवंशस्योद्धर्तुः वाकाटकानाम्परमभागवतमहाराजश्रीपृथिविषेणस्य वचनात्..... । *Ibid.*, vol. IX, p. 271.

14 The following genealogy of the Vākāṭakas is quoted here from Mr. Jayaswal's *'History of India 150 A.D.—350 A.D.* for ready reference :—



(The dates assigned here are conjectural.)

fices. They must, therefore, have patronised learned Brahmins. As a matter of fact, Pravarasena II is known to have donated several villages to Brahmins for the performance of sacrifices etc. Bhavabhūti mentions four ancestors of his who lived at Padmapura. We cannot conclude from this that Mahākavi, the fourth ancestor of Bhavabhūti, who probably lived in the latter half of the sixth century, had himself emigrated to Padmapura[15] from elsewhere: for there was in the latter half of the sixth century A.D. no great king ruling at Padmapura, who could have invited the fourth ancestor of the poet to settle in the capital. The last known Vākāṭaka king Hariṣeṇa seems to have ceased to reign about 520 or 530 A.D. The Vākāṭakas were succeeded in Vidarbha by the Kalacuris. The silver coins of Kṛṣṇarāja, the great Kalacuri king who flourished about A.D. 550-585, have been discovered at Dhamori in the Amraoti district of Berar. The Kalacuris had, no doubt, a vast empire extending from Rajputana and Malwa in the north to the district of Satara in the south and from Konkan in the west to Vidarbha[16] in the east, but their capital was not at Padmapura in Vidarbha but far away in the north at Māhiṣmatī. If, therefore, more than four ancestors of Bhavabhūti lived at Padmapura (as seems probable), they must have received liberal patronage from the Vākāṭakas. It is also likely that the Vākāṭakas invited these pious and learned Brahmins to settle down in their capital Padmapura and helped them in the performance of their sacrifices. In the beginning of the eighth century A.D., when Bhavabhūti flourished, there was no great king ruling in Vidarbha. The province seems to have been under the rule of petty princes who recognised the suzerainty of the Cālukyas. In the absence of royal patronage Bhavabhūti was obliged to seek his fortune in the north and ultimately became attached to the court of Yaśovarman, the mighty king of Kanauj.

Let us next try to identify this Padmapura. As Vidarbha is generally taken to correspond to modern Berar, several scholars have

15 Their surname Udumbara indicates that they originally hailed from a place named Udumbara.

16 Cf. Cunningham, *Coins of Mediæval India*, p. 8; *Archæological Survey Report for* 1913-1914, p. 214; *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. I, Part II, pp. 13, 295-6.

suggested that it must have been situated somewhere in Berar.[17] I closely examined the lists of villages in Berar, published by the C. P. Government, but could not find in them even a single place corresponding to Padmapura. It must be noted in this connection that ancient Vidharbha was not confined to Berar proper, but extended eastward beyond the Waiṅgaṅgā. In the *Mālavikāgnimitra* of Kālidāsa, the Varadā (modern Wardhā) is shown to have divided Vidarbha into two fairly equal parts, which the Śuṅga prince Agnimitra assigned to Yajñasena and Mādhavasena, two rival claimants for the throne of Vidarbha. Again Nandivardhana, the earliest known Vākāṭaka capital was situated not in modern Berar but near Rāmṭek in the Nagpur district. The copper-plates of Pravarasena II have been found in several districts of western C. P. such as Chindwārā, Siwanī Nāgpur, Bālāghaṭ and Bhaṇḍārā and the villages granted therein can also be identified in these districts. The river Wardhā, therefore, did not *then* form the eastern boundary of ancient Vidarbha, as it does *now* of modern Berar. Vidarbha, on the other hand, extended as far as Dakṣiṇa Kośala (modern Chattīsgarh) in the east. Bennākaṭa, mentioned in the recently discovered Tirodi plates of Pravarasena II, which comprised the territory on both the banks of the Waiṅgaṅgā (ancient Beṇṇā), was like Bhojakaṭa (modern Berar) a district of the Vākāṭaka kingdom. I have traced no less than six villages named Padmapur, Padmāpur or Padampur in the Cāndā and Bhaṇḍārā districts of C.P. Now we know that Bhavabhūti's Padmapura was a *nagara*. Yaśodhara, a commentator of Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*, defines *nagara* as a place where the business of 800 villages is transacted.[18] Ancient Padmapura must, therefore,

17 Cf. Belvalkar, *Rama's Later History*, (H.O.S., p. xxxvii); Todar Mall, Bhavabhūti's *Mahāvīracarita-m* (Oxford Press, p. xxiv.) R. G. Bhandarkar wrote 'Bhavabhūti's native place appears from the description to have been somewhere near Chandrapura or Chanda in the Nagpur territories, in which there are still many families of Marathi Deśastha Brahmins of the Taittīriya Śākhā using Āpastamba as their sūtra and in the country to the south and south-east of which are families of Tailang Brahmins following the same Veda and sūtra. *Mālatī-Mādhava*, (1905) notes, p. 3.

18 Cf. नगरं अष्टशतग्राममध्ये तद्व्यवहारस्थानम् । *Kāmasūtra* (Nirṇaya-Sāgara Press ed.), p. 44.

have been a large city. Besides, we have seen above that it was at one time a capital of the Vākāṭakas. We can, therefore, suppose that it must have considerable ruins. From inquiries I came to know that Padampur near Āmgaon in the Bhaṇḍārā district of C.P. has some ruins. Besides, as I have shown elsewhere, the villages mentioned in the Siwanī plates of Pravarasena II can be identified in the vicinity of Āmgaon. The surrounding country was, therefore, undoubtedly under the direct rule of the Vākāṭakas. I, therefore, visited the place and found there, as I expected, interesting ruins of considerable antiquity as described below.

This Padampur is now a small village in the Āmgaon Zamīndarī of the Bhaṇḍārā district about 2½ miles from Āmgaon railway station on the Nagpur-Calcutta line of the Bengal Nagpur Railway. Its area inclusive of fields is 1464 acres and its population which numbered 920 souls at the census of 1911 has now dwindled down to 112 as shown by the last census report. To the west of the village lies a hill called *Nātha Mahārājāchī ṭekaī* (Nāth Mahārāja's hill) where a fair is annually held on the Śivarātri day in the month of Māgha. On the hill we found two stones 2' 10" high, each having two images, a god with four hands and a goddess with two hands. The god has a Śūla in his raised right as well as left hand; his lower right hand holds a mace and the left a *kuṭhāra*. The goddess, who has an umbrella, on her head, carries a *kuṭhāra* in her raised left hand while her right hand is simply hanging down. These deities cannot be definitely identified, but the images are evidently of the Mediæval age.

This hill commands a beautiful view. To its east lies the small village of Padampur lost in clusters of trees, with a small tank to its west, while the surrounding region is dotted with huge boulders of fantastic shapes. The hill contains a small, naturally formed cave, which is provided with a stone door frame. We were informed that there was an old image on a huge boulder about 18 ft. high at a short distance from the foot of the hill; and we actually found an old image of Viṣṇu in perfect preservation reclining against another rock. The image is carved under a peculiar arch resting on two old fashioned pillars. The god has the conch, the discus, the mace and the lotus in his four hands. Outside



Image of Viṣṇu at Padmapur



Image of Pārśvanātha



Image of Śiva from
Padmapur
Nagpur Museum
(By the courtesy of the authorities)

the pillars, which support the ornamental arch, are carved a male and a female servant each carrying a fly-whisk. The face of the god was smeared with vermilion which we had no time to remove before photographing. The image may be assigned to the 11th or 12th century A.D.

We then proceeded to the neighbouring fields where we found three mutilated images of the Jaina Tirthaṅkara Pārśvanātha. One of these is very beautifully carved and polished. Its head was broken off, but as we found it lying near by, we put it in its place before photographing. The image which is about 2 ft. in height is of black stone and represents the Jina Pārśvanātha engaged in meditation and seated crosslegged on a lotus with his palms placed one over the other upon the lap. On his head appears his *lañchana*, a seven-hooded serpent whose tail is seen on the lotus in front. He has long ear-lobes and his hair is treated in schematic curls. The Śrīvatsa is seen in the middle of his chest. Over the snake appears a triple umbrella, on either side of which is seen an elephant with his uplifted trunk. Flanking the snake's hood on each side there is a garland carrying gandharva and beyond him a miniature Jina sitting cross-legged and in meditation like the main figure. The Jina has neither garment nor ornament on his person. The image belongs, therefore, to the Digambara sect. We saw one more mutilated image lying in the adjoining field, representing the Jina Ṛṣabhadeva or Ādinātha in the same posture, with his *lañchana* the bull carved on the pedestal. These images can, with probability, be assigned to the 10th or 11th cenury A.D.

Besides these we saw two collections of massive stones, evidently ruins of fallen temples, near Padampur. One of these is about 200 yards to the north of the village. The stones have rough surface and comprise a large lintel measuring 8′ × 1′ 7″ × 1′ 6″, with the figure of Gaṇeśa carved in the centre, bases of door jambs, sections of massive pillars etc. The other temple seems to have been situated just outside the present village. Some sections of its stone pillars and the stone *prabhāvali* (i.e. the supporting slab behind the image) with a pointed top are still standing *in situ*, while other sections of pillars are scattered round about or are buried in debris. The pillars are of coarse structure and massive in size. The height of the *prabhāvali* suggested that the image it supported must have been about 5 ft. in height.

An old farmer of Padampur told us that one such image was removed to the Nagpur Museum about forty years ago. After our return to Nagpur, we made inquiries in the Museum, but could find no image brought from Padampur. It seems that in the early days of the Museum no accurate record of the find-spots of images was kept. The *provenance* of many is not, therefore, definitely known. We saw, however, an exquisitely carved and beautiful image of standing Śiva 4' 10" in height which is said to have been brought from Bhaṇḍārā. As there are no ruins of mediaeval temples at Bhaṇḍārā proper, I doubted the correctness of the statement. Besides the height, the breadth and the shape of the stone seemed to agree with those of the *prabhāvali* at Padampur. I, therefore, got actual measurements of the latter from my friend at Amgaon and found, as I expected, that the image exactly fits the stone *prabhāvali*. It seems certain, therefore, that the image of Śiva was brought to the Museum not from Bhaṇḍārā proper but from Padampur which is included in the Bhaṇḍārā district. I quote below a description of the image from the Descriptive list of Exhibits in the Museum :—

"This sculpture is of red sandstone, in good preservation containing a figure of Śiva, four-armed, standing under a cinqfoliate arch, composed of a snake on each side and the Kīrtimukha decoration in the centre. He has a plain halo and wears a high headdress, with the figures of the goddess Gaṅgā and the moon in front, one over the other.[19] He wears also several ornaments, including an elaborate torque and girdle and a garland coming down nearly to his ankles. The tassel of his girdle is seen in between his legs and touches the bottom of the garland. His lower garment is treated in a peculiar way. It consists of two flat bands, one below the other, running round his thighs. He holds in his upper and lower right hands, a trident (Skt. *triśūla*) and a rosary of rudrākṣa beads respectively. In his upper and lower left hands are a cobra with expanded hood and a spouted water vessel (Skt. *kalaśa*). In a recess beside his lower right and left hands are figurines one on either side, representing Kārttikeya seated on the peacock in a līlāsana posture and Gaṇeśa in a similar attitude, holding an indefinite object in each hand.

19 The head-dress is of the Jaṭā-mukuṭa type and what is described here as Gaṅgā is really a Kīrtimukha jewel.

By the feet of the main figure are two male attendants, one on each side, the one holding a triśūla in his left hand and the other a skull—crowned staff in his right, respectively. In a niche by the side of either of these figures is a female chauri-bearer standing in the conventional attitude. The front face of the pedestal is carved with a seated female on the right and a bull on the left side, facing each other."

The image is exquisitely carved. Śiva's face is finely modelled and shows graceful serenity. On artistic grounds the image may be said to date from the 10th or 11th century A.D.[20]

The presence of these finely carved images, and the existence of the ruins of massive buildings at Padampur leave no doubt that it must have been once a flourishing city. It has also a grand, natural scenery. The hills that encircle the village, with their huge and quaintly shaped boulders, present an attractive appearance. The surrounding parts are covered by low rocky jungles, infested by panthers and venomous snakes, which take an annual toll of several lives.[21] If Bhavabhūti was brought up in such surroundings, it is no wonder that he should love to describe the grand and sublime aspects of nature. The description of natural scenery in the Daṇḍaka forest[22] or that of the terrible heat in the dense jungles infested by fierce beasts and huge *ajagaras*[23] that one finds in the *Uttararāma-carita* seems to have been suggested to the poet's

20 Had it not been for the somewhat late age of this image of Śiva, one would have been tempted to identify it with Kālapriyanātha, at whose fairs Bhavabhūti's dramas were staged. Rāmacandrabudhendra, a commentator of the *Uttararāma-carita*, says, indeed, that Kālapriyanātha was worshipped at Padmapura in Vidarbha. (Cf. कालप्रियनाथो नाम विदर्भेषु पद्मनगरे प्रतिष्ठितो देवमूर्तिविशेषः। तत्र यात्रायामुत्सवे नाटकमिदं भगवतः कालप्रियनाथस्य पुरतः प्रथममभिनीतमासीत्। cited by Prof. Kane.). It is, however, doubtful, if Bhavabhūti, would, in that case, have given the detailed information about himself and his ancestral home in the prologues of his plays staged at his native place. As shown above (foot-note 8) Kālapriyanātha was to the south of Kanauj where Bhavabhūti and his ancestral home were not well-known. From the performances of his plays at that place, his fame seems to have reached Yaśovarman, the king of Kanauj, who later on patronised him.

21 Cf. *Central Provinces Gazetteer*, second ed., p. 4.

22 Cf. स्निग्धश्यामाः क्वचिदपरतो भीषणाभोगरूक्षाः
स्थाने स्थाने मुखरककुभो झाङ्कृतैर्निर्झराणाम्।

mind by his personal observation of the country round Padampur. The ancient city which was once a flourishing capital of the Vākāṭakas and which, from its images, seems to have retained its importance down to the twelfth century A.D. is now reduced to a straggling village. Its ancient site is now converted into fertile fields. It is on the boundaries of these fields that the images of the Jina Tīrthaṅkaras are lying scattered. Even now old earthen pots and tiny images of Hindu deities are occasionally turned up by the plough.

There is a fine, large tank about a mile and a half to the east of Padampur. On three sides its banks are formed by rugged hills while on the fourth there is a dyke of masonry.[24] If Padampur was, as I have tried to show, a big city, it is likely to have drawn the necessary supply of drinking water from this tank.

One more argument can be advanced to prove that Padampur near Amgaon was the native place of Bhavabhūti. As we have seen, Bhavabhūti was a Brahmin of the Taittirīya Śākhā of the Black Yajurveda. There were formerly several Brahmins of this Śākhā in the neighbouring places. The donee of the Siwanī plates of Pravarasena II was a Brahmin of the same Śākhā.[25] The village Brahmapūraka granted to him is, as I have shown elsewhere, identical with Bahmani about 7 miles to the north-east of Padmapur. There are now no Brahmin families at Padmapur but there are many in the neighbouring region and it is noteworthy that they follow the Taittirīya Śākhā of the Black Yajurveda.

It may at first seem strange that the capital of the Vākāṭakas, who ruled over modern Berar and the western portion of the Central Provinces, should be situated at Padampur near the eastern boundary of

एते तीर्थाश्रमगिरिसरिद्वर्तकान्तारमिश्राः
संदृश्यन्ते परिचितभुवो दण्डकारण्यभागाः ॥ उत्तर० ३, १४.

23 Cf. निष्कूजस्तिमिताः क्वचित्क्वचिदपि प्रोच्चण्डसत्त्वस्खलनाः
स्वेच्छासुप्तगभीरघोरभुजगश्वासप्रदीप्तान्नयः ।
सीमानः प्रदरोदरेषु विलसत्खल्पाम्भसो वालयं
तृष्यद्भिः प्रतिसूर्यकैरजगरस्वेदव्रतः पीयते ॥ उत्तर० २, १६

24 *See Gazetteer of the Bhaṇḍārā District*, p. 182.

25 Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 246.

their kingdom. But we must note in this connection the political conditions which necessitated the shifting of the capital to Padampur. As shown above, Bhavattavarman of the Nala family invaded Vidarbha soon after the death of Pravarasena II and occupied Nandivardhana near Nagpur which was, in the previous generation, the Vākāṭaka capital. As the village granted by his Rithpur plates can be identified in Berar, he seems to have conquered Berar and the western portion of the Central Provinces from the Vākāṭakas. From the Bālāghāṭ plates of Pṛthiviseṇa we know that the Vākāṭakas were reduced to great straits at this time.[26] Many of their feudatories seem to have thrown off their sazerainty. Only the kings of Kośala (Chattisgarh), Mekala (the country near the source of the Narmadā) and Mālava remained loyal to Narendrasena.[27] It is no wonder, then, that he shifted his capital to Padampur near the territories of his eastern feudatories, the princes of Kośala and Mekala on whom he could rely for help.

The evidence set forth above will, I hope, convince scholars that Padampur near Āmgaon was the birth-place of Bhavabhūti. Government has been aware of the existence of the ruins of massive buildings at Padampur for more than sixty years,[28] but it has undertaken no excavation work there or, for the matter of that, anywhere else in the Central Provinces and Berar. I would, therefore, draw the attention of the Archæological Department to this important site. In any case, no other place of the name of Padmapur in the Central Provinces is known to have such old ruins. I, therefore, feel no hesitation in concluding that Padampur near Āmgaon in the Bhaṇḍārā district was the ancestral home and the birth-place of Bhavabhūti.

V. V. Mirashi

26 See above fn. 13.

27 कोशलमेकलमालवाधिपतिभिरभ्यर्च्चितशासनस्य प्रतापप्रणतारिशासनस्य वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्रीनरेन्द्रसेनस्य..... (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. IX, p. 271).

28 "There are some curious old remains of massive stone buildings in the neighbourhood at a place called Padampur but their origin is not known" *C.P. Gazetteer*, 2nd ed.

Tekkali Copper-plate Grant of Devendra Varma

While digging the ground one cultivator belonging to the village of Triliṅgi in the Tekkali estate found an earthen jar with a cover at its mouth. When he broke open the pot he found therein three copperplates fixed to a copper ring.

The contents of the inscription under discussion show that it was granted by Mahārāja Devendra Varma, son of Guṇārṇava and the king of Kaliṅga in the year 192 of the special era known as Vijayarājya Saṃvatsara (the era of conquest). That date corresponds to 816 Śakābda = 894 A. D. The gift was made to Brahmacārī Pilla and his sister Pillika Svāminī Brahmacāriṇī on the full moon day of the month of Māgha when there was the lunar eclipse. The grantee was the son of Sirihira and belonged to the village of Kaliṅgapur in the Gudu circle. Navatula village in the Kurasada circle was granted free of all taxes as long as the sun and the moon would exist in the universe. Navatula and Kurasada villages exist even now in the Parlakimedi Zamindari just in the vicinity of the boundary of the Tekkali estate. Previous to the present discovery we had collected three other inscriptions of the same Devendra Varma from Chicacole, Adava and Siddhantam which are dated 183, 184, and 195 years respectively according to the special era of conquest. The present inscription bears the date of 192.

The inscription under review consists of three copper-plates each $7\frac{1}{10}'' \times 2\frac{8}{10}''$ with holes at the left end through which runs the copper ring. At the place where the two ends of the ring join there is the traditional Royal Seal of the Varman branch of the Gaṅga dynasty containing the 'bull and the moon'. The diameter of the seal is $1\frac{2}{10}''$. I cut the ring and detached the plates in order to take copies of them. The edges of the plates are slightly raised into rims to protect the writing. The first and third plates are inscribed only on one side whereas the second plate contains inscriptions on both sides. Each side has six lines. The uninscribed sides of the two plates serve as good protection and keep the character uninjured. There are no mistakes in the inscriptions of the plates. The gift is written in the Sanskrit language. At the end of the inscriptions some verses from the *Vyāsa Gītā* are quoted. Pallava Candra, the son of Matru Candra of the Nuta

Tekkali copper plate grant of Devendra Varma

PLATE I (*Reverse*)



PLATE II (*Reverse*)



dynasty, was the composer of the inscriptions. The grant was made during the ministry of Savara Nandi Sarmā in 192 Vijayarājya era.

The inscriber was Sarva Candra, son of Candra Bhogika.

TEXT

PLATE I

Obverse

Blank

Reverse

१ स्वस्ति सकलत्रसुमौलितललितिलकायमानसर्व्वक्षुखरमणीयाद्विजयवतष्कलिङ्ग

२ गरवासकान्महेन्द्राचलामलशिखरप्रतिष्ठितस्य चराचरगुरोस्सकलभुवननिर्म्माणैक

सूत्र

३ धारस्य भगवतो गोकर्णस्वामिनश्चरणकमलयुगले प्रणामाद्विगलितकलिकलङ्को

गङ्गामल

४ कुलतिलको निजनिखिल सधारोपार्जितसकलकलिङ्गाधिराज्यप्रविततच(तु)रुदधि

तरङ्गमेखलावनितला

५ मलयशाः अनेकाहवसंक्षोभजनितजयशब्दप्रतापावनतसमस्तसामन्तचक्रचूडामणिप्रभाम

६ अरीपुञ्जरञ्जितचरणश्चरमाहेश्वरो मातापितृपादानुध्यातो नयविनयशौर्योदार्यस

PLATE II

Obverse

१ त्यत्यागादिगुणसंपदामाधारश्रीगुणार्णवस्सुनुर्महाराजश्रीमद्देवेन्द्रवर्मा कोरसोडक

२ पुड्खालिविषये नवतुलग्रामे सर्वसमवेतान् कुटुम्बिनःसमाज्ञापयत्यस्ति विदितमस्तु भवतां य

३ थास्माभिरयं ग्रामःसर्वैकरैष्परिहृत्याचन्द्रार्कप्रतिग्रमप्रहारङ्किलाभरिक्षापादा

४ क्षयातपुण्याभिवृद्धये गुडविषयिकञ्कलिङ्गापूरणस्थानवास्तव्यायवेदवेदाङ्गपारगा

५ य वसिष्ठस्व गोत्राय वसु जस्वा ब्रह्मचारिणे पिङ्गाशर्म्मणे च तस्य भगिनीपिङ्गिकस्वामि

६ न्या कन्याभ्यामपि सोमोपरागे कन्यादानसमसम्प्रत्तस्तदेवं बुद्धया यथोचितभागभोग

सुपनय

Reverse

१ न्तसुखं प्रतिवसतेति प्रदक्षिणान्वायेन ग्रामस्य सीमालिङ्गानि लिख्यन्ते नवतुलमध्ये

२ कोधक गर्त्ततोरे केल्लडापश्चिमोत्तरे तृकुटे विभीतकवृक्षस्ततप्पूर्वेन वतुला केलडामध्ये

कपित्थस्ततोनु

३ कर्णं पाण्डरं गुदिरकस्तिमिरसुधिमारकवाल्मीकविहवाद्यालिस्ततःपूर्वे पोन्नक्क
साम्बरङ्गस्तत

४ पूर्वेण पर्वतो विच्छिन्नगतोंमस्तकजलागमावधिच्छिन्नकेन्नडतम्बुवातलम्पलस्य नवतु

५ लाया वक्रमत चरिडबोत्तवालातूके कलिङ्गवेणुपाषाणपुञ्जस्ततो पश्चिमे पर्वतो
दाकस्ततो नवतु

६ लक्षेर्द मद्धवे ओल गर्तं गतायावत्पूर्व्वो सीमावधि विरीतकं यावदिति भविष्यतथ
राज्ञः प्रज्ञापयति ध

PLATE III

Obverse

१ म्मैकमविक्रमाणामन्यतमयोगादवाप्य महीमनुशासद्भिरयं दानधर्मोनुपालनीयो
व्यासगीताश्चालश्लोका भ

२ वन्ति बहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि तस्य तस्य तदा
फलं स्वदत्तान्परदत्ता

३ म्वा वज्राद्रङ्ग युधिष्ठिर महीमहिमताच्छ्रेष्ठं दानाद्धेयोनुपालनं षष्टी वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे
मोदतिभू

४ मिदः आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेदिलपूर्वेनटवङ्गोनमातृचन्द्रस्य सनु
नालिखितं प

५ ल्लवचन्द्रेण शासनं कलिताङ्ग महामहत्तरशवरनंन्दिशर्मणेति प्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्य
सम्वत्सरशतेस्थान

६ यत्तुत्तरे १६२ माघ मासदिवसे तृड् सप्तमे उत्कीर्णं चन्द्रभोगिकृतनयेन शर्व्वचन्द्रे णेति।

Reverse

Blank

TRANSLATION

Om svasti. Mahendra Varma, son of Guṇārṇava, who has got all the qualities of humility, chivalry and charity, who has kept under his control the several vassal kings by winning victories in the wars, who was the conqueror of the whole of Kaliṅgarājya, whose fame is spread as far as the four seas, who is a great devotee of Śiva and very obedient to parents, who is the greatest of the kings of the Gaṅga dynasty which has been made pure by the grace of Lord Gokarṇeśvara who adorns the Mahendra mountains, grants on the lunar eclipse full moon day of the month of Māgha the Navatula village of Karasada circle, free of all taxes till the sun and the moon

Teikali copper plate grant of Devendra Varma

PLATE II (*Obverse*)



PLATE III (*Obverse*)



exist to the son of Sirihira Brahmacārī Pilla Śarmā and his sister Pillika Svāminī Brahmacārinī who were well versed in the Vedas and who belonged to Vaśiṣṭha gotra, with a view to obtain the virtue which one gets by making *Kaṇyādāna*.

The boundaries of the lands given are:—Trees, mountains, ant hills, caves, temple of Caṇḍī goddess, and rocks, springs etc.

Then follows some verses from the *Vyāsa Gītā*.

This Copper plate grant was composed by Pallavacandra, son of Matru Candra of the Nata dynasty, issued by the Chief Minister Savara Nandi Śarmā in the year 192 Vijayarājya era and inscribed by Śarva Candra, son of Candra Bhogika.

L. H. JAGADEB RAJABAHADUR.

The Early Chronology of Nepāl

Dr. Wright was almost the first modern scholar to study the history of Nepāl but his work is based entirely on the unreliable accounts of the Pārvatīya *Vaṃśāvalis*. It was the Nawāb of Junāgaḍh, who met the expense of collecting the early inscriptions of Nepāl, which are published by Dr. Bhagvānlāl Indrajī in the *Indian Antiquary* (vol. IX). These were, according to Dr. Bhagavānlāl, found in three groups, dated respectively in the Vikrama, Harṣa and Nepāl Saṃvats. Dr. Bendall discovered some more inscriptions, and published them in his *Journey in Nepāl*. One of the these, an inscription of Śivadeva, was supposed to be dated in the Gupta Saṃvat 316. On the basis of this inscription, Dr. Fleet came to the conclusion that all the inscriptions of the first group were dated in the Gupta era, and he proposed a scheme of chronology which had the effect of making the kings mentioned in the first group contemporaries of those mentioned in the second. Dr. Sylvain Lévi, however, proved that the said inscription of Śivadeva was really dated in Saṃvat 518, and not 316. He discovered and published some more inscriptions in vol. III of *Le Nepāl*, and concluded that the inscriptions of the first two groups should be dated in two Nepāl eras of 110 A.C. and 595 A.C. respectively. Later scholars have been content to follow Dr. Fleet or Dr. Lévi blindly, without further enquiry. Recently, I had occasion to study all these inscriptions afresh, in connection with the determination of true epoch of the Gupta era, and have arrived at certain positive conclusions, which are set forth in this paper.

The early inscriptions of Nepāl fall into two groups. The first group consists of the inscriptions of Mānadeva I (years 386 to 413), Vasantasena (year 435), Gaṇadeva (year 400+X), Śivadeva I (years 518 to 520) and Mānadeva II (year 500+X); also inscriptions dated years 449, 489 and 535 of unknown kings. The second group consists of the inscriptions of Aṃśuvarman (years 30 to 40+X), Jiṣṇugupta (year 48), Śivadeva II (year 119), and Jayadeva (year 153); also inscriptions dated years 82 and 145 of unknown kings. It can be easily proved that the inscriptions of the first group are dated in an era earlier than that of the

second group. In the first place, Jayadeva (year 153) mentions among his ancestors Vṛṣadeva, Śaṅkaradeva, Dharmadeva, Mānadeva, Mahīdeva, Vasantadeva, then after an interval, Narendradeva and his own father Śivadeva (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. IX, p. 178). Of these, the first three are mentioned as the immediate ancestors of Mānadeva I in his inscription dated year 386 (*ibid.*, vol. IX, p. 163); and Vasantadeva is obviously identical with Vasantasena of year 435. Again, Śivadeva I of year 518 is mentioned as the contemporary of Aṃśuvarman (C. Bendall: *Journey in Nepāl*, p. 72), whose own inscriptions date from year 30 to 40+X; and Rājaputra Vikramasena figures as the dūtaka in the inscription dated year 535 (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. IX, p. 168), as well as in the inscription dated year 32 (S. Lévi: *Le Nepāl*, vol. III, p. 99). From these facts, it may be safely inferred that the latest inscriptions of the first group are practically contemporary with the earliest of the second group, as both belong to about the time of Aṃśuvarman. To determine the epochs of the two eras, it is therefore necessary to fix approximately the period of Aṃśuvarman.

This, however, is comparatively easy, as, fortunately for early Nepāl chronology, Hiuen-Tsiang refers to him as a recent king, distinguishing him from the then ruling king—"Lately there was a king called Aṃśuvarmā, who was distinguished for his learning and ingenuity. He himself had composed a work on *Śabdavidyā;* he esteemed learning and respected virtue, and his reputation was spread everywhere" (*Si-yu-ki*, tr. S. Beal, vol. II, p. 81); and only one Aṃśuvarman is known to the *Vaṃśāvalis* as well as the inscriptions of Nepāl. The terms of reference are further corroborated by Aṃśuvarman's own inscriptions. In his inscription dated year 39, he speaks of himself as having attained true philosophy by pondering day and night on the meaning of many *śāstras*, and as finding his greatest pleasure in establishing the reign of *dharma* (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. IX, p. 170). The identity therefore of the Aṃśuvarman of the inscriptions with the Aṃśuvarman mentioned by Hiuen-Tsiang is certain; and, from the terms of reference, it is clear that he was no longer alive, when Hiuen-Tsiang visited North India in 637 A.C. (Cunningham: *Ancient Geography of India*, Calcutta 1924, p. 646). Dr. Bhagvānlāl, however, desired to assign Aṃśuvarman's inscriptions to the Harṣa era (606 A.C.) and finding that he was alive in Saṃvat 40, i.e., according to him in 646 A.C., maintains that Hiuen-

Tsiang made a mistake. In his view, Hiuen-Tsiang did not visit Nepāl at all, but writes on the basis of a report heard at the capital of the Vṛjis. It is said that he heard of Aṃśuvarman and of another king ruling in Nepāl at the time, and that, not knowing that Nepāl was then under a double government, wrongly supposed Aṃśuvarman to have been a former king of Nepāl. But this supposition is purely gratuitous. There is nothing to show that Hiuen-Tsiang did not visit Nepāl himself. If the *Life of Hiuen-Tsiang* says nothing of his visit to Nepāl, neither does it mention his visit to Vṛji, which Dr. Bhagavānlāl admits. Granting Hiuen-Tsiang did not visit Nepāl in person, he was still in a position to get correct information, as he moved in the company of princes and scholars, and the persons from whom he is said to have got his account of Nepāl could easily have added the information that Nepāl was then under a double government. There is besides no strong reason to think that Harṣa conquered Nepāl, or introduced his era there; and the reasons by which Dr. Bhagavānlāl attempts to prove this are nothing but a series of baseless assumptions. These are:—(1) Ādityasena's use of Harṣa era warrants the inference that not only his grand-daughter's son Jayadeva, but Aṃśuvarman, to whom he was not related at all, likewise used the Harṣa era; (2) The *Vaṃśāvalis* state that Vikramāditya came to Nepāl and established his era there; and Vikramāditya is probably a mistake for Harṣa; (3) The Vaiś Rājputs of Nepāl were probably settled there by Harṣa, who was perhaps a Vaiś Rājput himself.

If then Aṃśuvarman was not alive in 637 A.C., the era in which his inscriptions are dated must have an epoch not later than 637-40=597 A.C. Other facts confirm this inference. Dr. Sylvain Lévi has shown from Chinese sources that Narendradeva of Nepāl received a Chinese envoy in 646 A.C. and sent envoys himself to China in 651 A.C. (*Le Nepāl*, vol. 1, pp. 60, 165, 166). It is therefore certain that the inscription of Narendra's son Śivadeva II dated Saṃvat 119 cannot be placed before 651 A.C., and that the epoch of this Saṃvat cannot be earlier than 651-119=532 A.C. On the other hand, the inscription of Dhruvadeva and Jiṣṇugupta dated Saṃvat 48 must be earlier than 646 A.C., when Narendra was king. The epoch therefore of this Saṃvat cannot be later than 646-48=598 A.C. Combining all the above inferences, we arrive at the positive conclusion that the epoch of

this Saṃvat must be dated between 532 and 597 A.C. Let us see if we can determine the epoch more closely. An inscription of Aṃśuvarman is dated *prathama Pauṣa* of Saṃvat 34 (Bendall: *Journey in Nepāl*, p. 74). As the epoch dates between 532 and 597 A.C., *prathama Pauṣa* implies that in that year there were two lunar months of Pauṣa, of which one was intercalary. The ordinary rule regarding intercalary months is that, if two *amānta* lunar months end within a solar month, the first of them will be deemed intercalary. But Brahmagupta mentions an old usage by which the second of the two months will be deemed intercalary (*meṣādisthe savitari yo yo māsaḥ prapūryate cāndrah-caitrādyaḥ sa jñeyaḥ pūrtidvitve adhimāsa 'ntyaḥ*). The difference of usages affects only the name of the *adhika* month, and not its location. For instance, an *adhika* month, which would ordinarily be called Māgha, would under Brahmagupta's rule, be called Pauṣa, i.e., by the name of the next preceding lunar month. Allowing for both the usages, there are only 4 years between 506 and 631 A.C., in which there were *adhika* months, which may be called Pauṣa, namely, 572, 591, 610, and 629 A.C. Of these, in 629 A.C., the *adhika* month was Pauṣa by the ordinary rule; in the others, by Brahmagupta's rule. Dr. Lévi, apparently unaware of Brahmagupta's rule, states that 629 A.C. was the only year in which there was an *adhika* Pauṣa in the period suitable for Aṃśuvarman. But there is reason to think that it was Brahmagupta's rule that prevailed in Nepāl at that time. *Adhika* months are considered *nindya* (inauspicious) for religious ceremonies, unless they are the first of two *adhika* months in the same year. There could be two *adhika* months in the same year, only if there was also a *kṣaya* (omitted) month in that year, that is, only if the intercalation was made in accordance with the true motions of the Sun and the Moon, because by mean motion there could be no *kṣaya* month, the mean lunar month being always shorter than the mean solar month. In the present case, we are concerned with mean motions only, as by true motions there could be no *adhika* month in Pauṣa. So *prathama Pauṣa* would be *praśasta* (auspicious), only if the second of two lunar months which end within the same solar month is the intercalary one, that is, only according to Brahmagupta's rule. As a grant was formally made on this *prathama Pauṣa*, it must have been held auspicious, and we may safely

infer that the Brahmagupta's system prevailed in Nepāl at that time. If so, 629 A.C. may be discarded as unsuitable, as in that year there was an *adhika Pausa* only according to the ordinary rule.

We have therefore to choose one of the three years 572, 591 and 610 A.C. as the equivalent of Saṃvat 34. Now Aṃśuvarman is known to have ruled down to Saṃvat 40+X (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. IX, p. 171). On the other hand, Śivadeva II is known to have ruled from Saṃvat 119 to 145 (*ibid.*, vol. IX, pp. 174, 177). His reign could not therefore ordinarily have begun long before 119; and his father Narendradeva is known to have been ruling in 646-651 A.C. If with Dr. Lévi we equate Saṃvat 34 to 629 A.C., Aṃśuvarman must have been ruling down to 629 – 34 + 40 = 635 A.C.; and between Aṃśuvarman's death and Narendra's reign, there would be an interval of at the most only 646 – 635 = 11 years. During these 11 years, we would have to crowd the reigns of Jiṣṇugupta with Dhruvadeva and Mānadeva II (*ibid.*, vol. IX, p. 171; *Le Népāl*, vol. 3, p. 104), and perhaps also of Viṣṇugupta, Udayadeva and Skandadeva, who are known to have been *yuvarājas* (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. IX, pp. 170, 171; *Journey in Nepāl*, p. 77). On the other hand, Narendra's reign would be lengthened to nearly 70 years from 646 A.C. to 595 + 119 = 714 A.C. There is another reason for not accepting Dr. Lévi's conclusion of 696 A.C. With this date, Jiṣṇugupta would still be ruling along with the Licchavi Dhruvadeva in Saṃvat 48 = 643 A.C. (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. IX, p. 171). But six years earlier, in 637 A.C. the double government seems to have already ended, as Hiuen-Tsiang refers to the ruling king of Nepāl as a Kṣatriya of the Licchavi family, completely ignoring the existence of any joint ruler (*Si-yu-ki*, tr. S. Beal, vol. II, p. 81). These facts confirm the inference that we have to choose between 572, 591 and 610 A.C. as the equivalent of Saṃvat 34, and the earlier the better, to allow a sufficient interval for the reigns of the kings mentioned between Aṃśuvarman and Narendra. With Saṃvat 34 = 572 A.C., we arrive at the date of 538 A.C. With this date, the interval between Aṃśuvarman and Narendra would be about 50 years (*c.* 580 to *c.* 630 A.C.), and the reign of Narendra may be dated from *c.* 630 A.C. to *c.* 655 A.C. In all probability, Narendra was the Licchavi king mentioned by Hiuen-Tsiang.

We may now inquire into the origin of this era. As the earliest

inscriptions in this era are those of Aṃśuvarman, and as he is known to have been a learned, virtuous, valiant and famous king, we may be tempted to infer that he was the founder of the era. As Dr. Bhagavānlāl admits with his usual candour, "it is well-known that to establish a new era is a wish dear to the heart of ambitious Indian princes, and that, to the great detriment of Indian chronology, only too many have succeeded in effecting it." But only an anointed king can initiate a new era, and Aṃśuvarman was only a *Mahāsāmanta* as late as year 34 of this era (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. IX, p. 169; *Journey in Nepāl*, p. 74). He drops this title in year 39 (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. IX, p. 170), and he is called *Mahārājādhirāja* only after his death (*ibid.*, p. 171). It is therefore certain that, however great and powerful he may have become before his death, he was not the founder of the era that he uses; and his co-ruler Śivadeva I does not use this era at all, but adheres to the older era. It may therefore be inferred that the era was founded by the original master of Aṃśuvarman, whose *Mahāsāmanta* he was in the early part of his career.

The *Vaṃśāvalis* come to our rescue just where the inscriptions fail us. It tells us that just before the accession of Aṃśuvarman, Vikramāditya came to Nepāl and established his era there (Wright, *History of Nepāl*, p. 131). This Vikramāditya, who came to Nepāl and established an era there in 538 A.C., I believe, could be no other than Yaśodharman, who claims to have ruled over countries that did not own the sway of even the all-conquering Guptas and Hūṇas, and that abound with deserts, mountains, forests, rivers and valiant fighters, and who was ruling in Mālava Saṃvat 589 expired=533 A.C. (Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, nos. 33-35). Nepāl is not mentioned by name in the inscription referred to, but the description leaves us in little doubt as to the country intended, and, taken along with the account of the *Vaṃśāvalis*, justifies us in concluding that Yaśodharman did in fact claim suzerainty over Nepāl. Aṃśuvarman was probably his viceroy, who, while leaving Śivadeva I to remain as the nominal king of Nepāl, was himself the *de facto* ruler of the country. After Yaśodharman's death, he seems to have left off calling himself *Mahāsāmanta* and become ruler in his own name. But the double government did not continue long, as Śivadeva II, a descendant of the Licchavi kings of Mānagṛha palace,

issues his grants from Kailāśakūṭa, the palace of Aṃśuvarman and Jiṣṇugupta; and, if Hiuen-Tsiang be relied upon, the end of the double government dates from the time of Narendradeva himself. It may be noted in this connection that Śivadeva I himself refers to Aṃśuvarman's victories in war and efficient protection of the people, and to his reputation having spread beyond the frontiers of Nepāl (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. IX, p. 168), and that therefore there was no conflict between them, even as today there is no conflict between the nominal ruler of Nepāl and his all-powerful Prime Minister.

It now remains to determine the epoch of the earlier Nepāl era. In Saṃvat 520, Śivapaḍa I was ruling (*Le Nepāl*, vol. III, p. 79), but in Saṃvat 48, Dhruvadeva had succeeded him in Mānagṛha (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. IX, p. 171). Saṃvat 520 of the earlier era must therefore date before Saṃvat 48 of the later era. The epoch of the earlier era must therefore date before 538 + 48 − 520 = 66 A.C. On the other hand, as Aṃśuvarman is mentioned as a co-ruler of Śivadeva I in the inscription of Saṃvat 518 (*Journey in Nepal*, p. 72, as corrected by Dr. Lévi), it cannot date before 538 A.C., and consequently the epoch of the earlier era must be later than 538 − 518 = 20 A.C. This epoch thus falls between 20 and 66 A.C. Now an inscription of Saṃvat 449 mentions *prathama Āṣāḍha* (*Le Nepāl*, vol. III, p. 51). We have seen that *adhika* months were calculated in Nepāl of that period by mean motions and Brahmagupta's rule. Applied to an epoch of between 20 and 66 A.C., Saṃvat 449 falls between 469 and 515 A.C. Between these limits, there was *prathama Āṣāḍha* by mean motions and Brahmagupta's rule only in the years 483 and 502 A.C. The epoch therefore of the earlier Nepāl era must be placed in either 34 or 53 A.C. Applied to these epochs, the year 518 of Śivadeva I and Aṃśuvarman falls in 552 A.C. and 571 A.C. respectively, while the Aṃśuvarman's inscriptions range from Saṃvat 30 to 40 + X = 568 to 578 + X A.C. Of the two epochs 34 and 53 A.C., the former seems more suitable for reasons of averages, though the latter also is possible. Considering the proximity of 34 A.C. to the epoch of the Śaka era, it may be brought that the earlier Nepāl inscriptions are probably dated in the Śaka era. But, appliled to the Śaka era, there was no *adhika Āṣāḍha* in Śaka 449, whether we take the year as current or as expired, whether we calculate by mean or by true motions, and whether we apply

the ordinary or the Brahmagupta rule for *adhika months*. It is therefore certain that the earlier Nepāl inscriptions are dated not in the Śaka era, but in an era having an epoch of 34 or 53 A.C. It may be noted that Dr. Lévi arrived at the epoch of 110 A.C. by applying the ordinary rule for *adhika* months, and by assuming that the epoch of the later Nepāl era was from 595 A.C. The credit however of realising the chronological value of the reference to the *adhika* months in Nepāl inscriptions must go to him.

Jayadeva's inscription of Saṃvat 153 gives us a continuous genealogy of the Licchavi kings from Vṛṣadeva to Vasantadeva; then it breaks off with the words *asyāntare'py Udayadeva iti kṣitīśāt jā(ṭāstrayodaśa tata)śca Narendradevaḥ;* and then continues with Śivadeva and Jayadeva. The letters within brackets are conjectural, as read by Dr. Bhagavānlāl as in this portion the inscription is illegible. But it is clear that there was an interval between Vasantadeva and Narendradeva. It is not certain, however, whether Udayadeva comes immediately after Vasantadeva, or just before Narendradeva, that is, whether Udaya was the father or a remote ancestor of Narendra. Here again the usually unreliable *Vaṃśāvalis* come to our rescue. There is a remarkable agreement between the inscriptions and the *Vaṃśāvalis* regarding this particular group of kings. The *Vaṃśāvalis* give the same succession Vṛṣadeva, Śaṅkaradeva, Dharmadeva, Mānadeva, Mahīdeva and Vasantadeva; it adds, as in the inscription, that Vṛṣadeva was a Buddhist and what is not mentioned in the inscriptions, that Śaṅkarācārya came from the south and destroyed the Buddhist faith in Nepāl. Its chronology, however, conflicts with that of the inscriptions. For instance, it assigns to Mahīdeva a reign of 51 years. But he could not have reigned for more than 22 years, as we have inscriptions of his father and son dated Saṃvats 413 and 435 respectively. Again, Vasantadeva is said to have been crowned in Kali 280=301 B.C., while the inscriptions date him in 435+34 =469 A.C. But we may rely on its genealogy, and follow it in placing between Vasantadeva and Śivadeva I the three kings Udayadeva, Mānadeva II and Guṇakāmadeva. This fixes the place of Udayadeva just after Vasantadeva, and not just before Narendradeva. The existence of the other two kings Mānadeva II and Guṇakāmadeva is vouched for by the so-called Mānāṅka and Guṇāṅka coins of Nepāl, and also by an

inscription of Gaṇadeva of Mānagṛha, dated Saṃvat 400+X (*Le Nepāl*, vol. III, p. 55). Between Śivadeva I and Narendradeva, we have the two Licchavi kings Dhruvadeva and Mānadeva III of the inscriptions dated Saṃvat 48 and Saṃvat 500+X, both of them being co-rulers in succession of Jiṣṇugupta (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. IX, p. 171; *Le Nepal*, vol. III, p. 1043). Omitting therefore Aṃśuvarman (*c.* 538-578 A.C.) and Jiṣṇugupta (586 A.C.), who were not Licchavi kings, the early kings of Nepāl ruled in succession as follows:—

(1)	Vṛṣadeva		*c.* 350-374 A.C.
(2)	Śaṅkaradeva		*c.* 374-397 A.C.
(3)	Dharmadeva		*c.* 397-420 A.C.
(4)	Mānadeva I		*c.* 420-447 A.C.
(5)	Mahīdeva		*c.* 447-493 A.C.
(6)	Vasantadeva		*c.* 469-493 A.C.
(7)	Udayadeva		*c.* 493-516 A.C.
(8)	Mānadeva II		*c.* 516-540 A.C.
(9)	Guṇakāmadeva		*c.* 540-562 A.C.
(10)	Śivadeva I		*c.* 562-586 A.C.
(11)	Dhruvadeva		*c.* 586-610 A.C.
(12)	Mānadeva III		*c.* 610-633 A.C.
(13)	Narendradeva		*c.* 633-657 A.C.
(14)	Śivadeva II		*c.* 657-683 A.C.
(15)	Jayadeva		*c.* 683-700 A.C.

K. G. Sankar

MISCELLANY

Kātyāyana—The Jurist

We have a number of Kātyāyanas referred to in ancient Indian literature, and this has naturally led to a confusion in identifying them with regard to their respective writings and the time at which they lived. A *Śrautasūtra* and a *Śrāddhakalpa* of the White Yajur Veda are attributed to a certain Kātyāyana; the *Vyavahāramātṛkā* quotes a Bṛhat Kātyāyana, and *Dāyabhāga* quotes a Vṛddha Kātyāyana: Hemādri refers to one Upakātyāyana. We have again references to a Kātyāyana as the author of a Dharmaśāstra in the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*;[1] to another Kātyāyana as the author of an Arthaśāstra in Kauṭalya's *Arthaśāstra* and to a grammarian Kātyāyana in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, the last being identified with Vararuci. There is also a reference in the Buddhist books to a certain Kaccāyana as the celebrated author of the first Pāli Grammar.[2]

We are concerned at present primarily with Kātyāyana the law-giver and incidentally with the grammarian bearing that reputed name. That Kātyāyana belongs to the group of ancient law-givers is sufficiently manifest from the reference in the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* to Kātyāyana as the author of a Dharmaśāstra. In my *Mauryan Polity* (pp. 19-22) it has been shown that Yājñavalkya lived earlier than the fourth century B.C., he being earlier in point of time than Kauṭalya. The fact that Kātyāyana is referred to by Yājñavalkya is an evidence that Kātyāyana lived earlier than Yājñavalkya, or was an honoured older contemporary.

Baudhāyana[3] cites Kātyāyana as a judicial authority. Himself a jurist, Baudhāyana quotes the opinion of the fellow jurist.

1 I, 4.

2 See P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstras*, I, p. 213 ff. (1930, Poona); also N. C. Bandyopādhyāya, *Kātyāyanamatasaṅgraha*, (Calcutta University 1927), Introduction, pp. 9-11.

3 *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra*, i. 2. 47.

The *Dharmasūtra* of Baudhāyana is an ancient work and has been taken as pre-Buddhistic in date by J. J. Meyer, whose researches in the Arthaśāstras and Dharmaśāstras are too well known.[4] This proves that the jurist Kātyāyana lived in the fifth century B.C. or earlier.

Thirdly, there is the proof furnished by Kauṭalya's *Arthaśāstra*. Kauṭalya quotes several of his predecessors by name, and wherever he disagrees with the views of any one of them, he quotes his view and furnishes his own reasons to differ from them. He quotes the view of Kātyāyana that a king well served by a courtier shows his favours broadcast and thus mentions him as an authority on the Arthaśāstra. We need not conclude from this reference[5] that Kātyāyana or any other author quoted by Kauṭalya were all authors of Arthaśāstra treatises. In fact, in the epoch of Kauṭalya, there was no clear distinction between the Arthaśāstra and the Dharmaśāstra. Each Dharmaśāstra had a section or sections devoted to Daṇḍanīti or aspects of ancient Indian polity. Barring the semi-mythical authors of an accredited Arthaśāstra like Śukra (Uśanas) and Bṛhaspati, there was none who wrote solely on polity. And it was given to Kauṭalya to compile a first class work on the Arthaśāstra. Hence the Kauṭalīyan reference to Kātyāyana may be taken as a tolerable proof to the existence of the jurist Kātyāyana, whose work, if any, has been unfortunately lost to us.

Fourthly, Kātyāyana figures in the list of judicial authorities enumerated in the great epic, the *Mahābhārata*. Though the nature of the epic composition precludes assigning a date with any fixity, still proof is not lacking to show that the Rājadharma section of the *Mahābhārata* is admittedly pre-Kauṭalīyan. Kauṭalya has largely drawn from the epic, as he has done from Yājñavalkya. There is no reference to Kauṭalya-Cāṇakya in the epic, and this, though a negative evidence, shows that the Rājadharma portion of the *Mahābhārata* is a pre-Kauṭalīyan composition. In addition to the two traditional names

4 *Altind. Rechtsschieftan*, p. vii quoted in Keith, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, preface, p. xix.

5 *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. V., sec. 5.

Śukra and Bṛhaspati, the epic mentions Nārada and Kaṇika (apparently Kaṇika Bharadvāja of the *Kauṭalīya*) as masters on Polity and Diplomacy. The mention of Kātyāyana and the non-mention of Kauṭalya are proofs positive of the fact that Kātyāyana was anterior to Kauṭalya.

Fifthly, the legal texts of Kātyāyana constructed from the different law digests and well-known commentaries on recognised law books point to the indebtedness of Kātyāyana the jurist to the works of Bhṛgu, Bṛhaspati, and Manu. Most of the references to Manu are not to be traced in the extant *Manusmṛti*. They are evidently quotations from an ancient work, now lost to us. Does not Kauṭalya quote a Mānava school? Next to Śukra and Bṛhaspati, there was the work of an ancient author Manu, who is quoted as an authority on both the epics, the Purāṇas and the Dharmaśāstras. Whatever that may be, the fact remains that Kātyāyana is an older author than the compiler of the extant *Manusmṛti*, whose date of composition is fixed differently by scholars from the 2nd century B.C. to 2nd century A.D.

Sixthly, we are told that Nārada and Bṛhaspati are models of Kātyāyana,[6] and that while Kātyāyana's treatment of Strīdhana is classical, Nārada's is brief and concise. If Kātyāyana's views are in advance of Nārada and his treatment of topics like Strīdhana is classical, may it not be reasonable to say that Nārada was later than Kātyāyana. Even granting that it was the other way about, viz., Nārada was the predecessor and Kātyāyana was the follower, we are on safe grounds. For according to J. J. Meyer, Nārada is to be classified to a period anterior to Manu and Yājñavalkya.[7] If Nārada is anterior to Yājñavalkya, Kātyāyana, it has been shown, is anterior to Yājñavalkya.

Lastly, if there is any truth in the tradition that a certain Kātyāyana was the minister of the Nanda kings, then that Kātyāyana must be the jurist Kātyāyana, or the jurist and grammarian Kātyāyana. The Office of the Minister required a thorough knowledge of the Dharmaśāstras and Arthaśāstras. A grammarian may possess them or may not; but the jurist must possess them. If we grant this, the

6 P. V. Kane, *op. cit.*

7 Meyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-114. quoted in Keith's *History of Sanskrit Literature*, Preface, p. xix.

Kathāsaritsāgara confuses the jurist with the grammarian, *i.e.*, one and the same person was both jurist and grammarian.

Thus the effort of Mr. P. V. Kane to assign a late date 400-600 A.D. to the jurist Kātyāyana is not convincing.[3] He was undoubtedly an ancient author, anterior in time to Kauṭalya who flourished at the close of the Nanda dynasty and the commencement of the Maurya rule. The lower limit of the jurist's date can be roughly fixed at 350 B.C.

V. R. R. Dikshitar

Kātyāyana—The Grammarian

Intimately connected with the above discussion is the examination of the date of Kātyāyana, the grammarian. According to the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, Puṣpadanta, one of the members of Śivagaṇa, overheard Śiva speaking to his consort Pārvatī and was cursed by the latter for it. Wandering on the earth in the form of a man, he came to be known by the name of Vararuci and Kātyāyana. Versed in sciences, he became the minister of a Nanda king. The rest of the legend need not deter us for the moment.[1] According to the Purāṇas, the Nandas ruled the earth for one hundred years before the Mauryas, roughly 425-325 B.C. According to the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, Kātyāyana must have lived sometime between 425 and 325 B.C.

But this militates against another tradition transmitted by Somadeva. In the fourth Taraṅga, it is said, that Pāṇini and Kātyāyana were contemporaries, and Pāṇini's (*sarvaṃ vyākaraṇam*) new grammar came to be regarded as authoritative and supplanted the reputation of the old Aindra Grammar which was lost in course of time.[2] This statement of the Ocean of Story makes two broad assumptions. First, there was in vogue the Aindra School of grammarians of which Kātyāyana may be fairly taken to be the last representative from the term *aindratvyākaraṇam* put in the mouth of Vararuci-Kātyāyana.[3]

3 *op. cit.*, p. 217 f.

1 See *Kathāpīṭha*, Bk. I. Chs. I & II, translated by C. H. Tawney.

2 Verses 21-25. 3 Verse 25.

For it is mentioned that this school of grammar disappeared out of the earth, and it was only Pāṇini's new grammar that gained predominance and authority. Secondly, Kātyāyana was a contemporary of Pāṇini. If the theory of contemporaneity of Pāṇini and Kātyāyana be accepted, the date of Kātyāyana, must be fixed also in the 7th century B.C.,[4] which Dr. Belvalkar rightly assigns to Pāṇini. According to Belvalkar and Goldstücker,[5] a considerable interval of time must have elapsed between Pāṇini and Kātyāyana. It is not necessary to traverse the grounds advanced in favour of this proposition. Suffice it to say that where there are changes, they are improvements effected by Kātyāyana upon Pāṇini. In the light of this and other valid statements, it can be concluded that there is not much force in the argument for contemporaneity of the two grammarians.

But the other tradition as transmitted by the *Kathāsaritsāgara* seems to be an historical fact and this is that Kātyāyana was the minister of a certain Nanda king. Again the proposition that he was a follower of the Aindra School, which came to an end with the prevalent popularity of the Pāṇinian School can be accepted. At this stage, we are embarrassed by an independent tradition as preserved in the Buddhist literature. We hear of a Kaccāyana or Mahākaccāyana as an immediate disciple of the Buddha. Dr. B. C. Law would ignore this tradition,[6] for, according to him, there was no book of Pāli grammar in existence till we come to the age of the three great Pāli commentators. It is contended that Pāṇini was the standard grammatical authority with the Buddhist scholiasts in the fifth and sixth century A.D., as Buddhaghoṣa and *Dhammapada* seem to seek guidance more from the rules of Pāṇini than those of Kātyāyana.

As against this theory it may be stated that the Buddhist tradition of a Kātyāyana—Pāli Veyyākaraṇa is ancient and cannot be disputed though the Buddhist scholiasts would or would not acknowledge him for their purposes.

Secondly, the Buddhist works claim Kaccāyana as the immediate

4 *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, p. 18.
5 pp. 122-157.
6 *A History of Pāli Literature*, p. 634.

disciple of the Buddha, and hence as his contemporary, possibly a young contemporary.

Thirdly, Buddhaghoṣa refers to a Pāli Veyyākaraṇa; hence to say that it does not signify a treatise on grammar is hardly acceptable.

Fourthly, the *Dhammapada* emphasises[7] the importance of grammar for the growth and richness of a language.[8]

Fifthly, no language would be able to produce a vast and rich field of literature without a proper grammatical treatise dealing with that language. How are we to explain the phenomenal growth of the Pāli canonical literature with no grammatical basis, as also the fine commentaries of the later period. It may be more reasonable to suppose that as Kātyāyana himself looked upon Pāṇini as the standard authority, as we see from the many identical *sūtras* no wonder the Buddhist scholiasts looked to Pāṇini's rules for guidance, for all belonged to the same system—the Pāṇinian system.

Sixthly, that it was a compilation made by some Buddhist teachers of Ceylon and fathered upon Kātyāyana cannot be proved.

Seventhly, the theory advanced by Weber[9] that the Pāli Grammar of Kaccāyana is based upon the *Kātantra*, a short grammatical treatise of the first century A.D. cannot be accepted. The plans are identical. It is hardly necessary to elaborate them. It would be more appropriate if it were the other way about. Considering the nature and subject of the treatises, it is surely unconvincing that the celebrated author took this elementary book of *Kātantra* as his model. In our opinion the author of the *Kātantra* was indebted to the Pāli Grammarian as he was also undoubtedly to Pāṇini. If the foregoing evidences go to prove anything, it is that the Pāli Grammar of Kaccāyana was an ancient one and that its author was perhaps a younger contemporary of the Buddha.

A question naturally arises here. May it not be that the author of the Vārttikas and the author of the Pāli Grammar were one and the same person? Bred up in the Aindra School and disciplined by the Buddha, it may be asked, did he become a critic of the new grammar

7 Verse 332. 8 Quoted in p. 63.

9 *History of Indian Literature*, p. 227.

which had settled itself as the standing authority If this theory has an air of plausibility about it, this grammarian should have flourished in the fifth century B.C.

Before we close this discussion it is better we clear ourselves of a few misconceptions as regards the Aindra School of grammarians. Burnell, who was the first to investigate into this question, came to the conclusion that by the Aindra Grammar one must understand a school of grammar, and not a specific work by an individual,[10] and that the Aindra School was the representative of languages other than Sanskrit viz., Pāli, Prākṛt, and Dravidian languages. In this connection a comparison was instituted between the *Tolkāppiyam* and the Kaccāyana Grammar and the *Kātantra*. It is difficult to accept these two theories. In refutation of the first theory there is the Vedic authority of the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* where the following hymn attributes the work to an individual author:—

वाग् वै पराच्यव्याकृताऽवदत्। ते देवाः इन्द्रमब्रुवन्निमां नो वाचं व्याकुर्विति।.....
तामिन्द्रो मध्यतोऽवक्रम्य व्याकरोत्। (VI. 4. 7.)

Thus we have the eloquent testimony of the Vedic Saṃhitā that Indra was the first grammarian and his grammar became *Aindra Vyākaraṇa*. It may be that a number of grammatical studies based on this old treatise was in vogue, at the time of Pāṇini, and like Kauṭalya, Pāṇini systematised the floating theories and gave an all round acceptable shape to his thesis. If Indra's grammar was beyond the pale of Sanskrit grammars, there would have been no occasion for the Veda to mention it. The Vedic citation shows that it was the first and original Sanskrit grammar. With the growth of the language before and during the time of Pāṇini he felt the necessity to re-organise the whole system of grammatical theories, and when a good and critical edition of Pāṇini came, the older treatises gradually died out, though a feeble voice here and there like that of Kātyāyana and *Kātantra* were raised in favour of the old theories and against the innovation of new theories of grammar. As the chief persons who raised such a protest were the followers of the Jaina school or of the Buddha, the literary

10 *On the Aindra School of Sanskrit Grammarians*, p. 81.

traditions of these two sects began to accept them as the representatives of the older theories.

But as has been pointed out, their spokesman Kaccāyana or *Kātantra* could not ignore the influences of Pāṇini and had to adopt identical *sūtras* in their books. As a matter of fact the Buddhist scholiasts as far as the 5th and 6th century A.D., ignored this Kātyāyana grammar and looked to Pāṇinian standards as their model. Thus the Indra system of grammatical theories died hard and no wonder even ancient writings betray ignorance of a sectarian Indra school as different from the orthodox school.[11] What we have to infer is that Indra's grammar became as much a Sanskrit grammar as Pāṇini's but with the march of time its theories became antiquated and obsolete. A new grammar was necessary, and this was supplied by Pāṇini. Another inference we have to make is that as the older grammatical theories more fitted in the languages other than Sanskrit, they were incorporated in the Dravidian languages as well as Pāli; and it is just possible that a southerner like Kātyāyana incorporated the older theories wherever it suited his purposes and adopted the new grammar wherever that suited him. He did not ignore either. It is just possible that both the grammarian and the jurist flourished either in the same epoch or at a short interval of time.

V. R. R. Dikshitar

The Last Maukhari Prince

The sixth century of the Christian era was a period of great ferment and upheaval in the domain of ancient Indian history. In this century the provinces of the Gupta empire began to slip away from the sovereign's grip owing to the irruption of the savage Hūṇas and the growth of other ambitious monarchs. History undoubtedly records the continuance of the rule of the Guptas till long afterwards[1] but the process of disintegration had gone too far and fresh complications had arisen

11 See, for instance, Kavundi Aḍigaḷ's speech in the *Silappadikāram*, canto XI, l. 199.

1 Ray Chaudhuri—*Pol. Hist. of India*, p. 391.

due to the growth of new powers. Consequently during this turmoil we find principalities of Valabhī, Thaneswar, Kanauj and Gauḍas in N. India among whom the Maukharis got the upper hand.

Rise and fall of Maukharis

Amid this political convulsion, though the later Guptas tried to revive their lost glories, the Maukharis were able to assert their independence. The status of this family was brought to the imperial dignity by the victorious arms of Iśānavarman and Sarvavarman.[2] The rivalry between the Maukharis and the Guptas in the preceding generation did not come to an end but culminated in the final overthrow of the former by the latter.

The last king of the Maukhari dynasty was Grahavarman who was married to Rājyaśrī,—the daughter of Prabhākaravardhana—the contemporary Vardhana ruler of Thaneswar. This nuptial ceremony is described in a beautiful manner by Bāṇa in the fourth Ucchvāsa of *Harṣacarita*.[3] Thus by this marriage were united two well-known and powerful dynasties of the 6th century India. But the after-effect of this alliance proved to be fatal for the Maukhari king. A member of the later Gupta dynasty—Devagupta of Malwa[4]—being jealous owing to the growing power and the inveterate rivalry with Maukharis, formed an *entente* with the Gauḍas. On account of the previous enmity between the Maukharis and the Gauḍas, Śaśāṅka was awaiting an opportunity and started to help Devagupta. The Gupta and the Gauḍa scheme was eminently successful; Kanauj lay prostrate before their combined force[5] and Grahavarman was killed in the fight.

Bhogavarman

With the occupation of the throne of Kanauj by Harṣa,[6] a question arises whether there was none in the Maukhari family to ascend the

2 Dr. Tripathi—The Maukharis of Kanauj, (*JBORS.*, vol. XX, pp. 64-70).

3 *Harṣacarita*, (N. S. edition), 4th ucchvāsa, pp. 140-149.

4 Madhuban copper plate (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. I, p. 70); C. V. Vaidya, *Hist. of the Mediaeval Hindu India*, vol. I, p. 35.

5 Beal, *Life*, p. 211: Beal, *Record*, vol. I, p. 211.

6 Watters I, p. 345; *IHQ.*, vol. III, p. 773; Smith, *Early History of India*, 4th ed., p. 351.

Maukhari throne of Kanauj? If Harṣavardhana secured it with the approval of his sister Rājyaśrī, why did she make this choice in the presence of a Maukhari prince? This question has not been satisfactorily decided as yet and cannot be answered unless we study the various Nepal inscriptions mentioning the name of a Maukhari prince Bhogavarman, whose name is not so far known from any other source.

In all, there are two Nepal inscriptions which mention the name of Bhogavarman. They are:—

(A) Inscription issued in the reign of Śivadeva I dated 638 A.D.[7]

(B) The second inscription is No. 541 of Kielhorn's List.[8]

From a study of these two inscriptions we can re-construct the personal history of Bhogavarman as follows:—

1. Bhogavarman was a prince of the Maukhari family.

2. His father's name was Śūrasena.

3. His mother was Bhogadevī; she established a Śiva-Liṅgam in Nepal.

4. He was married to a Magadha princess, the daughter of Ādityasena, the most famous and powerful ruler among the later Guptas.

5. His daughter was Vatsadevī and she was married to the Nepal king Śivadeva II.

6. He held the important office of a *Dūtaka* in Nepal during the reign of Śivadeva I (638 A.D.)

Another Nepal record[9] dated 153 in Harṣa Era (=759 A.D.) also refers to a person named Bhogavarman. This inscription was issued by Jayadeva II—the last Licchavi ruler of Mānagṛha. But this Bhogavarman cannot be identified with the last Maukhari prince who acted as a *Dūtaka* in 638 A.D.

Bhogavarman's father—Śūrasena

Grahavarman is believed to be the last scion of the Maukhari dynasty with whom it ended finally. But on the authority of the said inscriptions we may add the name of Śūrasena and his son Bhogavarman

7 S. Lévi, No. IX.
8 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. V (appendix).
9 *IA.*, vol. IX, p. 178.

to the Maukhari genealogy. Harṣa ascended the throne of Kanauj probably in 606 A.D. (the initial date of H.E.) It, therefore, appears that Grahavarman must have been dead by that date. By analysing the dates in the Nepal inscription we infer that Bhogavarman's father could not have been a very old man at the time of the death of Grahavarman, for we know that his son Bhogavarman was holding the office of a *Dātaka* in 638 A.D. merely thirty-eight years after the slaying of Grahavarman by the Malwa ruler.[10] From the fact that Harṣavardhana ascended the throne of Kanauj with the approval of Rājyaśrī, the widow of Grahavarman, it is evident that Grahavarman left no issue to succeed him.[11] This is further supported by a statement of Patralaṭā on behalf of Rājyaśrī. 'A husband or a son is a woman's true support, but to those who are deprived of both it is immodesty even to continue to live.'[12] Besides, the *Harṣacarita* also hints at the 'disappearance of all her other relatives.'[13] Hence we presume that Śūrasena who was undoubtedly, as shown above, a junior contemporary of Grahavarman, was a younger brother of this last Maukhari ruler. We are supported in this surmise by a remark of Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa in his *Harṣacarita* (p. 141) where he calls Grahavarman, the eldest son (सुतप्रजो) of Avantivarman. Thus according to him Avantivarman had more than one son. To take Śūrasena to be the son of Grahavarman appears to be wholly out of the question, since we are not justified in placing two successive generations within such a short period of eighteen years, and Bhogavarman must have been at least twenty years old when he held the *Dātaka* office (638 A.D.). These arguments go to show that Śūrasena was the younger brother of Grahavarman; probably he left his brother (Grahavarman) during the Gupta-Gauḍa disturbance. This seems to be the only reason why Rājyaśrī did not favour him, and her final choice fell on Harṣa for ascending the Kanauj throne. Śūrasena, being deprived of his sovereignty of Kanauj, settled in Nepal where he passed his last days in safety and probably his son Bhogavarman was born there.

10 *Harṣacarita* (Trans. by Cowell and Thomas), p. 173.
11 Vaidya, *History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, vol. I, p. 7.
12 *Harṣacarita*, Translation, p. 254. 13 *Ibid.*, p. 244.

Marriage of Bhogavarman

After the demise of Harṣavardhana Ādityasena, the Gupta sovereign of Magadha, commanded the supreme position in the politics of northern India[14] and assumed the imperial title of *Parama Bhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara*.[15] The date of this monarch can be fixed with the help of Shāhpur inscription[16] dated 66 of H.E. (=672 A.D.). From the Kendur copper-plate[17] we learn that about 680 A.D. Sakalottarāpatha-nātha (the master of northern India)—Devagupta, the heir of Ādityasena, was on the Gupta throne. Therefore, on the evidence of these two inscriptions, we conclude that Ādityasena's rule must have ended by 675 A.D. We find an inscription which refers to the marriage of the daughter of Ādityasena with the Maukhari Bhogavarmaṇa.[18] This fact is also supported by the Nepal inscription issued in the time of Śivadeva I, 638 A.D.[19] In that very report it is mentioned that Vatsadevī, daughter of Bhogavarman, was married to the Nepal king Śivadeva II. A matrimonial alliance between the later Guptas and the Maukharis was not a new one. The second Gupta king Harṣagupta married his sister to the Maukhari ruler Ādityavarman.[20] Owing to the previous practice Ādityasena married his daughter to Bhogavarmaṇa. Assuming 675 A.D. as the last date of this Gupta king Ādityasena, it may be supposed that the marriage of Bhogavarman might have taken place in the middle of the seventh century A.D. The approximate date fixed above goes to show that Bhogavarman was married (*c.* 650 A.D.) after he had acted as a *Dūtaka* in Nepal (638 A.D.).

14 Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 313.

15 *CII.*, vol. III, no. 44. 16 *Ibid.*, no. 43.

17 *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. I, part II., p. 189.

18 Kielhorn, *INI.*, no. 541.

19 देवी बाहुबलाढ्य मोखरिकुल श्रीवर्म चूडामणि-,
ख्याति हे पित वैरि भूपतिगण श्री भोगवर्म्मोद्भवा ।
दौहित्री मगधाधिपस्य महतः श्री आदित्यसेनस्य या ।
व्यूढाश्वीरीव तेन सा क्षितिभुजा श्री वत्सदेव्यादरात् ॥ (Verse 13)

20 *CII.*, vol. III., no. 51, p. 228.

Bhogavarman as a Dātaka

The personality of this young Maukhari prince impressed the Nepal ruler Śivadeva I so much that he appoined him to the high post of a *Dātaka* in 638 A.D. Probably Bhogavarman held that office for a long time. In those days the post of a *Dātaka* was regarded as a very high one and sometimes even the royal princes of Nepal were appointed to this post. On the authority of a certain Nepal inscription,[21] though it is mutilated, we find Vijayasena, the son and heir of Jayadeva II, holding the *Dātaka's* office. Vikramasena too—the Śarvadaṇḍa Nāyaka of Aṃśuvarman, a ruler of the Ṭhākuri dynasty of Kailāśakūṭa Bhavana in Nepal—sometimes acted as a *Dātaka*. These examples go to show that the office of a *Dātaka* was held in high esteem in the state and hence the high status of Bhogavarman can be easily estimated. The appointment of Bhogavarman to that high office was not only facilitated by his noble character but also by his high birth in the ruling Maukhari family which once played a very important rôle in the politics of northern India during the 6th century A.D.

Thus, we see that Bhogavarman occupied an exhalted position in the government of king Sivadeva I of Nepal. These facts invest the life of this Maukhari prince with a considerable amount of importance; the Nepalese inscriptions make clear that Bhogavarman was the last scion of the imperial Maukhari line of Kanauj.

BASUDEVA UPADHYAYA

21 Bhagvānlal Indraji, Ins. No. 15; Basak, *History of N. E. India*, p. 119.

'Śrī-Jīvadhāraṇa' of the Tipperah Copper-plate Grant of Lokanātha

Verses 7-9[1] of the Tipperah copperplate grant of Lokanātha present us with a number of puzzles which have not yet been solved by historians. Verse 7 refers to the frequent destruction of the paramount sovereign's armies sent against Lokanātha.[2] Verses 8 and 9 speak of Śrī-Jīvadhāraṇa's giving up military action and assigning a district and army to Lokanātha on considering that he had taken speedy action in the fight against Jayatuṅgavarṣa and was very much loved by his people. Now, who was this Śrī-Jīvadhāraṇa ? The context favours, I think, the identification

1 The verses are:—

दौहित्रस्स तु केव [श] (ब) स्य गुणवान् सत्यैकवं (व') धुस्सदा
दोर्दण्डज्वलितोत्तमासिसचिवप्रज्ञाजयस्साधनः ।
निर्व्याजोर्ज्जितसत्वसारतुरगः श्रीलोकनाथो (नृ) पो
यस्मिन्च्छ्रीपरमेश्वरस्यव (ब) हुशो यातं क्षयं सैनिकम् ॥b॥
दुर्लङ्घ्येजयतुङ्गवर्षस(म)रे सद्यः(प्रबो)गोर्थिनाम्
नीतौ नीतिविधानत(तो)नि(ति) चतुरो नित्यप्रहृष्टप्रजः ।
मन्त्र्यापादितनिर्व्वृ(ति) वैं(बं) भु(गु) खो विद्वत्प्रियस्सर्ववदा
सार्वैः साधुसमाश्रवः पदुमतिर्लब्धप्रतापोदयः ॥ c ॥
इत्याप्तमन्त्रमुविनिश्चितकृत्यवस्तुः
श्रीजीवधारण नृप(स्त) (पेत्य) ।
यस्मै ददौ स विषयं सह साधनेन
श्रीपद्मप्राप्तकरणाय विहाय राज्यम् ॥c॥

2 We cannot subscribe to Dr. R. G. Basak's opinion that "a large number of soldiers belonging to the paramount sovereign (*Parameśvara*) met with annihilation in a battle (?) *fought on his* (Lokanātha's) *behalf*." (*History of North-Eastern India*, p. 198). The line यस्मिन्च्छ्रीपरमेश्वरस्य बहुशो यातं क्षयं सैनिकम् states clearly that the *Parameśvara's* soldiers got frequently destroyed while fighting against and not on behalf of Lokanātha. Dr. Basak's own translation, viz. against him large armies of the *parameśvara* (supreme ruler) were many times discomfited," *EI.*, XV, 310) is argument enough against his view.

of *Parameśvara* or paramount sovereign with Śrī-Jīvadhāraṇa[3] who tries to oust Lokanātha from certain territories, but fails in doing so in spite of repeated efforts (v. 7), and ends by conciliating his powerful feudatory when he is reminded of Lokanātha's previous services by his ministers. He now makes him a regular *viṣayādhipa*, and assigns to him the old seal of the *Kumarāmātya's* department, written in early Gupta script, that we find affixed to the grant under discussion.

It is not difficult to find out this paramount sovereign Śrī-Jīvadhāraṇa. The Poona plates of the Vākāṭaka Queen Prabhāvatī Guptā make us familiar with the *Dhāraṇa gotra* of the Guptas. Śrī-Jīvadhāraṇa may therefore be equated with Jīvagupta or Jīvitagupta II, the last Gupta ruler of Bengal. The Tipperah plate of Lokanātha is probably dated in the year 144 of the Harṣa era, that is, in 750 A. D. which is the approximate date of Jīvitagupta II also. Only a few years back, Yaśovarman's success against Bengal had seriously undermined the authority of its rulers, and we need not, therefore, wonder, if we find feudatories and bold adventurers seizing new lands for themselves. The supreme ruler had not strength enough to curb their activities, and had perforce at times to recognize their titles to lands which should have otherwise belonged only to the supreme government. Jīvitagupta II did not succeed in establishing a strong central government, and was, as opined by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal,[4] most probably, captured and carried away as a prisoner by Lalitāditya of Kashmir.

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3 Dr. R. G. Basak is against identifying these two. (See his *History of N. E. India*, p. 199). The use of the title *nṛpa* makes him conclude that, like Lōkanātha, Jīvadhāraṇa also was a local chief in some part of Eastern India. But this is hardly proper. In the inscription of Skandagupta (Fleet, *GI.*, XIV), the word *nṛpa* refers to this emperor of India. Similarly the word *nṛpati* in v. 3 of Samudragupta's Eran inscription is believed to stand for the Gupta ruler. The Eran Posthumous inscription of Gōparāja calls Bhānugupta a mere *rāja* and Budhagupta is given barely the title *bhūpati* in his inscription of the same town. It might, therefore, be concluded that the mere use of the titles *nṛpa*, *rājā*, or *Mahārāja* does not give us any conclusive indication regarding the real position occupied by the people for whom these words are used.

4 *Imperial History of India*, p. 71.

Kauṭalya, Economic Planning and Climatology

(An Examination of Breloer's Kauṭalya Studies).

A work of substantial importance by Bernhard Breloer in several volumes has been attacking the Kauṭalya question from the standpoint of comparative jurisprudence. Some of his methods and conclusions ought to be valuable not only as contributions to the study of the *Arthaśāstra* itself but also in regard to the larger problems of Hindu polity, economy and law.

"Kauṭalya was no man of the crowd but a powerful statesman, a mind, from whose name the children of India even today feel a light palpitation of the heart, an Aryan endowed with intelligence and inflexibility, a figure like the Hagen of the *Nibelungenlied*. Hermann Jacobi who infused into my mind his respect for this extraordinary figure calls Kauṭalya the Bismarck of India because in his person and work he corresponds to what we Germans understand about the unifier of Germany.

"Not only did Kauṭalya raise that person to India's imperial throne who expelled the Macedonian army of occupation but he also extirpated the reigning royal family.

"This work did not appear to Kauṭalya, to follow his own words, more important than the collection of the laws which constitute the stuff of the present treatise. He considers this to be a political achievement which he himself placed by the side of his external activity, which indeed he frankly regarded as a necessary counterpart."

These are the words with which Breloer opens the Part I. *Finanzverwaltung und Wirtschaftsführung* or "Financial Administration and Economic Planning" (Leipzig 1934, 606 pages) of the Vol. III of his *Staatsverwaltung im alten Indien* or "Administration of the State in Ancient India." The two previous volumes are:—

1. *Das Grundeigentum in Indien* or "Landed Property in India" (Bonn 1927, 145 pages) which deals with the modern land-laws of India as well as with their history as embodied in Kauṭalya, Megasthenes, Akbar etc. and

2. *Altindisches Privatrecht bei Megasthenes und Kauṭalya* or "Hindu Private Law as described by Megasthenes and Kauṭalya" (Bonn 1928, 200 pages).

Indian Tradition as Starting Point

According to Breloer scepticism about authenticity can be overriden by those who have "some amount of confidence" in the indigenous tradition.

A bad touchstone is selected, says he, if one tries to test the authenticity of Kauṭalya by reference to the *Smṛti* literature. The Megasthenes question also, like the Kauṭalya question, cannot be solved with one stroke. He is not interested in the solution of the authentcity question for the present but is trying to build up a critical standpoint which may prepare the way for that solution. This is what he calls the "higher critical method" and evidently consists in the analysis of the principal contents (*beherrschende Materie*).[1] This explains why his Kauṭalya researches have carried him to the ancient, mediæval and modern, as well as to the East and the West (*wie breit eine Untersuchung anzulegen ist*).

Megasthenes in Agreement with Kauṭalya

In regard to Stein's *Megasthenes und Kautilya* (1922)[2] Breloer observes that the comparison between Megasthenes and Kauṭalya as regards legal institutions cannot be undertaken on the strength of a dictionary in the hand but of intensive juridical researches. But both in regard to landed property and to debts Megasthenes's reports were rejected flatly as exaggerated and idealized. The only witness that was available until now, namely, Megasthenes did not enjoy much confidence (*sich keines allzu grossen Vertrauens erfreute*) because people felt disappointed or cheated (?) (*getaeuscht*) with his reports. It is because of this want of confidence in both Megasthenes and Kauṭalya that comprative jurisprudence has been requisitioned by Breloer. He is interested, therefore, neither in the *Smṛti* literature nor in Megasthenes

1 Vol. I, pp. 4-6.

2 On the Megasthenes question see B. K. Sarkar "Hindu Politics in Italian" in the *IHQ.*, for September 1925—April 1926.

for comparison with Kauṭalya but in the history of other allied laws such as are likely to throw light especially on Megasthenes.[3]

And here the attention may be called to the paper on the "German Translation of the Kauṭilyan Arthaśāstra" in the *IHQ.*, for June 1928 in which the present author made the following remark: "We need a third and more reliable source on the strength of which both Kauṭilya and Megasthenes can be appraised as to the Maurya or non-Maurya elements reflected in each." Breloer's methodology may turn out to be fruitful in the long run.

From the standpoint of private law Stein's ideas, according to Breloer, have been proven to be baseless (*grundlos*). The alleged discrepancy between Megasthenes and Kauṭalya in regard to slavery does not exist. The absence of slavery in India as reported by Megasthenes is true in the sense that slavery as understood in Hellenistic Europe was unknown in India and that what was supposed to be slavery in India was really nothing but a relation of service which could be dissolved (*loesbares Dienstverthaeltnis*).[4] All the 15 kinds of *dāsa* described in the *Nārada Smṛti* are interpreted as staying outside the category of slaves, strictly so called.

As for the alleged absence of litigiousness among the Indians also Megasthenes's report is not as rosy as Stein and others believe.[5] Law suits were not unknown in India. Only the methods of civil process as prevalent in Greece were different from those in India. Witnesses likewise were known in Indian law courts according to Megasthenes. He was aware also of the use of seals. In the law of debts in Macedonia six witnesses were required for the validity of contract. India did not know this law. In Greece, again, the suits regarding debts constituted a special branch of the law of contract. But in India the general law of contract covered debts as other items. Altogether, according to Breloer, Megasthenes was not idealizing the Indian conditions and his reports in so far as these legal data are concerned agreed with the data of the Indian texts.

3 Vol. II, pp. 6-7.

4 Vol. II, pp. 6, 8, 10, 31-37, 48, 69, 70, 158. See Stein's *Megasthenes und Kautilya* (Vienna 1922) pp. 109-115.

5 Vol. II, pp. 70, 72, 75, 88, 126, 158.

Megasthenes really pointed to the special characteristics of Indian legal institutions. One should not therefore make much capital out of the alleged discrepancies between Kauṭalya and Megasthenes (*die Grundgedanken des Griechen auch aus den ueberlieferten indischen Rechtsquellen klarer hervortreten*). Apart from other topics of Hindu law and polity, the fact of Megasthenes being in substantial agreement with Kauṭalya is well calculated to open up new vistas in comparative sociology.

Kāuṭalya as Chancellor of Candragupta

The *Arthaśāstra* is postulated to have been written towards the end of the fourth century B.C. In this standpoint Berloer, to use his own words, follows his *guru* Jacobi, who recognized the authenticity of the work at the very outset while other well-known investigators are still sceptical. From the aphoristic language of the text no conclusions can be drawn as to the age, says he. "The authoritative grammar of Pāṇini which in point of quality is until today unsurpassed in the world should appear to be not far remote from the *Arthaśāstra* in time (*zeitlich nicht weit vom Arthaśāstra entfernt.*)"

The reasons for the scepticism of researchers he finds in their absence of knowledge regarding the facts with which the text deals and in over-cautiousness. It is because of these circumstances that according to him, researchers have been led to conclude that a *Stubengelehrter*, a "*tulo Paṇḍit*" (as we say in Bengal) or an academic scholar has "compiled this magnificient work out of authentic sources."[6]

Breloer is, on the contrary, convinced that any body who has studied with careful eye only the artistic structure of finance as embodied in this treatise would at once reject such a possibility. In his judgment the content of the work, no matter who be the author, mirrors forth actual life, practice and experience (*"reales Leben, Praxis und Erfahrung*).

Kauṭalya has been accepted as *Kanzler* (Chancellor) by Breloer. About the quality of Kauṭalya's treatise Breloer makes the following observation: "It is animated by a powerful mind, such as cannot be

6 Vol. III, pp. 91-92, 538.

misled or confused. The work has thereby been conducted to the highest height of political thought (*auf die höchstend Höhe der politischen Gesinnung*).[7]

The fundamental tone of the treatise is one of confidence (*zuversichtliche Grundstimmung*) which draws its strength from the certainty of "experience" or practical work (*Erfahrung*) and is fully conscious of the constrast with "experiment." Breloer means that in the preparation of the *Arthaśāstra* Kauṭalya was guided by the experience of things actually done rather than by what might be done as a result of experiments. The author is thus believed to have been more a practical statesman than otherwise.

Arthaśāstra as Document of Planned Economy

The postulate which runs through the entire volume and which indeed furnishes the socio-philosophical or economico-political scaffolding for the presentation of the Kauṭalyan data is to be mentioned at the outset. We are told that the objects that Hindu administration seeks to realize are something from which the conceptions of an European appears to be exceedingly different especially if the latter happens to be entangled in or possessed by the ideas of economic liberalism (*in wirtschaftsliberalen Denken verfangen*).[8] In the expression "*wirtschaftsliberalen Denken*" of Breloer's is to be understood the doctrine of *laissez faire*, economic freedom etc. as common in the history of economic thought from Adam Smith and Ricardo to Gustav Cassel and the general trends of thinking represented in the *Société d'Economie Politique de Paris*. It is to be taken as the antipodes of what today is being described as the policy of "economic planning," "planned economy" etc. so strongly associated although in diverse forms with Soviet Russia's "Gosplan" (state-planning), Fascist economics, the Hitler regime in Germany and the Rooseveltian new Deal.[9]

7 Vol. III, pp. 300-302, 538.

8 Vol. III, pp. 3, 302.

9 In regard to these anti-liberal economics see the liberalist Cassel's lecture entitled "From Protectionism through Planned Economy to Dictatorship at the Dunford House (Cobden Memorial Association), London, June 1934.

"One who is entangled in or committed to liberal thought," says Breloer in regard to the interpreters of Hindu politics, "fishes only for those items and judges the whole only according to those viewpoints which correspond to this kind of thinking. The result is a completely incorrect picture which arises from the wrong mental attitude of the interpreter."[10]

The planned economy, says he, should not at all appear new and unintelligible to the Indian, in so far "as the modern ideas of liberalism do not blind him to the otherwise constituted conditions of the Orient." Among the many theories of the state the Europeans knew hardly anything, so we are told, of the "conservative welfare-state (*Fuersorgestaat*) with planned economic control." It is the "most recent times" that according to him have "commenced to fill up the gap" and "wil assure to Europe also an honourable place in discussions bearing on the question."[11]

These passages make it clear, although he disclaims *propagandistische Tendenz* (p. 362) that Breloer is an admirer of the "most recent" political theories of planned economy etc., that he is expecting an "honourable place" for Europe in this respect in the future. It is evident also, as we have previously noted, that his sentiments against "liberalim" are quite pronounced. Finally, he says in so many words that the Hindu (and Oriental) state has "anticipated" the "most recent" political institutions and theories, namely, those of the welfare-state and economic control etc.

The economic aspect of administration, the *Plan-wirtschaft* (planned economy") is carried out in the *Artha-śāstra* with unquestionable thoroughness (*mit nicht zu leugnender Gruendlichkiet*) without letting the reader feel that the question here is of a pale theory.[12] On the contrary, every measure is established on the foundation of practice. If in regard to this, says Breloer, a strictness of attitude is observable, it is perhaps to be ascribed to the "famines in Candragupta's time of which the tradition speaks."

In these passages, written as we understand from the preface in

10 Vol. III, p. 2. 11 Vol. III, p. 362. 12 Vol. III, p. 11, 95, 302.

December 1933 towards the end of the first year of the national-socialist state in Germany, Breloer seems evidently to have the following equations before his mind's eye:

(1) Economic Policy of Kauṭalya = Planned Economy of Nazi State.

(2) Famines in Candragupta's time = unemployment in Hitler's Germany.

(3) Strictness of economic measures in the *Arthaśāstra* = strictness of the National-socialistic intervention in the private affairs of individuals from marriage to charity.

Such being the case a successful general like Candragupta, as he was known to the Romans, may have commissioned his teacher and statesman Kauṭalya with the preparation of a *Corpus juris*. It is also possible that because of the explicable or natural attempt to establish the unified state (*aus dem erklaerlichen Streben nach dem Einheitsstaat heraus*) it was in contemplation to transfer the dominant form and method of administration in Magadha to the whole of the new state, Kaiserreich or Empire. In this reference to the *Streben* of Candragupta *nach dem Einheitstaat*[13] Breloer is not uninfluenced by the epochmaking constitutional (and political) achievement of Hitler in 1933 consisting as it did in the abolition of the states and the final unification of Germany beyond the range of Bismarck's dreams. The following Indo-German equations should appear to have been at work in the atmosphere of Breloer's researches:

(1) Magadha (Candragupta) = Prussia (Hitler).

(2) Unification of India under the auspices of Magadha = Unification of Germany under the auspices of Prussia.

Breloer has not mentioned any contemporaries by name. But his sympathies leave no doubt as to what he means. In the hands of Jacobi we got the equation, Kauṭalya = Bismarck. Jacobi's pupil has carried the equation to the next generation of German statesmanship. At this stage we find that Kauṭalya = some German economist or economists who may be regarded as the guide-philosopher-friends of Hitler during 1933-34. It should be remarked that Gottfred Keller the ins-

13 Vol. III, p. 11.

pirer of Hitler in the communistic or socialistic aspects of national-socialism in 1921-22 cannot be regarded as one of them, because the Nazi regime in office has gone beyond those theorizings of the years just after the Great War.

That Breloer's interpretation of Kauṭalya has been greatly influenced by contemporary events in Germany is apparent from another interesting reference. We have seen that the author has commenced by saluting Kauṭalya as an 'Aryan' and as a kinsman of the heroes of the *Nibelungenlied*. Evidently, the Aryanism and race-cult of Hitler's socio-political philosophy can be credited with some impact on this ideology of Breloer's.

Kauṭalya=Tribonian.

One might suspect that the *Arthaśāstra* was perhaps a primer of lessons on politics to be imported to a young prince.[14] Breloer is emphatically against this view.

A mere pedagogic instruction of his uneducated king must be regarded as out of the question in the face of the circumstances. The work was not compiled for an uneducated man. Otherwise it would not be so difficult for us today to enter its contents.

Although Kauṭalya himself says that he has presented his material in an easily comprehensible form and 'further' that he has prepared his work or this portion of it for his prince his statements must not be exploited in the interest of a naïve interpretation.

So Breloer comes to the position of Jacobi who represented the standpoint that in the *Arthaśāstra* we are dealing with a "document of administrative law, the outline of a Magna-Charta, if not the legislative work of Kaiser Candragupta, which would raise the Emperor even above the Roman Kaiser Justinian." Both Candragupta and Justinian contemplated the expansion of their native law to the whole *Weltreich* (World-Empire) and the creation of modern law on the basis of the oldest sources. The old codes were collected, a school of scholars studied the material up into a modern work under the direction of a statesman, here Tribonian and there Kauṭalya. Thus we get the following equations:

14 Vol. III, pp. 11, 91-92.

(1) Candragupta = Justinian

(2) Kauṭalya = Tribonian

In so far as the parallels have been pushed back to the "classical" atmosphere, students of political science as well as indology should feel to be on more reasonable and solid ground.

Kauṭalya's work is described as *corpus juris universalis*, a collection of norms or rules, about which however nobody is sure as to whether it had even the power or sanction of law. But it is to be observed, says Breloer rather too naïvely for the fourth decade of the twentieth century, that in India the lawmaker was neither the king nor the state but the sayings of the old sages as interpreted by law scholars.[15]

Kauṭalya, however, did not himself make the norms or rules. He has pointed it out that he prepared a compilation. According to Breloer this implies in Hindu tradition that except where Kauṭalya introduces conflicting opinions (*aparāda*) and makes some criticism his treatise is to be taken as but the survey of general opinion.

It is possible to doubt if a single individual compiled this work in its present form and with its sub-divisions. "Even if the authorship of the Iron Chancellor should be taken to be an historical fact,—which there is hardly any substantial reason to doubt (*woran zu zweifeln kaum ein stichhaltiger Grund zu sehen ist*),[16]—it is only with the help of many scholars that like Tribonian he could have brought this compilation of laws together." Inspite of or rather just because of this circumstance, says Breloer, " a single powerful hand, an austere tone and a hard mind cannot be overlooked in this work." Kauṭalya's brain is appraised as follows: "Both in positive as well as in negative items the unbending opinion becomes manifest which quickly and clearly decides and likewise quickly offers the reasons for the decision almost before they are demanded."

Arthaśāstra as a Comprehensive Document of Hindu Polity for all Ages

According to Breloer Kauṭalya's work is unique in the Indian culture-world. It is characterized by *Vollstaendigkeit*, completeness or integrity as a system of public law comprising also, as it does, private

15 Vol. III, pp. 6-7. 16 Vol. III, p. 10.

law. It is also a postulate with Breloer that there is a large number of constant factors running through all the ages of Hindu polity. The question about the author's personality or name is said therefore to possess hardly any importance in the light of these circumstances. Because of this reason it should be more attractive, says he, to treat the *Arthaśāstra* as the starting-point of discussion on Hindu administration than fight over the question as to whether the treatise was written by the Bismarck of ancient India, the Iron Chancellor of Kaiser Candragupta, the unifier of India or by some other named or unnamed Anonymus like nearly all the works of Indian literature.[17]

As for the date of inscriptions they should be brought in later after the ground-work of the study on Hindu administration has been established on the basis of Kauṭalya. It would be putting the cart before the horse should one treat the *Arthaśāstra* as apocryphal and look for miserable crumbs in the wilderness of inscriptions and then triumphantly come back with them to the richly covered table of the *Arthaśāstra*, says Breloer.

One wonders as to why Breloer felt it necessary to fling a joke at the student of inscriptions. All inscriptions of course are not genuine or objective accounts of actual facts. But should one happen to hit upon an inscription that is not only authentic but also contains an unembellished statement of events and promulgations, say, like the Roman Twelve Tables there is hardly any doubt that every document of *Śāstra* literature (*Dharma*, *Artha* and *Niti*) would have to be appraised by reference to this touch-stone. Under those circumstances the *śāstras* must follow the inscriptions and not the inscriptions the *śāstras* as authority for positive history. In any case each evidence is to be judged on its own merits.

The Problem of Variations in Hindu Polity

Breloer's position in this regard should appear to be anything but scientific. According to him the way through the *Arthaśāstra* leads direct into the actual life of India, and that life is alleged to be evident even today as it was in Buddha's time and earlier. This postulate of

17 Vol. III, pp. 2-4.

unchanging India is modified by him in so far as he admits the existence of changing conditions and concedes that the number of "constant factors" is equal to that of the unknown or changing ones. But in any case, "the variations", says he, "which the Indian system has undoubtedly experienced fully disappear behind the institutions which have survived the changes of times until today and will survive further in future."[18]

The topic of "constant factors" and "stability" may be left out of consideration for the present. But in so far as "variations" are believed to be in evidence in Indian political institutions and in so far as according to his estimate fifty per cent should appear to be the proportion of these variations one should naturally expect an analysis of the "modifying" conditions, the new circumstances, the forces leading to "social mobility" etc. such as from time to time were responsible for these differentiations. Thus considered, Kauṭalya's date, *locale* and *milieu* are quite important in every scientific study of Hindu politics. It is the "relativity" of Kauṭalya to the region or state and period of culture that possesses very deep significance in a genuine understanding of the Hindu cultural developments. Otherwise one is landed in the absurd proposition that the world of the *Atharva Veda* is identical with that of the *Nikāyas* as well as with that of the *Mahābhārata*, or perhaps that Hitler's Germany is the same as Bismarck's because to both of them the cult of the Fatherland and the doctrine of *Kulturstaat* are as life-blood, nay, that Mussolini does not differ from Stalin and neither from Hitler because all three are believers in the "totalitarian state" as well as "economic planning." It should appear that Breloer has rather too lightly dealt with the problems of chronology, personality and the surroundings of Kauṭalya—by considering them to be less "*anziehend*" (attractive) and *hinter der Bedeutung dieser Feststellung der Vollstaendigkeit weit zurueck* (far behind the question of the integral or comprehensive character of the work in importance).[19]

The Welfare-State of Kauṭalya.

In Breloer's interpretation the Kauṭalyan state follows a store or

18 Vol. III, pp. 3, 15.

19 Vol. III, p. 2.

reserve-economy as its most old and original duty. Further, it receives its business resources in kind. The dimensions of planned economy resulting from this are so considerable for the whole economic structure that the statal economy becomes by itself the determinining factor in economic life. All the same, the state seeks to evoke private initiative. This kind of "state-planning" was not due to any ideologies or experiments, says, Breloer, but owed its origin to the solution of a gigantic problem. That problem according to him, "remained unknown to the West until most recent times." It consisted in the provision of guarantee for the barest lives of India's untold millions and the conservation of her space in the interest of food supply.[20]

The monopoly-economy, the centralized bureaucracy and the standing army are described as items that clearly demonstrate the strength and preponderance of the "control" elements in the *Fuersorgestaat*.[21]

The instrument on which the state has to play in order to carry out its functions is said to be no unorganized dumb mass but a living organism which is almost as strong as the state itself. This is the "total society" corresponding to the well known category of the "total state." And in this "total society" every class discharges its own functions, its *sva-dharma*.

According to Breloer the concentration of preventive measures or precautionary provisions as suggested in the *Arthaśāstra* in the hands of the state is economically simple, sound and effective. Along with this comes into operation the "welfare principle" and the state undertakes the direction or management of the economy.[22] This economic direction or guidance (*Wirtschaftsfuehrung*) is however radically different from communalization, says he.

The direction of economic activities by the state embodies itself essentially in "economic superintendence or control" (*Wirtschaftsaufsicht*) which does not shrink from compulsory measures. But it fights shy of direct participation in economic enterprises. The "monopolies" are clear exceptions and they are managed by the state only when it is sure of surplus in all circumstances.[23]

20 Vol. III, pp. 361-362.
21 Vol. III, pp. 363-364.
22 Vol. III, pp. 74, 284, 302.
23 Vol. III, p. 95.

In these statements Breloer should be credited with having rightly grasped the functions of the Hindu state, as the present author has indicated in his *Political Institutions and Theories of the Hindus* (Leipzig 1922) in the extensive chapter on "National Finance," with parallels from the experience of non-Indian regions.[24]

But Breloer is not content with this objective analysis of data. He goes beyond these facts into philosophical speculations about the alleged fundamental and peculiar causes of this growth in India.

Climate as alleged Determinant in Hindu Polity

Economic centralization or planned economy was engendered in India, says he, because of two reasons.[25] First, it was necessary to maintain the stores or reserves as provision against famine as well as for the standing army and the civil service. And secondly, the question of irrigation was of fundamental importance to the people and the state. An extensive agricultural policy furnished with central control was, it is said, the bed-rock of state-economics.

These conditions Breloer considers to be peculiar to India occasioned by climate and Nature.

This discussion of climate and Nature in their bearings on Indian society, economy and state, has played a considerable rôle in Breloer's work. He believes that the *Eigenarten des Klimas*[26] (the peculiar features of the climate) has as yet been hardly presented in right light as *beherrschender Faktor* (the ruling factor) in India.

A comparative study of economic and technical conditions from the earliest times carried over the most diverse regions of the world would, however, indicate that anthropologically speaking neither economic centralization (e.g. financial, statistical etc.) nor administrative control in economic enterprises ought to be regarded as a "function", sociologically considered, of climate and Nature. As Breloer's work is based on these fundamental postulates it has served but to repeat in a new form the fallacies of monistic regionalism or "geographical interpretation" of culture from Hegel to Huntington.[27] In reality the kind of planned

24 See also B. K. Sarkar: *Positive Background of Hindu Sociology* (Allahabad) Vol. II, (1921) chapter on "State House-Keeping".

25 Vol. III, pp. 15-18, 73-76. 26 Vol. III, pp. 14-18, 73, 360-361.

economy that he has discovered in India can be ascribed to many countries, primitive, ancient and mediæval.

From top to bottom and cover to cover he has tried to propagate an untenable economic and sociological thesis. Every item of what Breloer believes to be special to Indian economics and finances can be proven to have flourished under other climates and under other "geo-political" conditions. The almost universal character of *Wirtschafts-fuehrung*, *Wirtschaftsaufsicht*, *Planwirtschaft*, *Vorkehrungspolitik*, and so forth is the most outstanding feature of ancient and medieval history.

It is strange that Breloer should consider interest in agriculture, irrigation, agricultural statistics and finance etc. on the part of the state and attempts of the state to control the agricultural policy in a systematic and centralized manner as something *ausschliesslich* (p. 77) or exclusive, i.e., special to India's climate and Nature. He believes that extra-Indian parallels are hardly available (p. 16). Nothing could be more unhistorical and untrue to facts of world-economy.

The comprehensive and centralized land, irrigation, water supply, sanitation, roads and agricultural buildings legislation of Italy embodies itself in the *bonifica integrale* movement. Mussolini's *battaglia del grano* (wheat campaign) is but an item in the same complex. His *riscattare la terra, con la terra gli uomini e con gli uomini la razza* (redeem the land, with the land the men and with the men the race) has become the agrar-demographic war-cry of Fascist Italy. The *bonifica* movement is as old as the unification of Italy.

In France the agricultural interests of the state comprise among other items the financial legislation bearing on the *Credit Agricole* and its relations with the *Banque de France*. This *Agrarpolitik* was initiated by Méline in the nineteenth century. The British people which is known to be relatively less agricultural has for two generations been pushing forward the enactment of Small Holdings Acts in diverse forms. The reagrarization movement has got a tremendous filip in England

27 Climatological fallacies of this type have been examined at length in B. K. Sarkar: *The Futurism of Young Asia* (Berlin, 1922) and The *Political Institutions and Theories of the Hindus* (Leipsig, 1922).

in post-war years and took definite shape in the Agricultural Tribunal of Investigation.

The all-embracing agricultural legislation finance and statistics of Germany have become classical. The *Innenkolonisationspolitik* (internal colonisation policy), the *Rentengutsgesetsgebung* (rent-land legislation), the *Anerbenrecht* (law of succession by a 'chosen heir') and so forth constitute a magnificent complex of agricultural economy under state auspices.

Hitler's emphasis on the *Bauernstand* (the farmer class) as the fundamental basis of German *Kultur* and the Nazi legislation of 1933 protecting and promoting the cultivator's interests point but to the continuation of the traditional German policy since Stein, nay, since Frederick the Great.

These are examples from modern races and epochs. It is not necessary for the time being to refer to the older instances of the state's solicitude for agriculture under other than Indian climates and geographical conditions. In the *extensive Agrarpolitik* (p. 76) of Kauṭalya there is nothing of *Eigenart* (p. 16), i.e., peculiarity, exceptional character or speciality to be seen in India, as suspected by Breloer.

Breloer would perhaps like to furnish new hints to the geographical sociologists who are travelling in the wake of Ratzel, Le Play, Matteuzzi, Barth and others. In recent years there have been scholars who have attempted to out-Buckle Buckle in the "climatological interpretation" of history. But as a result of intensive investigations, e.g., of Durkheim, Brunhes, Thurnwald, Lowie, Vallaux and others it is impossible to demonstrate a regular or substantial "correlation" between climate, nature and geographical conditions on the one hand and economic structure, religion, family life, social organization and polity on the other.[28]

Planned Economy Old and New

Breloer is careful to point out that one should not read modern viewpoints into the concept of Hindu *Planwirtschaft* (planned economy).

28 See the examination of the geographical monist Huntington's theories in Sorokin: *Contemporary Sociological Theories* (New York 1928) pp. 123, 137-168, 186-193.

But all the same he would not like that this special feature of Indian economy should be ignored. It does not escape him that the "ideology of modern socialistic origin in the interpretation of ancient conditions is a disturbing guest." The difficulties of comparison are not ignored. But he does not object to the use of expressions which enable a certain world of ideas that lies near to us in point of time to be brought into the neighbourhood of equalization or similarity. This sort of tentative efforts at establishing what may be called approximate equations between the nearest approximations (or approaches to similarity) is certainly the only course open in a scientific investigation of values.

In spite of his formal warning Breloer has given reasons to understand that in connection with the Kautalyan polity he is using "planned economy" in the contemporary "anti-liberal" sense and that his sentiments lean towards antiliberalism. His work is therefore bound to be the butt of much criticism from the standpoint of modern economics. One cannot help feeling that this huge tome of some 600 pages is essentially a study in contemporary planned economy. Indeed this is apparent in the very title. Only the illustrations have been drawn from Kautalya. In other words, Kautalya has been presented virtually as an anticipator of economic planning. This is a serious proposition and eminently open to challenge.

Economic planning is indeed in one sense such a simple, elementary and human category that almost every individual even of the most primitive times may be said to be an economic planner in so far as he makes provisions for the future. Similarly every state that makes a yearly budget is also used to planning out the future ahead.

In a more limited sense economic planning implies the intervention of the state in the private economy of its citizens. This also is almost an eternal as well as a universal fact of history from the earliest times. The regulation of prices, wages, and interest, the prescription as to the kind of food grains to grow, the control of commerce by tolls, excise and customs, the redistribution of national wealth and income by taxation and currency manipulations, and of course, the promotion of public health, *vidyās*, *kalās*, arts and sciences etc. have been the regular features of state activities in the East and the West.

One can say, therefore, that man as a political animal has been practising planned economy all through history without knowing it or using the word. Thus considered, even the alleged "liberal" states have not been less used to it than the "conservative" states. *Planwirtschaft* cannot by any means be regarded as the exclusive or special achievement of Hindu or Oriental genius. Nor did the West have to wait until the '*neueste Zeit*' (most recent times) to commence the A.B.C. of this *Fuersorgestaat* philosophy. Breloer is extremely out of the mark in this discussion.

It is too well known that the *ager publicus* (public domain) was the main-stay of public finance at Rome even under the Empire. The place of 'state-property' and "state monopolies" in French finance was very high, as one learns from Brissaud's *Histoire du Droit Public Francais* and Leroy-Beaulieu's *Traité de la Science des Finances*. The system of public granaries (Breloer's *Reserrepolitik, Magasinpolitik*) was established by Augustus in order to mitigate the evils of a famine. On the occasion of a famine in Marcus Aurelius's time the Roman Empire organized a seven years' supply of provisions. The institution was championed by Thomas Mun in *England's Treasure by Forreign Trade* and Jean Bodin in *Les six Livres de la Republique*. The idea of a war-chest was popular with the Hohenzollerns from Frederick the Great to Wilhelm II.

Students of anthropology and economic history will admit that Europe does not have to get admitted into a Freshman class, as Breloer seems to suggest, for elementary lessons in economic planning as understood in primitive, ancient, mediæval or even pre-war modern times. But economic planning is, after all, not an old category. It is a post-war phenomenon and must not be confounded with what looked like it in previous epochs. Historically it is not older than 1928 when it was set in motion in Soviet Russia under the name of Gosplan (state-planning). Since then it has been formally adopted in Italy, Germany and the U.S.A. and to a certain extent in Japan and informally in Great Britain.

Economic planning as thus circumscribed, i.e., in its latest phase, is a socio-financial complex comprising the following items:

1. A definite goal of economic or social welfare.

2. A definite period of time within which the goal is to be realized.
3. A definite portion of the budget earmarked for the realization of the goal.
4. Intervention of the state in private affairs in order to carry out the programme indicated in the first three points.

These four items taken together should be regarded as the irreducible minimum of planned economy that has become a common place of public life today. It is so extraordinarily new that nowhere has any body dared to introduce it for more than a fixed number of years. And even during the course of these short periods every statesman's position has been shaking.

Besides, state intervention in the ordinary sense of suggestion, advice or general legislation is not the item in question, because this belongs to every state as as matter of course. It is not even public ownership, state management and control, because all this 'socialism' belongs virtually to every state. The novelty of the present situation is to be found in a peculiar 'dictatorship' limited for certain defined purposes to fixed periods.

This intervention is an ideological cognate or agnate of the war-communism (1914-18) or dictatorship of the state, of which it is indeed virtually an immediate successor. Some amount of 'dictatorship' is by all means associated with this category. But it is not the dictatorship of Imperial despots, "enlightened" as they were, like the Mauryas, the Roman Emperors, the Bourbons, Frederick Peter and Joseph. In the present instances the dictatorship is that of a "Party" which covers if not the entire nation, at any rate, a very large section of the population, and which happens to have taken possession of the state (eg. Russia, Italy, and Germany). Or as in the U.S.A., Japan, and England, the Parliaments have by constitutional and legal methods virtually conferred dictatorial privileges on the party in power.

The fact that an individual like the *Duce*, the *Fuehrer*, the leader, is always lording it over in some of the 'planned economy' regions does not eclipse the great reality that today we are dealing with huge masses of men and women, the folk, and not with individuals, who as Party are enjoying the dictatorship.

Economic planning, as defined by Stalin, Mussolini, Hitler and Roosevelt as well as the Seiyukai Party and British National Administration of today was not and could not be understood by Kauṭalya as it was not and could not be understood by the past masters of centralization, administrative unification as well as promoters of welfare in Roman and Elizabethan times, in the *ancien régime* as well as in the Hohenzollern epoch. It is in the interest of economics, politics and sociology as well as of indology that we should save ourselves from the tendency to use ultra-modern categories in connection with old Hindu institutions and theories.

In his economic and social policies Hitler the national-socialist is not identical with Bismarck the nationalist, and is of course at poles asunder from Frederick the Great. There cannot be any equation between the economic planning of the Nazi state and that of the "enlightened despots." Exactly in the same manner is it impossible to establish any equation between the *de facto* 'planned economy' measures of the British Cabinet today and the Elizabethan *Fuersorgestaat* or state intervention in private economy. Kauṭalyan economy does not contain anything more than what is to be found in Diocletian, Elizabeth, Colbert and so forth. When all these considerations are taken into account the category *Planwirtschaft* should not be employed in connection with the economic measures of the *Kauṭalīya Arthaśāstra*.

The economic planning of today is a very complicated affair. In spite of the differences in methods and tactics between Bolshevism, Fascism, National-socialism, Anglo-American liberalism and Japanese 'paternalism' the capitalists and employers in each and every region have come under the sway of one or other brand of socialism or communism embodied as it is in trade unions and other labour institutions. The world is witnessing everywhere some form of capitalism as multiplied or modified and moderated by socialism. The systems of today may be described as belonging to Neo-capitalism. On the other hand the technocratic revolutions and rationalizations have served to initiate and further centralizations and administrative unifications of the highest order. It is this 'neo-capitalistic' centralization that furnishes the fundamental logic of planned economy in the post-war world. The attempt to think of or even insinuate such a technique while in the atmosphere of Kauṭalya

would be as unhistorical and unscientific as to do so in the perspective of Diocletain or Louis XIV.

One is at liberty to have one's own views in regard to the methods and problems of contemporary societal remaking. Economic planning happens to be a phase, the most recent phase of applied economics, sociology and politics in Eur-America, nay, in Asia too. One can understand its origins and necessities as one can appreciate also the origins and necessities of *laissez faire*, economic freedom, democracy and "liberalism." The one system is as relative to world-conditions as the other. But in order to justify a measure that one considers to be very necessary for today it should be as utterly unwarrantable to father it upon an ancient Hindu statesman as upon an ancient European.

Had Breloer only cared to make a passing remark just by way of suggestive reference in order to point out what he considers to be an approximate parallel the situation would not have been so damaging. But he has seriously set himself to establish a thesis on what may be called the Kauṭalyan anticipation of planned economy. The effort is regrettable in view of the fact that his intensive analysis of the financial data available in the *Arthaśāstra* is inspired generally by sound judgment and critical scholarship. He uses a commonplace category 'economic-planning' without distinguishing its old and new contents and has led the readers to suspect that the latest contents of this category are to be discovered in the ancient Hindu statesman of the Hellenistic period. This attempt should not appear to be more reasonable than that of discovering a modern British Cabinet in the royal councils of the *Rāmāyaṇa* or a League of Nations in some of the inter-tribal assemblies of the *Mahābhārata*.

Doses of Economic Freedom in the Arthaśāstra.

At one point, while speaking of gilds, Breloer makes the categorical statement that the concept of professional freedom (*Gewerbefreiheit*)[29] is utterly unknown (*voellig unbekannt*). At another point, however, we are told that the state planning does not function in any way as a disturbing factor because as a result of long experience 'private initiative' was afforded the 'widest space', scope or chance. Further, says he, it is not

29 Vol. III, pp. 363, 367, 548.

the regulations of planned economy but the incorporation of precautionary measures that furnishes the practical item in the Kauṭalyan system of economic control.

He has not made it clear as to how professional freedom could be entirely lacking although economic planning *left loopholes for freedom*. Had Breloer sought to place the data of the *Arthaśāstra* in the perspective of the European craftgilds and gild merchants as well as the economic policies of the Western states during certain periods of ancient and mediæval history, he might have discovered something more universal than the alleged Kauṭalyan patent of 'economic planning.' We might have felt there was nothing exceptional or extraordinary in the Kauṭalyan policy, but that certain doses of freedom as well as certain doses of restraint, control and guidance were being normally administered at the same time by the state-systems of the East and the West.

Society and State in Hindu Politics

The present writer notes with interest that since he raised the cry against Max Müller's over-emphasis on metaphysics and religion in the survey of Hindu culture scholars at home and abroad have cared to turn its "positive" and secular aspects. Breloer also observes that in Max Müller's presentation the diversities and tendencies of the Indians were exceedingly underestimated.[30] This does not however enable Breloer to fully realize the volume and weight of the non-religious and non-philosophical strands of Hindu thought. He cannot get away from the fact that, on the whole, Indian literature was maintained and cultivated almost exclusively by the Brāhmaṇas, and that the entire literature with which he has to deal for his researches is somehow religious.

This attitude of Breloer's does not appear to be reasonable. Even supposing that the state and its seven limbs are described in part or in full in certain texts that are known to be religious it does not imply that the state activities are not worldly and materialistic. The Hindu books were as a rule encyclopædic and almost every treatise tried to deal with the whole duty of man. Naturally, therefore, *kāma*, *artha*, and *dharma* came to be discussed along with *mokṣa* in almost every work. The pre-

30 Vol. III, p. 66.

sentation of all the diverse interests of man in one complex does not render *artha* or *kāma* less positive and non-religious.

The Vedas are supposed to be religious works. But the relations between the folk and the ruler that are described or referred to therein are anything but religious. *Atharva Veda* is more secular than many secular treatises. In the *Brāhmaṇas* one comes across more worldly ambitions than other-worldly ones. The *Dharma-sūtras*, *Dharma-śāstras* and *Smṛti-śāstras* are again held as canonical treatises. But the daily duties of the individual, the rites and ceremonies of the family, inheritance and partition of property, the functions of kings, etc. that form the principal contents of these works are nothing but secular.

Breloer quotes with approval the historically unfounded and anthropologically fallacious remark of Emil Senart evidently from the latter's *Les Castes dans l'Inde* to the effect that "the ancient Indians did not at all know any state," because the state was extremely dependent on the society.[31] According to Breloer the "statal organization could hardly be recognised beside the society" and the state was simply the protector of the social order. From this is said to follow the doctrine of *dharma* being above or going before *artha*. The state is alleged to be in no way contained in the society but to stay apart from and opposed to it.

Both Senart and Breloer have managed to ignore the *daṇḍa*, the punishment, the "sanction," which keeps the castes or the social orders each to it *svadharma* or discharge of one's own duties. And the *daṇḍa* is wielded by the state through its executive, the King. The Hindu theory of state is based on the dictum: No *daṇḍa*, no *dharma*, i.e., no king, no society. It is the state that is personified in the king as one of its seven limbs. In other words, the right attitude in regard to Hindu politics would consist in admitting that there is no society, morality, duty etc. possible without state. The state is the cause of social order.[32]

In regard to the theories of Hindu politics Breloer has not been able to go beyond the conventional. Be it observed *en passant* that Hille-

31 Vol. III, pp. 68-69, 70.

32 See "The Hindu Theory of Property, Law and Social Order" in B. K. Sarkar, *The Political Institutions.*

brandt's *Altindische Politik* (Jena 1923) tried to introduce German indology to some fruitful ideas in the field of Hindu polity and as well calculated to counteract the traditional Orientalism as manifest in Breloer.

As Breloer has been attempting an analytical and objective exacavation into the *Arthaśāstra* and allied works from far and near it should perhaps be deemed reasonable to try to discover the theories of the Hindu state and society on the basis of the new facts that are being unearthed. In the meantime it is not prudent to make use of the ready-made theories of the last generation of indologists, for they may need to be modified in the light of the new data.[33]

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

33 On the Kauṭalya question see B. K. Sarkar: "Kauṭalya in Buddhist Perspectives" in the *Calcutta Review*, July 1935 and "Kauṭalya and His Boswell" in the *C.R.*, August 1935.

REVIEWS

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE EARLY TAMILS By K. N. Sivaraja Pillai, B. A. University of Madras, 1932.

The author points out that the Tamil literature is made up of three separate strata, viz. Naturalistic, Ethical, and Religious. The Sangam literature covers the Naturalistic and Ethical groups. The Naturalistic group, with which the author is mainly concerned, is the earliest of the three. It consists of *Eṭṭutokai* (Eight Anthologies) and *Pattuppāṭṭu* (Ten Idylls). Ten generations of Tamil kings, who, according to the author, flourished between *c.* 50 B. C. and *c.* 200 A. D., are referred to here. The author has made a detailed discussion on this point with due notices of the works of certain early Greek and Roman writers. These ten generations of kings were preceded by a type of political organization which was peculiarly republican and Dravidian in character. The author thinks that Aśoka's edict refers to these communal republics. The earlier kings of the above mentioned group robbed the republican communities of their original rights and powers, and established autocracy in the Tamil land. The author agrees that there are some Sanskrit words in the early poems, but that does not prove that the poems bear traces of Aryan influence. According to him Aryanisation got a stronghold in the Tamil country after *c.* 200 A. D. Arguments put forward in support of this conclusion are not convincing.

The book contains many repetitions of statements which could easily be avoided. The author critically discusses the main issues and his judgments in many cases are well balanced.

D. C. GANGULY

THE HINDU CONCEPTION OF THE DEITY as culminating in Rāmānuja. By Bharatan Kumarappa, M. A. (Madras), Ph. D. (Edin.), Ph. D. (Lond.). With a Foreword by Dr. L. D. Barnett. 1934. 8° pp. xvi + 356.

The work under review gives an interesting account of the growth and development of the conceptions of the Deity as found in the

Upaniṣads, *Bhagavadgītā*, *Pañcarātra* and the Purāṇic literature, the songs of the Āḻvārs and lastly in the *Śrībhāṣya* of Rāmānuja. The book is divided into two parts—Part I deals rather succinctly with the pre-Rāmānuja conceptions of the Deity, while Part II is devoted to a fuller and more exhaustive treatment of similar conceptions as can be gathered from different parts of the *Śrībhāṣya* of Rāmānuja. The topic is discussed in the different sections of the work under three principal heads, *viz.*, Nature of the Deity, Relation of the Deity to the World, and Relation of the Deity to the Finite Self.

In discussing the Pre-Rāmānuja conceptions the author has confined himself to works that, in his opinion,—which is not substantiated by any evidence whatsoever—influenced Rāmānuja, directly or indirectly, in shaping his views. As a matter of fact, barring the thirteen principal Upaniṣads, which are non-sectarian, the author has concerned himself only with Vaiṣṇava works. Thus he has not dealt with any of the sectarian Upaniṣads or any of the non-Vaiṣṇava Purāṇas though the antiquity of some of them is generally admitted. The whole of the extensive Āgamic literature, with the exception of the specifically Vaiṣṇava portion of it, e. g., the Pāñcarātra literature, has been left out of account, though surely every bit of it cannot be relegated to post-Rāmānuja period. And it is difficult to assert that no portion of this variety of old literature exerted any influence on Rāmānuja. A brief account, therefore, of the Deity conceptions in at least the admittedly earlier works of other systems than Vaiṣṇava would have been of immense help in better understanding the position of Rāmānuja.

So far, however, as the plan of the author goes, it has been carried out quite successfully and creditably. He has minutely collected materials scattered in different parts of an extensive literature and has presented them nicely and systematically.

The occurrence of occasional typographical inaccuracies in the book is to be regretted. We refer here to a few of these. *Rgveda* for *Ṛgveda* (p. 21 f. n. 1), *compased* for *composed* (p. 143, l. 6), *Siddhi Traya* for *Siddhitraya* (p. 143, l. 29), *Stotra Ratna* for *Stotraratna* (p. 144, l. 9), *are now extant* for *are not extant* (p. 150, l. 1) and *Nārjāra* for *Mārjāra* (pp. 310, l. 36; 338, l. 44; 346, l. 23).

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

KAULAJÑĀNANIRṆAYA and some Minor Texts of the School of Matsyendranātha edited by Dr. Prabodh Chandra Bagchi, Lecturer, Calcutta University, published by Metropolitan Printing and Publishing House, Calcutta.

In the history of mediaeval mysticism of India, Matsyendranātha, called variously as Macchendrapāda, Macchaghna, Mīnapāda, etc. occupies an important place being a founder of a school which according to the texts published in the present volume, can be named *Kaula*. His history is shrouded in legends found in different parts of the country including Nepal. These have been collected and ably discussed by the editor in his long and learned introduction. He inclines to identify Matsyendranātha with Luipā one of the well-known eighty-four *Siddhas* and the arguments advanced in support of that identification are certainly praiseworthy. Dr. Bagchi arrives at the conclusion that Matsyendranātha lived in the beginning of the 10th century A. D., and it is not impossible that he lived till the last quarter of that century.

The volume before us comprises the following texts: 1. *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* and four minor texts, viz. 2. *Akulavīratantra A*, 3. *Akulavīratantra B*, 4. *Kulānandatantra*, and 5. *Jñānakārikā*. According to the colophons of these works they are handed down (*avatārita*) by Matsyendranātha, though it cannot be ascertained that he is the author of them.

The edition is based on a single MS of each of the works mentioned above procured by the author himself from Nepal. These MSS. are defective in more than one respect. The language of the texts are corrupt and may be compared to some extent with the Buddhist Sanskrit. Yet evidently there are many mistakes and corrupt readings. The editor has done well having refrained from making corrections except in a few cases of palpable confusion of the copyists. But there are some cases where following the line taken by him one could reconstruct the actual readings of the text. For instance, the text as printed reads (p. 116):

मनसस्तु विधं प्रोक्तं राजसन्तामसन्तथा ।
सात्त्विकन्तु तृतीयञ्च त्रिभिर्धर्म्मैश्च लक्षणम् ॥

Undoubtedly here in the first half for *manasas tu vidhaṃ* one should read *manas tu trividhaṃ*.

On p. 119 we read:

चेताचेतसमायुक्तं ज्ञानत्वं सम्प्रकीर्त्तितम् ।
भुक्तितत्त्वं यदा चेतं स चेत्तम्मुक्तिलक्षणम् ॥

Here in the second half for *cetaṇ sa cet tam* one should like to read *cetam acetam* as supported by the first word in the first half.

In the *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* in not less than eleven chapters (*paṭalas*) out of twenty five the colophon runs:—*iti jñānanirṇitiyoginī* (sometimes °ṇī for °nī) *mahākaulamahacchrī*°, while in about nine of them we have *jñānanirṇaya* for °*jñānanirṇiti*° (strictly °*nirṇīti*). In chapter XVIII there is *iti jñānanirṇaye mahākaule*, whereas on p. 83 one reads °*mahākaule jñānanirṇaye*. But in chapter XIX we have °*jñānanirṇaye mahāyoginīkaule*°. Considering all these variants with such words in the text as *jñānanirṇayaṇ* (p. 75), *jñānasya nirṇaye* (p. 76) etc. one may incline to think that the first part of the colophon of the text was *iti jñānanirṇaye mahākaule* (or *yoginīmahākaule*) followed by *śrima*°. This is supported to some extent by Paṇḍit Haraprasad Śāstrī's statement (Intro., p. 2) that the work is called *Mahākaulajñānanirṇaya*.

These texts are of a Tantric School called *Kula-* or *Kaula -mārga*. The word *kula* is explained differently. One of the explanations says that *kula* means 'all' which includes the knower (*jñātṛ*), the knowable (*jñeya*), and the knowledge (*jñāna*). Thus the way (*mārga*) that leads to the true understanding of this *kula* is *kulamārga*. The editor has ably discussed in his introduction this and other important matters of the texts in broad lines which will help his reader in understading the text. But the texts themselves are written in many cases in such a mystic way that they are not clear at all, and this difficulty is enhanced by the defects of the texts.

The central conception of liberation in the system is in Gauḍapāda's words *manaso hy amanībhāvaḥ* 'the state of non-mind of the mind i.e. making the mind non-mind, or the complete suppression of the mind,—a state that has found so much expression in Buddhist and non-Buddhist religious or philosophical systems of India.

The editor has given different indexes but not of the proper names. We wish he had added it also.

We thank Dr. Bagchi for his studies which will attract students to work on the subject which still remains not properly attended.

VIDHUSEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

SĀVAYADHAMMADOHĀ OF DEVASENA, critically edited with Introduction, Translation, Glossary, Notes and Index, by Hiralal Jain, M.A., LL.B., pp. xxxii+125 Berar, 1932.

PĀHUḌADOHĀ OF MUNI RĀMASIṄGHA, critically edited with Introduction, Glossary and Notes etc. By Hiralal Jain M.A., LL.B., pp. 46+136, Berar, 1933.

These books are respectively vols. 2 and 3 of the Amabadas Chabera Digambar Jain Series. The Editor Mr. Hiralal Jain has earned afresh the gratitude of scholars interested in the Apabhraṃśa literature as well as the religious ideas of the Mediæval India by publishing a critical edition of these two important texts.

Of the two, the *Sāvayadhammadohā* gives, as its name implies, a collection of rules of good conduct for the *śrāvaka* (a lay member of the Jain sect). Written in fine Apabhraṃśa verse and sometimes furnished with poetic figures of speech these rules are far from dry. Following are two examples from them:

"If you desire much happiness, then, O man, be content; for, who except the sun will give joy to the lotus?" (127).

"By the study of scriptures one increases one's knowledge, and curbs one's senses; for, when the sun rises in the morning the owls become lustreless." (140)

Apart from the religious contents of the work it makes incidental references to the various aspects of the social and individual life of a man in 1,000 A.C. While criticising the different activities of the *śrāvaka* from the standpoint of Jaina ethics.

The importance of the *Pāhuḍadohā* is almost exclusively for the valuable data it furnishes for the history of religious ideas in Mediæval India. It contains some outspoken remarks against certain aspects of Jaina asceticism. The doctrine it preaches seems to have come out of a synthesis of Jainism, Vedānta, Śaivism, and Nirañjana and some other contemporary cults. It is quite possible that the author Rāmasiṅgha Muni did not mean this book for the masses whose intellectual power is never enough for the appreciation of any ideological novelty. The title of the work seems to suggest this. Though the learned editor after some discussion (Introduction, p. 13)

has taken the word *pāhuḍa* to mean *upahāra* or present, we think that this is not the right interpretation. For the word *pāhuḍa* can easily be equated to Skt. *prābhṛta*, which may mean 'concealed' (cf. Skt. *nibhṛta*). Thus we may think that the name *Pāhuḍadohā* implies that the work contains some teaching which is to be kept concealed from the masses.

But the truth which Muni Rāmasiṅgha preached to his very intimate disciples could, in course of time, pass to persons like Kabir who, born some five centuries later, moved the whole of the Northern India by his teaching.

A few specimens of the saying of this great Jaina mystic are quoted below in English translation:

"The Lord (*Śiva*) resides in this temple which has the form of our body. Thou art looking for him in the (ordinary) temple. It is ridiculous that you are begging (for alms) from a mendicant." (186).

"O Yogin, for the sight of whom thou art roaming about in *tīrthas* that Lord (*Śiva*) is within thyself and is moving along with thee, still thou dost not see Him."

"O Lord (*Jinavara*) I have bowed to Thee till I did not know that Thou art within me. When I have known Thee to be within my frame to which object shall I bow any more?" (141).

"In the temples there is stone, in the *tīrtha* water, in the books (only) poetry." (161)).

"O the best *muṇḍi* (one with a shaven head) among the *muṇḍis*, thou hast shaven off thy head but not thy mind (i.e. not purified the mind). One who has 'shaven' his mind has saved himself from *saṃsāra*." (135).

"O friend, what am I to do with a mirror in which one cannot see his own image? The world laughs at me who though living in the house does not know the master of the house." (122).

The sayings of Kabir and his numerous followers from the 15th century downwards have much similarity with those of Muni Rāmasiṅgha (10th century). Yet writers like Evelyn Underhill sought the sources of Kabir's ideas in Persian mysticism of the 12-13th centuries (see Introduction to Kabir's Poems translated by Rabindranath Tagore, Macmillan, 1926, p. vii).

So much in brief about the contents of the works. The editor has in his well written introduction of these works discussed other important aspects of them. Short grammatical sketches which he has added to each work will facilitate their study. His conjecture about the language, however, seems to be rather hasty. For he seems to class the language of the *Sāvayadhammadohā* as the Mahārāṣṭrī Apabhraṃśa but this is against the view of Hemacandra who derives Apabhraṃśa from Śaurasenī. The unsoundness of Pischel's view on the point has been shown by the present reviewer elsewhere (*Journal of the Department of Letters*, Calcutta University, vol. XXIII, 1933). The view the learned editor has taken of the language of the *Kīrtilatā* in this connexion does not seem to be convincing. The difference observable between the languages of the *Sāvayadhamma* and the *Kīrtilatā* are more due to their chronological distance than anything else. The latter work shows a stage of Apabhraṃśa from which New Indo-Aryan vernaculars were to emerge, while the language of the former work was not so developed.

The conclusion which the editor has made about the relation between the Deśibhāṣā and Apabhraṃśa seems to be convincing. It is quite possible that poets and writers of the age did not so much like to call their language Apabhraṃśa or 'deterioration' and hence named it Deśibhāṣā or local speech. Vidyāpati, however, has used both the names.

In conclusion we congratulate the editor for publishing these two important texts. The use of Hindi in the Introduction, Translation and Notes is to be commended. For, many Indians who take interest in the religious heritage of the nation will be able to enjoy these works.

MANOMOHAN GHOSH

ON THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE BUDDHA'S NATIVITY. By A. Foucher. Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India, No. 46, 1934; pp. 28, with 6 plates.

Professor Foucher's eloquent study of the iconography of the Buddha's nativity is unfortunately marred by a complete neglect of the

Vedic sources of its formulæ. The paper is for the most part a restatement of the view that the representations of the type of the Abhiṣeka of Śrī-Lakṣmī as they occur in Early Buddhist Art are actually 'Buddha nativities'; the hope is expressed (p. 22) that I may concur in this view. I do so only to this extent, that inasmuch as these representations are actually of one and the same material principle or nature that is represented in the Buddha legend by Māyādevī, the Buddha's mother who dies seven days after his birth, they may be regarded as virtually, and possibly were actually regarded as, 'nativities' in connection with the Buddha's incarnation. On the other hand, it must be emphatically denied that the formula had not already, and long before it could have been thus interpreted in Buddhist circles, been anything but a symbol of Śrī-Lakṣmī. Professor Foucher (p. 13) with reference to the elephants supported by lotuses, remarks that "it is obvious that they too are a kind of specific detail subsequently added to the older theme. We are thus able to observe retrospectively the old image-makers' increasingly bold attempts at grafting on to the traditional symbol everything which could render its meaning more forcible." All this is entirely to ignore the *Śrīsūkta*, which not only describes Śrī-Lakṣmī in great detail as a lady of the lotus who is the mother of Agni-Jātavedas, but actually employs the expression "bathed by royal elephants with golden jars" (*gajendrair ...snāpitā hema-kumbhair*); with reference not to the child, but to the mother. Needless to say that "the *khila* texts...are by no means a modern product, they belong rather to the Vedic age..... Only a few of them can be assigned to a late Brāhmaṇa period. The *Śrīsūkta* is connected with the cult of Śrī and Lakṣmī which became prominent in the Yajurveda period." (Scheftelowitz, *Die Apokryphen des Ṛgveda*, 1906, pp. 2-4). As to the notion that "no one would ever have dreamed of using the frail cup of a flower as a support for an adult human being, still less for huge elephants" (p. 13), it should suffice to point out that in the *Ṛgveda* (VI, 16, 13 and VII, 33, 11) both Agni and Vaśiṣṭha (an essential name of Agni as "the best of Vasus") are represented to have come into being supported in a lotus, and that the Brāhmaṇas understand by the 'lotus' (flower or leaf) the 'Earth,' that is, universal substance, resting on the surface of the primordial waters, whence it arises in response to the manifestation of the light of the Sun. The lotus is then

already in the *Ṛgveda* the support of the "whole of life" (Agni, *viśvāyus*).

If ever the Srī-Lakṣmī was understood in the sense of a Buddha nativity, the interpretation must have been early abandoned, for it is soon replaced by the standing figure of Māyādevī, holding on to a branch of a *śāla* tree, a type that is mythologically that of the Yakṣī, and humanly speaking that of a *śālabhañjikā*. Whereas the Srī-Lakṣmī type is often, although not invariably, a seated one, the early Buddhist accounts of the nativity (*Mahāpadāna Suttanta* in the *Dīgha Nikāya*, and *Acchariyabbhutadhammasutta* in the *Majjhima Nikāya*), which are nearly contemporary with the earliest extant Buddhist Art, assert emphatically that it is a universal law (*dhammatā*) that the mother of a Bodhisattva, unlike other women, is delivered standing (*ṭhitā va bodhisattaṃ bodhisatta-mātā kucchinā pariharitvā vijāyati. Ayam etthā dhammatā, D.* II, 14=XIV, 1, 22). This tradition is preserved in the later accounts, and it is especially noteworthy that in the *Mahāvastu* version (II, 18, 7) it is related that Māyādevī had come into the royal park "to take part in the *śālabhañjakā* festival." In the art of Amarāvatī, the nativity is indicated, in connection with the *śālabhañjikā* figure of Māyādevī only by *pādukā* represented on the cloth that is held by the Lokapālas who receive the child, while the more realistic art of Gandhāra shows the child actually emerging from the mother's side.[1] We find in this iconography, then, two already well recognized stages in the manner of representation; in the latest (in manner, if not in date) the child is visibly represented; in the other the child is unseen, although its presence is indicated by the footprints. We now venture to suggest that in a third and still earlier stage of the iconography of the nativity that the birth may have been indicated in a more summary manner merely by the standing *yakṣī-śālabhañjikā* figures beneath the tree, without even the symbolic representation of the child; in other words, that the Yakṣī figures with trees, which are so familiar in the art of

1 It may be remarked in this connection that in *Rgveda*, IV, 18, 1-2 Indra who takes birth in the same manner *pārśvāt*, already refers to this as "the pathway found of old"; and that like the Buddha's, and in fact for the same reasons, his mother does not survive.

Sāñcī, Bodh-Gayā and Bharhut are really 'nativities', and that no necessity existed for the representation of the nativity in any other way.

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY

THE UṆĀDI-SŪTRAS in various recensions, Part I comprising the Uṇādi (of the Pāṇinean System), Part II the Prakriyāsarvasva, Part III the systems of Bhoja and Kātantra. Edited by T. R. Chintamani M. A., Ph. D., Senior Lecturer in Sanskrit, University of Madras.

The volumes under review constitute the first, second and sixth parts of the Madras University Sanskrit Series, No 7 and they embody the texts of the *Uṇādi Sūtras* with commentaries, introductions, indices of words and sūtras and foot notes showing the variant readings. The editor proposes to complete this number of the series in seven parts which will contain the *Uṇādi Sūtras* as found in the different schools of Sanskrit grammar. The *Uṇādi Sūtras* form an essential part of Sanskrit grammar and they occupy an independent status being more or less a supplement to bonafide *kṛt* suffixes. The first part contains the list that is appended to Pāṇini's grammar and is here published with the commentary of Śvetavanavāsin for the first time. The second part comprises the commentary of Nārāyaṇa the author of the *Prakriyāsarvasva* and the sixth part consists of the lists of the *Kātantra* and of Bhoja's system. The plan and programme followed are all uniform. The commentary of Śvetavanavāsin is really a learned work and contains valuable information and shows the author's wide and critical acquaintance with the system of Pāṇini, which includes the *Vārttikas* of Kātyāyana and the *Bhāṣya* of Patañjali. The editor deserves our thanks for having given a neat and careful edition. The entire gamut of *Uṇādi* literature is contemplated to be published and if the standard of efficiency is maintained unimpaired, this will remove a desideratum in the field of Sanskrit literature. The Madras University deserves to be congratulated on this present venture. Although much has been done in the way of publication of Sanskrit texts, much more remains locked up in inaccessible manuscripts and it behoves the Universities of India to take early and prompt measures to docket and arrange the Mss. and get their values assessed by competent scholars and publish the important works in critical editions. In fact there is no dearth of raw materials now-a-days; on the contrary there is a veritable case of *embarras de richesse*. The

Uṇādi literature was rather neglected and barring the labours of two or three European savants nothing more has been done. It is expected that the publication of these texts in various recensions by the Madras University will give the necessary fillip to philological researches in this field.

The editor has refrained from pronouncing his verdict on the tangled problem of the authorship of the *Uṇādi Sūtras* which form an appendix to Pāṇini's grammar and he promises to give a thorough-going disquisition on the problem in his introduction to the last volume. We do not wish to forestall his decision, which we are not competent to do as we are not in possession of all the materials that lie at the editor's disposal. But we think it imperative to invite his attention to certain outstanding problems, which have exercised the minds of scholars in the past and which still remain, in our judgment, moot questions. That Pāṇini was aware of the existence of a list of *Uṇādi* suffixes or rules is not open to question, as he has expressly mentioned this fact in his Sūtras III, 3, 1 and III, 4, 75 and has implicitly alluded to the same in VII, 3, 9 and other Sūtras. The following points deserve special attention and an explanation is a desideratum.

In the first place, we should like to advert to the text of the *Uṇādi Sūtras*. It is really distressing to find that the *Uṇādisūtras* should be subjected to rough handling with the result that they present wide textual discrepancies—a fate which did not befall the sūtras of Pāṇini. It would be a matter of relief if a critical attempt is made to fix the standard authentic reading on a collation of the various manuscripts that are still available. To cite one or two typical instances:

(1) The reading in the Sūtra IV. 232—'*gatikārakayor api pūrvapadapakṛtisvaratvaṁca*', which is an important sūtra as it is regarded as an exception to Pāṇini's sūtra VI. 2,139 which delivers quite the opposite ruling, is found to be at variance with the reading of Ujjvaladatta, who omits the two particles *api* and *ca*, and with that of Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita, who omits *api*.

(2) Under the sūtra III. 61, the examples given are *varṣa* and *tarṣa* in the texts under review. Goldstücker endorses this reading, although in the *Mahābhāṣya* and in the *Siddhāntakaumudī* these two words are read with dental *s*. The *Tattvabodhinī* has bestowed a lengthy comment on this sūtra and defends the reading with स, though he admits that all commentators record the reading with cerebral ṣ (ष) The *Vārttika* and the *Bhāṣya* under VIII. 3.59 seem to support the dental reading. It is desirable that this point should be discussed.

Secondly, the wording and order of the individual sūtras even in the *Pañcapādī*, which is affiliated to Pāṇini's grammar as a matter of acknowledged fact, are found to be at variance with each other in different editions. This is a matter of no small consequence and deserves to be finally settled to preclude all controversy.

Thirdly, the distribution of *Uṇādisūtras* in the system of *Kātantra* and of Bhoja are quite different from the treatment in the *Pañcapādī* and the cases are numerous, where new words are incorporated in the former systems, which of course are admitted on all hands to be of posterior origin and are more or less in the nature of an elaboration of the *Pañcapādī*.

Fourthly, the *Pañcapādī* deservedly absorbs the attention of scholars, as it presents various problems in connexion with Indian chronology and the scope of application of Pāṇini's rules. It is evident that Kātyāyana recognised the *Uṇādi* suffixes as of established authority and looked upon them as an integral part of Pāṇini's system, otherwise he could not, with any amount of relevancy, accuse Pāṇini of failure to take account of *Uṇādi* suffixes, where his rules could not apply. Patañjali however tried to save Pāṇini from the strictures of Kātyāyana on the ground that the *Uṇādi* suffixes were of an apocryphal character and as such the rules formulating them could not be binding upon him. But, as Prof. Goldstücker has so cogently pointed out, this defence on the part of Patañjali is more or less of the nature of a special pleading and is not supported by the attitude of Pāṇini. (1) It is a fact that Pāṇini has vouchsafed recognition to certain *Uṇādi* suffixes either *totidem verbis* or by unmistakable implication. (2) It is also an undeniable fact that the *Pañcapādī* follows the system of *anubandhas* and adopts the terminology which were originally formulated by Pāṇini. (3) It is also a truism that Pāṇini invented his *anubandhas*, and the *anubandhas* of previous grammarians are absolutely defunct and inoperative in Pāṇini's system. In these circumstances it is quite admissible to infer that the *Pañcapādī* has borrowed the whole technology of Pāṇini, as Pāṇini did not borrow. The alternative supposition that the Sūtras are the handiwork of a follower of Pāṇini is ruled out by the fact that Śākaṭāyana is by tradition credited to have been the author of some such sūtra and he could not borrow the terminology of Pāṇini, being his predecessor. Even supposing that the *Uṇādi* section was fashioned on the model of Śākaṭāyana, the author could neither be a predecessor of Pāṇini on the same grounds as Kātyāyana, nor his successor, as in that case his reference to *Uṇādi* suffixes would be absolutely unintelligible. The

conclusion, which has been drawn by Goldstücker from the above considerations, that Pāṇini was the author of the ground-work of the present *Uṇādisūtra* seems to be based upon plausible grounds. That this ground-work was continuously enriched by later additions and accretions is quite apparent from the discrepancies in the text of the *Pañcapādī* in various editions, and from the additions in the alien systems, say, of Bhoja and others.

But Goldstücker's theory also is not absolutely free from difficulties. Goldstücker makes Pāṇini, so far at any rate as the *Uṇādi* section is concerned, a thorough-going follower of Śākaṭāyana, who among the grammarians was the first man to declare that all nouns (nāmān) were derived from radicals—which is the position of orthodox etymologists (Nairuktas). The formulation of the definition of *Prātipadika* in Pāṇini's grammar leaves room for doubt and controversy. It will not be in conformity with the precision and consistency, which are found to be the outstanding traits of Pāṇini as an author, to suppose that Pāṇini was in this particular delivery of his rule deflected from his personal views under the influence of orthodox grammarians who were not prepared to go the entire length with Śākaṭāyana and the etymologists. Besides, the employment of the word *'bahula'* in III. 3. 1 is rather suspicious. It may be so interpreted as to yield varying results. At any event it may not be hazardous to surmise that Pāṇini, though he might give a separate treatment of *Uṇādi* on the lines of his *dhātupāṭha* etc., was not prepared to look upon the results of the researches of his predecessors, say, Śākaṭāyana etc., as final and definite and outside the pale of controversy. At any rate there is good ground to suppose that he had mental reservation and this is evident from his hesitation to incorporate the *Uṇādi* suffixes into the corpus of accredited *Kṛt* suffixes. We, however, leave the whole matter in the hands of the learned editor and we trust that he will be able to throw welcome light on these knotty problems and hope that he will set at rest all unseemly controversy. In concluding our review we may be permitted to request the editor to include in the series the commentary of Ujjvaladatta with the critical notes of Dr. Aufrecht, with his own emendations whenever necessary.

There is a good deal of confusion and discrepancy even among the celebrated exponents of Pāṇini's school with regard to the *Uṇādi*. Several inconsistencies and errors on the part of his predecessors have been pointed out by Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita in his *Manoramā*, and Jñānendrasarasvatī in his *Tattvabodhinī* has in his

turn demonstrated several inaccuracies in Bhaṭṭoji's treatment itself. Jñānendrasarasvatī alludes to another recension of the *Uṇādi*, which he calls the *Daśapādī* as distinguished from the current *Pañcapādī* recension and he actually quotes from the text of the *Daśapādī* in several places in order to confirm the authenticity of particular readings in the *Pañcapādī*. We appeal to the editor to set on foot an extensive search for this valuable manuscript and if found, to publish it in the series. It may be legitimate to expect that the enlarged *Daśapādī* recension will be found to be a valuable mine of information and its publication will serve to extend the field of philological researches to a great extent.

SATKORI MOOKERJEE

CRONACA DELLA MISSIONE SCIENTIFICA TUCCI NEL TIBET OCCIDENTALE (1933) by G. Tucci and E. Ghersi, published by the Reale Accademia d'Italia, Roma 1934, pp. 395 with 273 illustrations and 2 maps.

The present work is a report of the Tucci Scientific Mission in Western Tibet and describes the travels of Prof. Tucci and Dr. Ghersi in the valleys of the Spiti as well as the Upper Sutlej with special reference to Toling and Tsaparang.

The travels were undertaken in 1933 and commenced on June 13 from the Punjab side. The travellers came back to Simla on November 2.

The work is chiefly geographical and topographical. But it is dotted over with interesting anthropological tit-bits. Besides, the historico-archæological data such as have been exhibited, although few and far between, are very tantalizing. The readers are waiting anxiously for the exclusively archæological volumes promised by Tucci.

This chronicle is a diary of the journey as precise as possible and is intended to serve as a guide to travellers with the interests of investigation.

A captain of the Italian Navy, Dr. Ghersi was Tucci's companion and took the photos which embellish the work and indeed constitute the foundation of the volumes that are to follow. The diary itself is the work of the captain.

The Vol. III of *Indo-Tibetica*[1] which contains the illustrations of the temples of Spiti and Kunavar and interpretations of the mural paintings is almost ready for publication. The Vol. IV. is given over to Tsaparang and Vol. V to Toling and the minor temples. The last two may be expected in a short time.

Toling is menaced by the erosions of the Sutlej. A few rows of *mc'od rten* which surround the temple have already succumbed. The entire region from Rabgyeling to Shangtze and Shang and thence to Gartok is devoid of the shadow of life. Even the traces of a great past are bidding fair to disappear.

Tibetan sources have convinced Tucci that the renaissance of Buddhism in Tibet about 1000 A.C., was due simultaneously to the remarkable activity of Rin c'en bzaṅ po, the great apostle of Lamaism as well as to the enlightened liberality of the kings of Guge (Western Tibet) who invited to their country the most famous masters from India thereby helping forward the propagation of Mahāyāna Buddhism in Tibet. All this revival took place after the persecution by gLaṅ dar ma.

It was not only the Indian pandits and scholars that were invited to Tibet but also the artists, especially those of Kashmir. The Indian tradition was thus preserved and continued in Tibet at a time when in India itself Buddhism was in decline.

Francke had studied the valley of Spiti, which was for some time a province of the Kingdom of Guge, in 1909. But Tucci felt because of his three previous voyages in Ladakh, Rupshu and Lahul, that Francke's investigations needed revision, especially because Francke's knowledge of Tibetan culture was not based on a direct study of Indian civilization. Tucci has therefore visited the regions explored by Francke.

Tucci was permitted to visit the monastery of Rabgyeling, a privilege that had been denied to Sven Hedin. The most important and secret chapels, e.g., those of gSer k'aṅ which Young, the author of *A Journey to Toling and Tsaparang in Western Tibet* (1912) could not see, have been explored by Tucci in the smallest details.

1 See the notices of *Indo-Tibetica*, vols. I. and II. by the present writer in the *IHQ.*, June 1934, pp. 382-391.

The first edifices described are those of Losar on the Spiti where its bed is extraordinarily large. The houses are rectangular, seldom two-storied but furnished with long poles at the top of which hang flags embellished with *dhāraṇis* in Sanskrit.

The private chapels (*mc'od k'añ*) are to be found in the best room of the houses. The library of sacred books forms the invariable furniture of the chapels. Some of the books are in print. Among the famous works of Lamaism are to be found in such libraries the epic of Kesar di glin, (the hero of the Tibetan epic legend), diverse mystical treaties, the *i rnam t'ar* or biographies of saints, manuals of liturgy, *Prajñā-pāramitā*, etc. The altar, the group of divinities and the big tamburo placed on the large pedestal of wood are regular features. The walls and partitions are all covered with flags, the decorations of which possess not only an iconographical but also genuine artistic value.

In Losar almost all the temples look quite modern. And in Upper Spiti Valley up to Kaze the "yellow sect" is the only one represented.

Tucci was known as the "jewel of Lamas" (*bla ma rin poc'e*) among the priests of Losar. They offered him consecrated seeds or grains while he was departing from them, and received his benedictions kneeling while he touched their heads with his hand in a solemn manner. Along with these benedictions went also some *bakshish*, which, curiously enough, has been described as a Tibetan word by the authors.

In the Spiti valley the authors were informed of the existence of the Bonpo cult, the indigenous pre-Buddhistic and non-Buddhistic religion of Tibet. Indeed, between Losar and Kibar the travellers came across a Bonpo sorcerer's family.

In a private chapel at Kibar the authors have found interesting mural paintings. The figure of Pratisara (*so sor ḥbrañ ma*) surrounded by Tārā, Avalokiteśvara, and many celebrated masters of Lamaism, has been reproduced in the book. The design and execution appear to be quite noteworthy. The work is said to belong probably to the seventeenth century.

At Kibar the authors utilized the services of the local "medicine-man" to make collections of medicinal herbs as well as of medical books. Tibetan medical literature is according to the authors derived in the main from India and to a minor extent from China.

On July 7, the evening of a full-moon night the authors watched a religious ceremony. A chief item in this ceremony consists in the participation of the whole village in a feast given by the head of the temple. Another item is the dance of the medical sorcerer, who happens to be the chief priest. The dance represents the fight of the gods—C'os skyoń—who protect the Buddhist laws from the demons, the enemies of life, prosperity and fertility of the soil. The exquisite photographs have served to introduce the spirit of the folk to the readers.

Equally striking are the photos of the religious mask-dance seen by the authors at Ki, which had been visited by Francke in 1909. The dance represents, on the one hand, the execution of the apostate king of the ninth century, gLań dar ma who prosecuted Buddhism and tried to revive the indigenous Bon cult. On the other hand, there are Tantric elements in this dance in so far as the *āveśa* takes place, i.e. the *sādhaka* or the devotee is pervaded by the divinity propitiated by him and he is enabled thereby to destroy the adverse forces.

At Kaze begins the zone of a new Buddhist sect, Sa skya pa—which about the forteenth century introduced the first reforms in Lamaism. The authors describe the diverse Tibetan sects as hardly opposed to or intolerant of one another and the people as venerating all the temples and priests without distinction of sect. In any case the worship of Padmasambhava is a common feature of all the sects.

The monastery of Kaze had not been seen by Francke. It looks like a robust mediæval fort. The votive inscriptions photographed by the authors come from the days of Nima rnam rgyal, the King of Ladakh.

The little temple of Lhalung had been visited by Shuttleworth (cf. Lhaluń Temple, spy-ti in *Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India* No. 39). But his identifications of the figures in the temple are said to be often wrong because he had to depend on local Lamas whose knowledge of symbolism was poor and questionable. This temple is the first edifice among those visited by the authors to go back to Rin c'en bzań po. A wooden figure of Buddha is seen here which is presumed to have come from India along with the great *Lotsawa* and is at any rate known to the local people as a divine workmanship or selfmade.

Tucci wanted to buy this beautiful and historic figure, but was refused. Disappointed he came to the tent and at night saw the image

in his dream. Early morning the whole village took interest in the dream. One advocate strongly objected to the removal of the deity, another argued in favour of Tucci. Then commenced the ceremonial dance. The divinity finally revealed itself completely to the medical sorcerer, who was none other than the chief priest, and he was inspired to remove the statue with trembling hands from its seat and offered it to Tucci. And this "Italian Lama" as a devout Buddhist placed the figure on his head and fell into "profound meditation." This is how the thousand-year old Indo-Tibetan Buddha became the property of an Italian savant. At night Tucci's bearer went to the medical sorcerer to furnish him with the evidence of Tucci's generosity.

Drangkhar is the capital of Spiti, not flourishing however at present. Here Tucci has copied out the lengthy inscription which could not be deciphered by Francke. Idols of bronze and wood, some of them with silver eyes and pupils of black metal, were found in plenty.

In Spiti as in Ladákh the women are described as more industrious than men. Whenever there was no work in the camps of the travellers the women used to go to the villages and spin wood as well as turn the prayer-wheel. It is interesting that the men keep to the house and take care of the children. Polyandry flourishes.

The monastery (*gompa*) of the Tabo was established by Rin cen bzaṅ po. The structure is a complex of eight temples, the largest and oldest of which is known as gTsug lag k'aṅ. The statue of Vairocana in the centre and the thirtythree statues along the walls point to fine æsthetic conception.

The story of the travellers' contacts with the people is not all of bribery, *bakshish* and secret transactions. At Shipki on the Sutlej—after leaving the Spiti valley,—where the boundaries of Bashahr and Tibet meet, a visit comes to Tucci from the Lama who had been his guide in 1931. We are told that "*per lui vivere e meditare; egli sa soltanto delle sue esperienze e delle estasi* (For him life is meditation. He knows only of his experiences and his ecstasies). To such a man the authors are pilgrims who lie outside his world both geographically and spiritually. But say the authors: "The law of Buddha which forms the subject of conversation with Tucci is a vehicle of comprehension: the

distance of space is conquered by the nearness of the soul. We leave him as brothers and the farewell saddens him."

According to Tucci Lamaism is the joint product of the labours of Tibetan devotees who had been to India aspiring after spiritual perfection as well as of Indian sages who were invited by the Tibetans as their guides or who were forced to leave their fatherland on account of hostile attacks. "It contains," says he, "not only certain specially Tibetan characteristics but also some of the great doctrinal constructions and profound mystical experiences of *Mahāyāna*. When once Lamaism comes to be properly understood not simply in its external forms but also and especially in regard to the internal significance of its rites and formulæ people would realize how erroneous it is to treat entirely as a jumble of gross magic what really is one of the mystic experiences that deserve to be studied. From some of the degenerate forms of modern Lamaism one should not try to form a judgment on the religion which furnished inspiration to some of the greatest mystics that the world knew of. If this was possible it shows that Lamaism contains elements of the highest spiritual value."

The region Shipki-Serkung-Tiak in the Sutlej Valley contains the native place and early associations of Rin cen bzaṅ po. At one point the authors find the inscription conveying "homage to the great Translator". In the temple of Tiak are found the figures of Makara, Garuḍa, Avalokiteśvara with four hands, Ākāśagarbha and Vijaya, a bronze statue of Padmasambhava.

At Tiak the travellers bid adieu to the Sutlej and along with that the green apricot trees.

At Miang they find and acquire some "prehistoric" objects. There they have occasion also to take part in the ceremony of the eighth day after the death of a woman. They watch how the spirit of the departed is recalled by prayers into a red figure made of farina and butter. The pacification of the soul being accomplished, the guests are treated to refreshments.

One of the temples at Nū has frescoes of Tārā, Amitābha, Sman bla (medicine gods), Śākyamuni, Avalokiteśvara with 11 heads, and Vairocana.

In the old temple at Gumphug the travellers believe they have

come across some of the finest specimens of the school of art indigenous to this province. Chinese influence is said to be entirely lacking. On the other hand, direct imitation of Tantric *paṭas* of India is in evidence.

Students of Āyurveda will note with interest the two photographs of illustrated medical manuscripts. We visualize here perhaps old Tibetan *tols*. A *guru* and a pupil or perhaps the gods of medicine have been exhibited quite realistically in each picture. Seeing that pictures of mediæval Hindu educational institutions are rare these two illustrations ought to be very valuable to scholars of culture-history.

At Donghara they see perhaps the highest market of the world. It is 13,800 feet above the sea-level. Tibetan traders are smoking over there the Indian *hooka*. The Tibetans sell mineral salt and wood. From the Indian merchants who go from Garhwal and Almora they buy rice, dried grapes, clothing materials and aluminium goods.

The great ruins of buildings and monasteries at Luk point to a glorious past. Some of the frescoes in the temple illustrate Amitābha, Vairocana, three medicine-gods, P'yag stoń spyan stoń or thousand-handed and thousand-eyed Avalokiteśvara, and scenes in the life of Buddha. Some of the oldest *ts'a ts'a*, furnished as they are with inscriptions in Indian characters, have been found at Jangtang.

As guests of the head of the monastery at Rabgyeling the travellers observe that Tibetans are great lovers of art. Even in daily life the Tibetans like to have beautiful objects about them. The monastery has the appearance of a fortress.

In some of the caves of Kyinipuk the traavellers find a veritable mine of *ts'a ts'a* some of which can be traced back to the tenth century. An entire library of manuscripts mostly in old scripts is also discovered here. It is presumed that a complete edition of the *Kanjur* with numerous comments was compiled at this spot by the Tibetan sages.

Shagtze is the summer capital of the prefecture of Tsaparang of which the metropolis (also called Tsaparang) lies considerably to the south. Besides Tsaparang there are three other prefectures or provinces in Western Tibet, all governed under directions from Lhassa in the East, the headquarters of All-Tibet.

The book contains two illustrations of medicine-gods, one white and

the other dark, such as are to be found in the frescoes of the temple of Shangtze. According to the authors, something like a school of Guge may be said to have existed in this part of Tibet so far as art work is concerned.

Gartok is the eastern limit of the travellers' journey. Here on account of the friendship they strike up with the old administrator they succeed in getting possession of a collection of prehistoric objects as well as a manuscript containing songs in honour of the great masters bka. rgyud. pa together with musical notations.

For the return journey the authors took the southern route. Coming westward they had to cross Bog-la at an altitude of 17,700 ft. The oldest *ts'a ts'a* of their up-to-date collection were discovered at Drinsa. A chain-bridge of old standing helped them to cross the Sutlej and they arrived at Toling. There they visited subterranean galleries and found heaps of manuscripts, fragments of wooden and other statues, *ts'a ts'a* etc. A whole library was also discovered in which were found old copies of *Kanjur* and *Tanjur*. Some of their pages are embellished with superb miniatures.

The largest temple at Toling belongs to the *maṇḍala* type of architecture. The form is borrowed, according to the authors, from that of the temple of Somapura excavated at Paharpur (*Arch. Sur. Ind. Annual Report* 1927-28, Table XLV). It is the Vajradhātumaṇḍala of the Tantric cycle that is reproduced in this temple. Vairocana is in the centre, Akṣobhya is placed in the east, Ratnasambhava in the south, and then come Amitābha and Amoghasiddhi. The chapels constituting the diverse arms of the cross are literally covered with the finest executed frescoes. The entire Mahāyānic pantheon is visible here, especially the one connected with Sarvavid, Vairocana, Guhyasamāja and Saṃvaratantra. The life-like colour, the freshness of design, and the profusion of ornaments have elicited the administration of the authors which can indeed be shared by the readers who see some of the illustrations in the book.

"It is with a sense of profound reverence that we visit this temple," write the authors, "from where a multitude of sages and ascetics, almost forgotten today, propagated all over Tibet a spiritual light which is not yet exhausted. And with sincere emotion we light the votive lamps in front of the meditating statues of their gods". It is very interesting

to observe that what these Christian travellers felt and did in the Buddhist atmosphere of Tibetan Asia was done by the present reviewer in some of the Catholic churches and chapels of Europe.

The chapels surrounding the great temple are twenty in number. In the company of Vairocana, Vajrapāni, Saṃvara, Śākyamuni, Lokapāla, etc., are found very often the eight gods of medicine. Vijayā, Sitāpatrā, Tārā, Prajñāpāramitā are the conspicuous figures in the "white temple". The figures represented in the frescoes of the temple of sixteen Arhats point to exquisite workmanship in composition and movement. The three-storied temple known as gSer k'aṅ is the *sancta sanctorum* of the whole monastery. It looks like a truncated pyramid and may have reproduced the three-storied temple of Indian Odantapuri so famous in Tibetan tradition. The leading cycles here are those of Vairocana, Guhyasamāja, Saṃvara and Kālacakra.

Tsaparang is about six miles from Toling and is on the same left side of the Sutlej. The ruins point to the existence here of a great city. It was not only the capital but the commercial emporium also.

Tsaparang is said to have had contacts with Delhi and Lahore. Merchants of China brought here their porcelains. With Garhwal the traffic was constant.

In one of the temples the authors see the large figure of Vairocana who as the centre of Vajradhātumaṇḍala was the special favourite of the sect founded by Rin cen bzan po. Wonderful realistic designs describe the foundation ceremony of the temple.

In another temple a huge statue of Maitreya in gilded bronze arrested their attention. The figure of Bhairava with five heads of which the central is that of a buffalo has evoked the following comment of the authors. "The terrific does not enter into Buddhist iconography", say they, "except as a manifestation of the merciful, Mañjuśrī, not as a menace which threatens humanity or blind force lying in ambush but as help and protection. The terrible is meant to defend the faithful and the laws menaced by the forces of evil.

Tantric iconography illustrating the mystical states of personality was found in some of the frescoes. Generally, the pictures are furnished with inscriptions.

The story of the conversion to Catholicism of the King of Guge as

told by Francke and repeated by Young and Wessels has been examined by Tucci in detail. He considers the story to be without any foundation. The sympathy alleged to have been shown by the king of Tsaparang to the religion represented by the Portuguese missionary Andrade in the seventeenth century is in his judgment a normal and natural thing. "Buddhists and Hindus," says he, "are different from Christians in their attitude to other faiths. But sympathy for another faith does not imply renunciation of one's own faith."

The travellers bade adieu to the Sutlej at Tsaparang and proceeded south.

Texts of *Tanjur* with notes and comments are found in the temple at Toshang.

The temple at Ri is said to have been the work of Rin cen bzan po and is regarded by the authors even in its ruined condition as pointing to an age when it could vie with the best in Toling.

From Ri the marches are hurriedly made back to Shipki in the Sutlej valley once more. The explorations virtually end there. *En route* to Simla they came into touch with the Hinduized Buddhism, or perhaps regular Hinduism of the Himalayan regions in Bashahr (Kunavar). Lamaism is replaced by Śiva, Viṣṇu, Kālī and Durgā. The wooden temple of Viṣṇu at Chini has the pagoda architecture so characteristic of Nepal.

The temple of Mahādeva at Sungara also arrested their attention as another fine specimen of Himalayan art.

Scientific and exploratory expenditions cost money. The present undertaking of Tucci, organized as it was by the Royal Academy of Italy, obtained through the enlightened intervention of Mussolini, the financial support of the Royal Marine, the Banca d'Italia, the Consortium for subsidy to industrial enterprises, Comm. L. De Santis, the National Fascist Federation of Ediles, the National Fascist Confederation of Agriculturists, the Savings Bank of Milan, and the General Fascist Confederation of Italian Industry.

In these labours of Fascist Italy Tibet is at last being opened up, and we are presented with men and women whose creations and assimilations in literature and art might do credit to any race of human beings. Of special interest is the fact that the world is being enriched with new

specimens of fine frescoes and noble statues, coming as they do from Tibetan hands. Tucci and Ghersi have carried on their work not only with firm objectivity and rigid precision but with understanding and imagination as well as sympathy and love.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

PURĀṆA PRAVESA (*Introduction to the Purāṇas*) in Bengali By Girindra Shekhar Bose, D.Sc., Pp. V+296: M. C. Sarkar & Sons., Calcutta, 1934.

This work is one of the most important additions that have been made in recent years to the critical study of the royal and dynastic lists in the Purāṇic literature. Though the author modestly styles his work an '*introduction*', he was given us an exhaustive account of the historical material in the Purāṇas. What is more, he has sought for the first time to introduce order and consistency into the entire tangled scheme of the Purāṇa chronology. His method is scientific and his conclusions, if accepted, would go far to establish the dynastic history of ancient India in Pre-Gupta times on firm foundations back to the remotest antiquity.

In the preliminary chapters, Dr. Bose discusses such important points as the scope and method of the Purāṇas, their antiquity and authenticity and so forth. Arguing from the famous definition of *Pañcalakṣaṇa* he confidently asserts (p. 3) that the term 'Purāṇa' stands for what we now understand by 'history'. The Purāṇas, we are told, have the character of a modern historical work such as Mr. H. G. Wells' *Outline of History* for they do not deal with the creation and dissolution (!) of the world, possess a definite chronology, include biographies of famous characters and even find rooms for descriptions of natural phenomena? Even the exaggerations of the Purāṇas are sufficiently patent and obey definite rules.

Great credit is due to Dr. B. for the care and thoroughness with which he deals with the difficult and complicated system of Purāṇa chronology. We may particularly mention his explanation of the term '*yuga*' both in its general and in its technical sense (pp. 22-7), his description of the Purāṇic time divisions (pp. 23 ff) and his discussion of the

different methods of reckoning time in the Purāṇas, such as, the *Manu*-cycle, the 'ancestral' or historical cycle and the *Saptarṣi* cycle. These, however, are only ancillary to his original and valuable exposition, (pp. 49 ff and Chart p. 105) of the Purāṇa chronological scheme applicable to the ancient dynastic lists. This scheme consists, as Dr. B. shows by a brilliant combination of direct evidence and inference, of a great epoch or cycle of 5,000 years (the so-called *Kalpa* or creation-epoch) with Svāyambhuva Manu as its starting-point. Into this is fitted the division into 14 *Manu*-periods (*Manvantaras*) of 71 yugas or 355 years each since the time-reckonings from Svāyambhuva to Vaivasvata are made in the terms of *Manvantaras*. As the creation-cycle of 5,000 years, divided by 14 *Manvantaras* of 355 years each, would leave a margin of 30 years to be still accounted for, it was thought necessary to postulate 15 junction-periods or *Sandhis* (one at the beginning, one at the end and 13 in the middle) with 2 years for each *Sandhi* (pp. 40-1). Accordingly, 355+2+2=359 years are assigned to the first (Svāyambhuva) Manu period and 355+2=357 years to each of the rest. Into the same chronological system Dr. B. fits the time-divisions into 4 *Dharmayugas* and the 30 'ancestral' or historical yugas, since these last are used for the time-reckoning from Vaivasvata to Yudhiṣṭhira. The result is a somewhat complicated time-scale comprising 5,000 years, divided (a) into one 359 and thirteen 357 time-periods ('*Manu*-periods') and further (b) into 4 time-periods (*Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara* and *Kali*) in the proportion of 4: 3: 2: 1 and (c) into 30 time-periods ('ancestral *yugas*') of 2,000 months or 166⅔ years each.

Dr. B. proceeds to test the authenticity of the above chronological scheme in the light of a few fixed data about chronological positions of individual kings like Bṛhadratha (pp. 49 ff and Table, p. 56). Another method of testing the above chronological scheme which is adopted by Dr. B. and is equally sound, is the probability of the average generation-periods deducible from the Purāṇic data. His examination of a number of known genealogies including those of the Mughal emperors and of the English sovereigns from William I to Edward VII leads to the following valuable conclusions:—(*1*) The only sure basis of calculation is the determination of the age at which the first child is born, (*2*) for a long series of generations in lineal succession the average duration is

about 28 years (it may be remarked *en passant* that the same figure was arrived at independently by Dr. S. N. Pradhan, *Chronology of Ancient India*, pp. 174-5); and (3) when the average comes down to 18 years or so, it may be taken for certain that the succession has ceased to be lineal and has become collateral. Arguing from these principles, Dr. B. says quite justly (pp. 72-3; cf. table p. 107) that there is nothing incredible in the calculated Purāṇa average figures from Svāyambhuva Manu to Bṛhadratha, viz., 24·9, 18·7, 26·3, 31·2, 23·6 and 25·3 years. Dr. B. takes this opportunity to correct (p. 67) the theory of the late V. Smith and Pargiter that an average generation-period cannot exceed 25 years. He drives his conclusion home by showing that the average reign-period of English sovereigns from John to Edward III (35·6 years) is about the same as the corresponding Purāṇic figure for Śaiśunāka kings (33·2 years).

With the relative chronology of 'ancient kings' thus placed on a stable basis, Dr. B. next turns to the chronology of 'recent kings' from Parīkṣita downwards, for which, as he points out, the time reckoning is made according to individual years and the *Saptaṛṣi* cycle of 1,000 years. He neatly sums up (p. 75) the data for fixing the relative chronology of the 'recent kings' under five heads. He gives good grounds for believing that one of the data, viz., the interval between Parīkṣita's birth and Nanda's coronation, should be held to comprise 1015 instead of 1050 years. As regards the absolute chronology of these dynasties, Dr. B. first refers (p. 85) to the generally-accepted dates for Ajātaśatru (*c.* 554 B.C.), Nanda (*c.* 413 B.C.), Candragupta (*c.* 326-25 B.C.), which would give *c.* 1400 or 1420 B.C. as the date of Parīkṣita's birth. These are, however, approximate dates, and a more precise reckoning is attempted with reference to the date of Nanda's coronation, which Dr. B. rightly regards (p. 94) as marking the beginning of a new era. By a brilliant hypothesis Dr. B. conjectures (pp. 95-96) that Mahāpadma Nanda, though actually living in the second Kṛta age according to the ancient Purāṇic reckoning, was held by the later authors, because of his Śūdra birth and his extermination of the Kṣatriyas, to have lived during the prolongation of the Kali age. As the Nanda era was thus held to be synonymous with the Kali age, the beginning of this creation-cycle was traced back the traditional 27 *yugas* earlier, and these 27 *yugas*, reckoned according to the newly-accepted *Saptaṛṣi* cycle, comprised 2,700 years. Still later the

beginning of the Kali age was held to date from 2,700 years preceding Nanda. As 1934 A.D. corresponds to 5035 Kali yuga, the date of Nanda's coronation is 5035 − 2700 − 1934 A.D. = 401 B.C. The above hypothesis, Dr. B. claims, fits in with the dates of Ajātaśatru and Candragupta Maurya as well as of the end of the Andhra dynasty as derived from independent evidence.

The results of these studies are indicated in a series of chronological and synchronistic tables of royal and other dynasties (pp. 110 ff), which form the most valuable portion of the present work. Dr. B. first takes up the most complete royal genealogy in the Purāṇas, that of the Ikṣākus. The list comprising 127 names is arranged in the succession of generations (87-210) from Svāyambhuva Manu downwards. Dr. B's method of calculating the absolute chronology of the kings is, as usual scientific and rational. Reckoning back from the fixed point of Nanda's accession (401 B.C.), he assigns the Bhārata War to 1015 + 401 = 1416 B.C., the beginning of the Kali age to 1416 + 42 = 1458 B.C. and the beginning of the Kṛta age to 1458 + 9 × 500 B.C. = 5958 B.C. The chronology of the Ikṣāku line begins with King Ikṣāku, whose time at the beginning of the 7th Manu cycle is found to be 3814 B.C. For the rest a few fixed points are found in the chronological positions of Māndhātā (end of 15 ancestral *yugas* i.e. 5958 − 15 × 2000 months or 2500 years = 3458 B.C.), Sagara (5958 − 3000 years = 2958 B.C.), Mūlaka (5958 − 3500 years = 2458 B.C.) and so forth. To the intermediate kings are assigned the average figures found by dividing the intervening years by their total number. Dr. B. follows up the chronological table of the Ikṣākus with similar tables of two other ancient dynasties, the Kurus and the Bārhadrathas, duly adjusting the Purāṇa figures for individual reigns and the total duration in the latter case. After these come in turn the tables of the Prādyota, Śaiśunāka, Nanda, Maurya, Śuṅga, Kāṇva and Andhra dynasties.

At the close of the chronological and synchronistic tables, Dr. B. touches on a number of interesting questions, such as the authenticity of the Purāṇas, the bias of foreign writers and the Purāṇic exaggerations, but space forbids our consideration of the same.

On a number of points we may be permitted to differ from the author's views.

Pp. i, ii, and 5:—Dr. B. distinguishes sharply between the functions of the Sūta, the Māgadha and the authors of the Purāṇas. But he does not quote any authorities for these statements and there does not seem to be any. In the Vedic Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas, Māgadha is not a professional title at all, while the Sūta's functions are not definitely known. In the epic and Purāṇic tradition no sharp line of demarcation seems to have been drawn between the offices above-mentioned. In the Garga Saṃhitā, Goloḳakhaṇḍa quoted in Pargiter (*Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 17), the sūta is even mentioned as a Paurāṇika, while the Māgadha is a mere genealogist (for other references, see Pargiter, *loc cit*).

Pp. ii and 2-4:—Dr. B. claims for the Purāṇas that they have the character of a modern historical work and that their method is scientific. But even the original Purāṇa-saṃhitā attributed to Vyāsa was held in the Purāṇic tradition to consist of Kalpaśuddhi along with Ākhyāna, Upākhyāna and Gāthā. In later times the scope of a Mahāpurāṇa is so much enlarged that it became, to quote Dr. B's own words (p. 169), "a historical and geographical account of all India together with the description of the manners, customs, traditions, governments, arts and sciences of the people." It became something more, as it became the scripture of one or other of the principal sects.

P. 7:—*Antiquity of the Purāṇas*. Dr. B. might have greatly strengthened his argument by mentioning the frequent references to *Itihāsa* and *Purāṇa* (singly or together) in the *Vedic Saṃhitās* and *Brāhmaṇas* (the oldest such reference occurring in Atharvaveda XV, 6, 4ff) and even to the class of Aitihāsikas and Paurāṇikas. Dr. B. might have also referred to Kātyāyana on Pāṇini IV, 2, 60 and Patañjali 2, 284, which have been taken to refer to an *Itihāsa* and a *Purāṇa* work. Reference might also have been made to allied forms of composition mentioned in the early Vedic literature such as *ākhyāna*, *anvākhyāna*, *vyākhyāna* etc.

Pp. 110-124 and Pp. 140-150:—*Chronology of ancient kings*. The industry and thoroughness displayed by Dr. B. in the preparation of the present work make us regret that he has been content with a mere skeleton outline of the early dynastic history and has not thought it fit to re-construct the past on

the lines of the late Mr. Pargiter's *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition* and Dr. S. N. Pradhan's *Chronology of Ancient India*. It is equally to be regretted that within his chosen field Dr. B. has failed properly to realise the importance of the evidence of Vedic literature as a check on the statements of the Purāṇas. How much the Purāṇas diverge from the data of the Vedic works is well-demonstrated by Dr. Pradhan in the work just mentioned. To take one instance, he has conclusively proved that the Purāṇas are wrong in mentioning a king Brahmiṣṭha between Mudgala and Indrasena, the fact being that Indrasena was the son (not the grandson) of Mudgala, and Brahmiṣṭha of the Purāṇas is an adjective qualifying Indrasena. We are again indebted to Dr. Pradhan for correcting in the light of the Vedic data a number of names in the Purāṇic lists, *e.g.*, the Purāṇic Vṛddhaśva or Vaddhyaśva in place of the correct form Vadhryaśva and Purāṇic Bharmyāśva etc. for the true form Bhṛmyaśva. Coming to the Bārhadratha dynasty Dr. B. ingeniously reconciles (p. 121) the Purāṇic discrepancies by observing that the total reign-period of 997 years assigned by Vāyu has to be counted from Kuru, the progenitor of the line, and the corresponding figure in the Matsya, (viz. 835 years) should be counted from Bṛhadratha I. But on the next page he somewhat inconsistently rejects the Vāyu for the Matsya figure. It may be said of this explanation and the equally ingenious attempt to reconcile the discrepant lists of 22 and 32 kings of the dynasty that they are mere hypotheses. As regards Dr. B's two fixed points for the chronology of the dynasty, it will be presently shown that the date 881 B.C. for the last king which is based on the supposition that the Prādyotas preceded the Śaiśunākas is far from being satisfactory. It is moreover a sad commentary on the alleged authenticity of the Purāṇa chronology that Dr. B. has found it necessary to reject (p. 151) the assigned reign-periods of all Bārhadrathas from Somāpi downwards and assign them 24, 26 or 27 years according to *his* assumed chronology.

Pp. 125-133, 151-158:—Chronology of 'recent kings'. Dr. B. in basing his chronological arrangement of the Prādyotas exclusively upon the Purāṇic authority, completely ignores the valuable data of the early Buddhist literature, according to which the Prādyotas were contemporaries, not predecessors, of the Śaiśunākas. Dr. B. places Pradyota in 871 B.C., while Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru are assigned to 612 and 572

B.C. respectively. But a well-attested Buddhist tradition makes the three kings contemporaries of each other. In a similar way Prasenajit, king of Kośala, is pushed back by Dr. B. to 753 B.C. but the Buddhist tradition makes him the father-in-law of Bimbisāra. Again, Udayana of the Pūru line is carried back to 733 B.C. and Darśaka of the Śaiśunāka dynasty is given 544 B.C., but reliable tradition knows Udayana to have married Vāsavadattā, daughter of Pradyota as well as Padmāvatī, sister of Darśaka. As regards the chronology of the Śaiśunākas, Dr. B. characteristically reconciles the discrepancy of the Vāyu account of the duration of the Prādyotas by stating that Munika, Pradyota's father, ruled for that period as regent on behalf of his minor son. But this hypothesis lacks external corroboration and Dr. B. does not even attempt to reconcile the Matsya figures of 152 (?) and 155 for the duration of the dynasty.

The above objections apply *mutatis mutandis* to Dr. B's Śaiśunāka chronology. He has not even considered the serious objections that have been raised against the Purāṇa chronology such as the omission of king Muṇḍa from the list and the extinction of the Pradyota line by the alleged first king Śiśunāka. He carries his exclusive reliance on Purāṇic authority to the point of adopting obviously faulty proper names such as Bidmisāra for Bimbisāra and Darbhaka for Darśaka.

For the Nanda dynasty Dr. B. explains that the 88 years assigned to Mahāpadma apply to the whole duration of the dynasty including 2 years during which Mahāpadma is alleged to have acted as regent form his father. In the same spirit he explains the total duration of 100 years assigned to the dynasty as comprising the period of the nine kings and of the subsequent feudatory chiefs of the line. Till these ingenious hypotheses are confirmed by other evidence, it is difficult to follow Dr. B's chronology of the individual reigns.

Dr. B's chronology of the Andhras is open to most of the objections that have been raised alike. While admitting the discrepancy in the Purāṇic statements of names of kings and duration of the dynasty he unhesitatingly accepts the higher figures of 30 kings and 456 years and following the authority of the Purāṇas regarding the beginning of the dynasty he assigns to it the period from 21 B.C. to 435 A.D. But he altogether ignores the evidence of inscriptions and coins which contra-

dicts him at some material points. To take one instance, Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi, who is known from the Nāsik Cave inscription of the queen-mother Bala Śrī and the Jogaltembhi hoard of coins to have crushed the Khaharāta Nahapāna (119-124 A.D. according to most scholars) is assigned 340-361 A.D. Again, Vāsiṣṭhiputra Pulumāyi, generally identified with king Śātakarṇi of the Girnar Rock inscription, who married the daughter of Rudradāman (inscriptional date 150 A.D.) is placed in 361-389 A.D.

We conclude this review with the observation that the present work notwithstanding the above and other shortcomings, marks a distinct advance towards the study of Ancient Indian History and Chronology. We sincerely wish that it may appear in an English garb so as to make it accessible to a much larger circle of readers.

U. N. Ghoshal.

SELECTIONS FROM THE PESHWA DAFTAR, ed. by G. S. Sardesai (Government Central Press, Bombay.) No. 26, *Tara Bai and Sambhaji*, 1738-61 (Rs. 3-10.); No. 27, *Balaji Rao Peshwa and Events in the North: Supplementary*, 1742-1761 (Rs. 5-8.); No. 28, *Peshwa Balaji Rao and Karnatak Affairs*, 1740-1761 (Rs. 6-2.); No. 29, *Affairs of Northern India: Peshwa Madhav Rao I, 1761-1772* (Rs. 6-11.); No. 30, *Miscellaneous Papers of Shahu and his First two Peshwas* (Rs. 6-15.); No. 31, *Selected Papers from the Jamav Section* (Rs. 2-15.); No. 32, *Private Life of the Later Peshwas* (Rs. 2-5.); No. 33, *Shahu's Campaign against the Siddis of Janjira: Supplementary* (Rs. 5-14.); No. 34, *Bassein Campaign: Supplementary* (Rs. 2-8.); No. 35, *Capture of Salsette by the English, 1774.* (Rs. 2-11.)

This monumental work has reached completion in 45 volumes for the present. When we come to notice the final ten volumes (already received), we shall take the occasion to pass the entire series in review and give our readers a general account of the manner of its origin and progress and its abiding value, as well as to suggest corrections. The volumes detailed above range over a wide field in point of time and region, most of them containing only a portion of the records relating

to a particular person or event, and depending for completion on some other volumes. This was inevitable in view of the public demand for printing the records while the work of exploring and selecting this huge mass of mss. was not yet complete. But as the volumes are arranged according to subjects, the student of a particular branch of Maratha history will not feel much inconvenience in having to consult 2 or 3 overlapping volumes instead of one, especially as the copiously detailed index will furnish him with the necessary clue and minimise the labour of search.

Thus, No. 27 is supplementary to Nos. 2, 21 and 29,—28 is followed by 37,—32 must be read along with 9 and 18—33 along with 3 and 24,—34 with 16. Scattered throughout the Karnatak volumes are references to the Nizam, in addition to the special volumes on him, *viz*, 10, 25 and 38. The papers on the Maratha side of the English capture of Bassein in 1774 supply the natural corrective to the English records printed by Forrest in his *Bombay Selections*.

The range and value of the information here collected makes these parts rank among the primary sources of Maratha history, while the interest of parts 31 and 32 makes a wider appeal than to the professed historian. The Jamav Section (No. 31) ranges in time from 1426 to 1848 A.D. and contains 18 letters of Shivaji's reign. The authenticity of some of the earliest documents (preserved in later copies only) in this volume requires to be critically established. The 32nd volume gives us history *en deshabille* and also lights up the social scene of Poona under Hindu rule; the editor rightly styles it "a picture of inestimable value to students of history. While the puritanical Madhav Rao I refuses to wear gaily coloured clothes, his uncle Raghunath Rao writes for a supply of pretty and well trained dancing girls!" We here get side lights on the range of reading of the ladies of Peshwas' family (from the long lists of the mss. in their possession), Madhav Rao's attention to the improvement of the city of Poona, imports of European commodities, &c.

J. N. Sarkar

ALTINDISCHE GRAMMATIK VON JACOB WACKERNAGEL III. Band: Nominalflexion, Zahlwort, Pronomen; Von Albert Debrunner und Jacob Wackernagel, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1930; pp. xvi + 602.

A question like "What was the most important publication in recent years in the field of Sanskrit philology" is certainly embarrassing, but there need be no hesitation in replying to this question if it is actually raised. For the most important publication in this branch of linguistic studies in recent years is certainly the third volume of Wackernagel's Sanskrit grammar. We already possess three complete Sanskrit grammars: Whitney's Grammar is a wonder-work of sober judgement and deep penetration, and Renou's Grammaire Sanscrite is an equally successful exposition though from a different point of view. MacDonell's Vedic Grammar is unfortunately a mere *Catalogus Catalogorum*. But apart from Thumb's rather sketchy "Handbuch des Sanskrit" (second edition by Hirt) a complete linguistic interpretation of the Sanskrit language, which could be placed at the side of the Greek grammar of Brugmann-Thumb and the Latin Grammar of Stolz-Malz-Leumann-Hofmann is still a desideratum. Indeed a beginning was made in this direction by no less a person than Jakob Wackernagel. The first volume of his "Altindische Gammatik appeared in 1896 in which Sanskrit phonology was exhaustively dealt with, and in 1905 appeared the first part of the second volume which is devoted to nominal composition. Then followed a pause of no less than twenty-five years, and people began to sigh that Wackernagel will never take up his Sanskrit grammar again. But "on revient toujours à ses premiers amours," and Wackernagel too has not been untrue to what may be called his first love. For in the year 1930 Wackernagel presented the linguistic world with the magnificent third volume of his "Altindische Grammatik" dealing with Noun-inflexion, Numeralia and Pronouns. The work is yet only half complete, for the second part of the second volume which will deal with "Wortbildungslehre" is yet to appear, and there is no sign as yet of vol. IV, perhaps the most difficult part of the whole work, for it will deal with Sanskrit verbal system, and vol. V (on Syntax) is even farther away. We have indeed a foretaste of what vol. V will be like in Wackernagel's delicious "Vorlesungen über Syntax," in which however only Greek, Latin and, to a lesser extent, the Germanic languages have been discussed, Sanskrit being drawn into discussion only facultatively to illustrate obscure cases of other languages. It is idle to hope that Wackernagel, who has already passad his eightieth year, will be able to complete his great

work. It is therefore some solace to all lovers of Sanskrit learning that Albert Debrunner, a renowned pupil of the master, appears as a collaborator in the third volume.

It requires a Bartholomae to fittingly review a work of Wackernagel. In fact Bartholomae's long reviews (*Z D M G.*, 50 and *IF. Anz.*, 8) of the earlier volumes of this grammar are nothing less than valuable supplements to it. Nothing of the kind will be attempted by the present reviewer who will consider his task fulfilled if he only succeeds in drawing the attention of Indian students to this masterly work of Wackernagel, a thorough study of which is the *sine qua non* to a truly scientific study of the Sanskrit language. If yet a point or two are raised in this review, it is more to give expression to doubts in the mind of the reviewer than to criticise Wackernagel's work.

On p. 77 it is said that the adverbial suffix *-ayâ* is directly connected with *a* -stems; hence the theory that *-ayâ* is the instrumental sg. of *ā*-stems has to be given up. Yet the author himself admits that *sumnayâ* may be Instr. sg. of *sumnayâ* (<**sumnayayā*). Hence the possibility of ultimate connection with *ā*-stems cannot be altogether denied. So far as the stratification of Vedic texts is concerned the linguistic phenomena are certainly a broken reed: we often find truly old forms in the midst of hymns which are certainly late and *vice versa*. But Wackernagel seems to have carried his linguistic convictions sometimes a little too far, e. g., in the case of the double endings *-āsaḥ* and *-āḥ* in nom. pl. masc.

Lastly I take this opportunity to point out some cases of *r*/*n*-heteroclisis in Sanskrit which seem never to have been noticed by any modern grammarian, and Wackernagel too seems to have missed them, although already Pāṇini noticed at least some of them. Paṇ. IV. 1. 7 describes feminine forms such as *dhīvarī* (:*dhīvan*), *śarvarī* (:*śarvan*). These are evidently cases of *r*/*n*- heteroclisis although it is impossible to say why the *r*-form was exclusively used in feminine and *n*-form exclusively in masculine. *Śakvan* :*śakvarī*: evidently belong to this same category though mentioned neither by Pāṇini nor by his commentators, and *Godāvarī*, which up to this day has baffled all attempts at etymologising, would, according to this explanation turn out to be the feminine of **go-dāvan* "giver of cattle."

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute,
vol. XVI, pts. i-ii (October-January, 1934-35)

HIRA LAL JAIN.—*Some fresh Light on the Dhārāśiva Caves and the Origin of Silāhāra Dynasty.*

A. S. GADRE.—*Ordāru Copper-plate Grant of Emperor Mallikārjuna of Vijayanagara of 1456 A.D.*

A. M. GHATAGE.—*Narrative Literature in Jain Mahārāṣṭrī.*

H. D. VELANKAR.—*Kavidarpaṇam.* This Prākṛta treatise on metres is being edited here with Introduction.

V. S. SUKTHANKAR.—*Epic Studies.* It is a critical discussion on readings of texts of the *Mahābhārata*, Ādiparvan.

R. S. VENKATARAMA SASTRI.—*Verbal Synthesis—a Mīmāṃsā Gift.* The writer brings out the importance of verbal synthesis in the order of thought dealt with in the Pūrva-mīmāṃsā system which contains more than two thousand principles of interpretation helpful in the application of law and the development of philosophical thought of the Hindus.

V. RAGHAVAN.—*Literary Notes:*

1. *Alaṃkāracandrikā* of King Nārāyaṇa.
2. *Camatkāracandrikā* of Viśveśvara.
3. *Rasamīmāṃsā* of Kāśīśvara Miśra.
4. *Rasamīmāṃsā* of Vidyācarkravartin.
5. Names of Abhinanda, the author of the *Rāmacarita* and the extent of the *Rāmacarita*.

P. K. GODE.—*Notes on Indian Chronology.*

1. Date of Kedārabhaṭṭa's *Vṛttaratnākara*—before A.D. 1297.
2. Jinasamudrasūri, author of a commentary on the *Kumārasambhava* and his exact date. Born A.D. 1450 and died A.D. 1499.
3. The terminus *ad quem* for the date of Bhānudatta, the author of the *Rasamañjarī*—A.D. 1572.
4. Date of *Sārāvalī* of Kalyāṇavarman between A.D. 550 and 900.
5. The *Saṅgītacūḍāmaṇi* and its probable date—before A.D. 1200.

D. R. MANKAD.—*Kaumadīmahotsava and Kālidāsa.* It is argued here that if the drama *Kaumadīmahotsava* be assigned to the first half of the 4th century A.C., Kālidasa cannot be placed at a later period, as the former has borrowed ideas and phrases from the latter.

Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land,-en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië, Deel 92, Derde Aflevering, 1935

J. GONDA.—*Some Observations on the Contents, Composition and Origin of the Agastyaparvan.*

Buddhaprabhā, January, 1935

N. D. MEHTA.—*How Modern Hinduism was moulded by Buddhism.*

Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London, vol. VII, pt. 4

T. BURROW.—*Iranian Words in the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan.*

Calcutta Oriental Journal, vol. II, no. 5 (February, 1935)

KOKILESWAR SASTRI.—*Two View-points in Vedānta.*

K. R. PISHAROTI AND V. K. R. MENON.—*Vāstuvidyā.* This treatise on architecture is being translated into English with Notes.

PRABHAT CHANDRA CHAKRAVARTI.—*Śaktivāda and Śāktism.*

KSHITIS CHANDRA CHATTERJI.—*A Chapter from Varāhamihira's Bṛhat-saṃhitā with an original Commentary in Sanskrit.* The chapter deals with women.

S. M. MATRE.—*A Comparative Glossary of Koṅkaṇi.*

Ibid., vol. II, no. 6 (March, 1935)

SATISCHANDRA CHATTERJI.—*The Theory of Extraordinary Perception in Indian Philosophy.*

P. K. GODE.—*Some Data for the Identification of Vīrabhānu, the Patron of the Poet Bhānukara.* The writer supplies the information that the name of the grandfather of Mānasimha (A.C. 1556-1605) was Bhānu.

.—*Janārdana's Commentary on Raghuvaṃśa and its probable Date—between A.D. 1192 and 1385.*

.—*The Tattvāloka or Vedāntatatattvāloka of Janārdana and its reference to Bhāṣaṇakara, the author of the commentary Nyāya-bhāṣaṇa on Bhāsarvajña's Nyāyasāra.*

Calcutta Review, vol. 55, no. 1 (April, 1935)

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY.—*Understanding the Art of India.*

ANILCHANDRA BANERJEE.—*Early Indo-Persian Literature and Amir Khusrav.*

ZIAUDDIN.—*The Development of Cultural Relations between Hindus and Muslims.*

BATUKNATH BHATTACHARYA.—*An Aspect of Hindu Social History.*

Ibid., May, 1935

ZIAUDDIN.—*The Development of Cultural Relations between Hindus and Muslims.* Passages from the works of the Arabs and Persians have been quoted in this instalment of the paper to show that the Indian religious thought and customs were studied by Muslims from an early time.

ANILCHANDRA BANERJI.—*Early Indo-Persian Literature and Amir Khusrav.*

NARENDRAKRISHNA SINHA.—*Mirqasim as an Exile from Bengal 1764-77.*

MANILAL PATEL.—*The Civilisation and Culture of the Indo-Europeans.*

Eastern Buddhist, vol. VI, no. 4 (March, 1935)

DAISETZ TEITARO SUZUKI.—*Impressions of Chinese Buddhism.*

TERESINA ROWELL.—*The Background and Early Use of the Budhakṣetra Concept.*

Hindusthan Review vol. LXVI, no. 363 (May, 1935)

W. E. GLADSTONE SOLOMON.—*Ajanta and the Unity of Art.*

Indian Art and Letters, vol. VIII, no. 2

DAYA RAM SAHNI.—*Archæological Explorations in India, 1932-33.*

Indian Culture, 1. 4 (April, 1935)

F. Otto Schrader.—*Vedānta and Sāṃkhya in Primitive Buddhism.*

Radha Kumud Mookerji.—*The Hindu Conception of the Mother-land.*

Louis Finot.—*Notes on the Singhalese Tradition relating to Buddha's Relics.*

Md. Enamul Haq.—*The Sufi Movement in India.*

V. R. Ramchandra Dikshitar.—*Geographical Data of the Dekhan and South India as gathered from the Rāmāyaṇa.*

Rajendra Chandra Hazra.—*Purāṇas in the History of Smṛti.*

B. C. Law.—*Buddhist Pāramitā.*

Benoytosh Bhattacharjee.—*A Bengali Poet in the Court of Bhoja.*

Jogendra Chandra Ghosh.—*Arjuna Miśra.* Arjuna Miśra, the commentator of the *Mahābhārata*, was a Varendra Brāhmaṇa of Bengal.

Journal of the American Oriental Society, March, 1935

M. B. Emeneau.— *A story of Vikrama's Birth and Accession.* The discussion is based on the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati.*

Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,
Letters, vol. I 1935, no. 1.

B. Ch. Chhabra.—*Expansion of Indo-Aryan Culture during Pallava Rule, as evidenced by Inscriptions.*

Journal Asiatique, tome CCXXV, no. 1

L. Finot.—*Sanskrit Manuscripts of Sādhanas discovered in China.*

Ibid., vol. CCXXV, no. 2

Rahula Sankrityaya.—*Buddhist Researches:*

I. The origins of Mahāyāna—After mentioning the division of the Buddhist church into 18 schools (according to the *Kathāvatthu*) and its progress under Aśoka and the Andhras and after analysing the four *Andhaka* Schools (*Pūrvaśailīyas, Aparaśailīyas, Rājagirikas* and *Siddhārthakas*) as well as the Vaipulyakas, the writer concludes that Mahāyana was formed by the combination of these five schools. The place of origin of these schools was the Andhra country.

II. The origin of *Vajrayāna* and the 84 *Siddhas*. After describing the successive phases of *Mantric* Buddhism as (1) Sūtras as Mantras (400-100 B.C.), (2) Dhāraṇīs as Mantras (100 B.C.—400 A.D.), (3) Mantras and Bījas (400-700 A.D.) and again as (1) Mantrayāna (400-700 A.D.) and (2) Vajrayāna (770-1200 A.D.), the writer states that Mantrayāna was derived from Mahāyāna and it arose in the 6th century in South India among the Saṃnitiya sect and was thereafter carried to North India by the propaganda of Saraha and others.

After giving genealogical tree of the 84 Siddhas and an analytical table of their names, caste and native country and contemporaries, the writer mentions that they may be placed between 750 and 1000 A.D. But a great Siddha called Mitrayogī (or jagan-mitrānanda) who flourished at the end of the 12th century is outside this list. The writer explains in conclusion the importance of the study of Tāntric Buddhism and discusses the value of the Tibetan sources for its history. (U. N. G.)

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society,
vol. XX, parts III-IV (September and December, 1934).

W. F. DE HEREESTY.—*A False Linguistic Family.* Rev. Schmidt showed a relationship between the Munda languages of India and the Nicobarese, the Khasi, and the Mon-khmer languages and called this family of languages 'Austro-Asiatic' or 'Austric'. The writer of this article objects to this name on the ground that the relationship between these languages has not been proved beyond doubt.

SOMASEKHARA SARMA.—*Prōlavaram Grant of Kāpaya Nāyaka.* This grant made on the occasion of a solar eclipse in 1346 A.C. by Kāpaya Nāyaka of Andhra confirms the statement of Barni and Ferishta that the province of Telingāna was wrested from the Muhammadan control by the rebellious Hindus of Warrangal. Kāpaya Nāyaka was instrumental in the establishment of this Hindu independence.

K. P. JAYASWAL.—*Early signed Coins of India.* Coins with names of the Maurya kings and their vassals as also the Śuṅga and the Kāṇvāyana dynasties are dealt with in the paper.

P. C. CHAUDHURI.—*An Old Rājasthāni Manuscript.* This is a literary

and philological study of an unpublished Rājasthānī chronicle of the Bhaṭṭi Dynasty of Jaisalmer giving an account of the foundation of the city at the beginning of the 12th century.

RAHULA SANKRITYAYANA.—*Sanskrit Restoration of Yuan Chwang Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi.* Continues.

Ibid., vol. XXI, pt. 1 (March, 1935)

SARAT CHANDRA ROY.—*Report of Anthropological Works in 1932-33.* This comprises an account of the Bhūiyā tribe and its sub-divisions.

RAHULA SANKRITYAYANA.—*Sanskrit Palm-leaf Mss. in Tibet.* Nomes of 184 Sanskrit Mss. in Tibet have been given with short descriptions of their script and size.

K. GIEBEN.—*Elements of Mithra Cult appropriated by Christianity.*

NANDALAL CHATTERJI.—*The Revenue Administration of Mir Qasim in Bihar and Bengal (1760-63).*

Journal of the Burma Research Society, vol. XXIV, pt. ii (August, 1935)

R. P. C.—*The Brāhmanical Gods in Burma.*

Journal of Indian History, XIV, pt. 1 (April, 1935)

M. GOVIND PAI.—*Genealogy and Chronology of the Vākāṭakas.* To be continued.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR.—*Yavana and Pāraśika.* The writer opposes the suggestion that the term, *yavana* meant the Persians and sticks to the generally accepted view that it originally signified the Greeks and later on all foreigners, as the Yavanas have been mentioned in literature as distinct from the Pārasīkas.

ABDUL AZIZ.—*The Imperial Treasury of the Greater Mughals.* Gems, stones and such other substances of the times of Mughal India form the subject-matter of this instalment of the article.

SRI RAM SHARMA.—*Bengal under Jahangir.*

M. AKRAM MAKHDOOMEE.—*Organisation of Central Government under the Turkish Sultans of Dilhi.*

Journal of Oriental Research, vol. IX, pt. 1 (January-March, 1935)

C. SIVARAMAMURTI.—*Antiquity and Evolution of Art in India.* With a view to form an idea of the artistic conception of the ancient Indians, some details about the portrayal of pictures have been collected from Sanskrit texts. Passages have been quoted to show that men and women from all social grades took interest in the different kinds of arts.

M. SOMASEKHARA SARMA.—*The Chronology of the Eastern Cālukyas.*

A. VENKATASUBBIAH.—*Some rare Metres in Sanskrit.*

K. A. NILAKANTHA SASTRI.—*The Nanapali Grant of Yuvarāja Rājendravarmā, Gaṅga year 314 (989-90 A.D.).*

L. V. RAMASWAMI IYER.—*Semantic Divergences in Indo-Aryan Loan Words in South Dravidian.*

DASARATHA SARMA.—*A Note on the Haraha Inscription and Kālidāsa.* Parallel passage from the works of Kālidāsa and the Haraha *praśasti* of 555 A.C. have been given in this note to show that the author of the *praśasti* borrowed from Kālidāsa, which shows that the poet had become well-known by the middle of the 6th century A.C.

A. VENKATASUBBIAH.—*A Note on Mayūra as a Writer on Prosody.* A work on prosody by Mayūra is alluded to by the Kannaḍa author Nāgavarman of the 11th century A.C.

S. R. BALASUBRAHMANIAN.—*A Note on the Fresco-painting at Śittannavāsal.*

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain, vol. LXIV (July-December, 1934)

A. STEIN.—*The Indo-Iranian Borderlands: their prehistory in the Light of Geography and of Recent Explorations.*

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, April, 1935

E. OBERMILLER.—*Bu-ston's History of Buddhism and the Mañjuśrīmūla-tantra.* Bu-ston's *History of Buddhism* in Tibetan contains many names of Indian Kings. While translating the work, Dr. Obermiller had hypothetically reconstructed the names from Tibetan.

In this paper he has corrected some of those names in consultation with the text of the *Mañjuśrī-mūla-tantra*, one of the sources of Bu-ston's work.

C. L. Fábri.—*The Punch-marked Coins: A survival of the Indus Civilization.* Ancient coins with symbols punched upon them are important archæological finds in India. They contain representations of animals like the humped bull, elephant, tiger, crocodile and hare. It is pointed out in this paper that these animals occur also on the seals found at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa with similar details. The connection between the Indus Valley Seals and the punch-marked coins is further evidenced by the existence of a large number of Indus script pictograms among the punch-marks on coins. Hence the writer is of opinion that like the Indus Valley Seals, these coins also preserve pictograms and symbols of the prehistoric period before the Aryan invasion.

Man in India, vol. XV, no. 1 (January-March, 1935)

Nagendra Nath Ghose.— *Some Reflections on Indian Castes.*

Narayan Tripathi.—*A few Fasts, Festivities and Observances in Orissa.*

New Review, vol. I, no. 3 (March, 1935)

Michael Ledrus.—*An Introduction to Sāṃkhya.*

Prasthāna (Gujarati), Caitra, 1991.

K. B. Dave.—*Rājaśekhara.* This is a connected account of Raja-Sekhara's life.

Ibid., Jeth, 1991.

M. R. Majumdar.—*Worship of Ardhanārīśvara in Gujarat.*

Review of Philosophy and Religion, vol. V. no. 2

S. M. Katre.—*Some Fundamental Problems in the Upaniṣads and Pali Ballads.* *Ātman* and *Karman* are treated of in the paper.

Abhayananda Mukherjee.—*Scientific Analogies in Elucidation of Vedāntic Ideas.*

JAGADISH CHANDRA JAIN.—*The Development of the Doctrine of Anekāntavāda in Jainism.*

Sāhitya Parisat Patrikā (Bengali), vol. XLI. no. 3

YOGESCHANDRA ROY.—*Māghamaṇḍalavrata.* This is a note on the antiquity and origin of the *Vrata* called Māghamaṇḍala which is popular among young girls of Eastern Bengal.

BRAJENDRANATH BANERJEE.—*History of Bengali Periodicals (1858-1867).* An account of newspapers and monthlies in Bengali published in 1858-1867.

MONMOHAN GHOSH.—*Dānalīlācandrāmṛta.* It gives a detailed account of the *Dānalīlācandrāmṛta*, under which name Yadunandana Dāsa translated the *Dānalīlākaumudī* of Rūpa Gosvāmin.

Ibid., vol. XLII, no. 4.

PRIYARANJAN SEN.—*Raṅkiṇī Devī.* An account of the worship of the deity in different parts of the country.

BROJENDRANATH BANERJI.—*History of Bengali Periodicals.*

RAJKUMAR NATH.—*Accounts of the Vedas in Nāthism.* It gives details about the Vedic literature as found in old Bengali works dealing with Nāthism.

HARIDAS PALIT.—*Decorative Designs of Rāḍha in Bengal.* It draws attention to the close similarity existing between these designs and the pictographs on seals unearthed in Mahenjo-daro. (C. C.).

Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal,-Land-, en Volkenkunde,
Deel. LXXV, Aflevering i. 1935

J. GONDA.—*The Javanese Version of the Bhagavadgītā.*

Urmi (Gujarati), Jeth, 1991.

AMBALAL PURNI.—*Vaidik Sarasvatī.* The author tries to prove that the term Sarasvatī in the *Ṛgveda* is mostly used in the sense of abstract ideas like speech etc., and not in the sense of a physical river.

Ibid., Āṣāḍha, 1991

A. Purani.—*Vaidik Sarasvatī.*

D. R. Mankad.—*Akārānta Base of Neuter Gender Singulars in Gujarati.* (D. R. M.)

Visvabharati Quarterly, vol. 1, pt. 1

Kshitimohan Sen.—*The Conception and Development of Śūnyavāda.*

Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya.—*The Similes of Dharmadāsa.*

Haridas Mitra.—*Gaṇapati.*

Young East. vol. V, no. 1 (Spring, 1935)

Beatrice Lane Suzuki.—*Mahāyāna Buddhism and the Layman.*

Cassius A. Pereira.—*Tri-Śaraṇa or the Three Refuges.*

Ibid., vol. V, no. 2 (Summer, 1935)

Beatrice Lane Suzuki.—*Reverence in Mahāyāna Buddhism.*

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Outline of Buddhism by C. H. S. Ward. London 1934.

Sphuṭārthā Abhidharmakośavyākhyā of Yaśomitra (part VI). Tokyo 1935.

Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra edited by D. T. Suzuki and Kokei Idzumi (parts 1 & 2). Kyoto 1934.

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Obituary Notice

By the sad and sudden demise of Dr. Hiralal our country has been deprived of an eminent archæologist and linguist. Though he died full of years and honours, he was still strong enough to serve his country a few more years with his vast and mature knowledge of Indian archæology and epigraphy, ethnography and anthropology, Indian literatures and languages.

Born on 1st October 1867 at Murwara in the Jubbalpur District, he graduated himself in 1888 from the Jubbalpur Government College and obtained a first class.

His school and college career was very brilliant. In the beginning of his life he took up the sacred profession of teaching and served as a teacher in the Collegiate High School at Jubbalpur, where he had to teach Physics to the Head Masters of Middle Schools and Deputy Inspectors of Schools in the Province. He was keen about the spread of chaste and idiomatic Hindi in the Sagar District, where he was the Deputy Inspector of Schools. He advocated the mixed system of teaching boys and girls in village Primary Schools. He encouraged female education and was very keen about starting girls' schools. He took special care to induce boys of depressed classes to join schools and gave them every encouragement.

He became the Agency Inspector of Schools, Chhattisgarh Feudatory States, and latterly the Divisional Inspector of Schools, Chhattisgarh Division. During the famine of 1897 and 1899 he was twice selected as Famine Relief Officer and managed the work most ably. This won for him an Extra-Assistant-Commissionership. He was soon afterwards deputed as Assistant Superintendent of the Census Department in C.P. and Berar, and again as Assistant Superintendent of Gazetteer and Ethnography where his vast knowledge of the people, their languages, religious customs etc. is referred to in the Census Report for 1911 and in the District Gazetteers (compiled in 1909). His researches in the field of History and Archæology have thrown a flood of light on the early history of the Central Provinces and Berar.

Among his learned contributions, we may mention his *Descriptive List of Inscriptions in C.P. and Berar* which throws a flood of light on the early history of the Provinces. His *Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts in C.P. and Berar* show his industry and range of investigation in various fields of literature. His elaborate and exhaustive Introduction to this *Catalogue* contains many important points of historical interest, and one of them refers to the time of origin of modern Hindi i.e. 6th or 7th century A.D. The Rai Bahadur had a substantial share in the production of the monumental work *Tribes and Castes in C.P.*

He loved his mother tongue Hindi and wrote learned papers and books in that language. He was the President of the Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Sabhā of Benares for a number of years. He made many scholarly contributions to the *Epigraphia Indica*. In 1917 he officiated for the first time as Deputy Commissioner of Damoh for three months. He was then posted to Wardha as Deputy Commissioner, and was confirmed as such when transferred to Narsinghpur District from where he retired. He rendered valuable services to the Nagpur University, which conferred on him in 1933 the Hony. Degree of D.Litt.

He presided over the Oriental Conference at Patna in 1930 (Dec.). His presidential address covers almost every field of oriental learning including the Indian Vernaculars.

The late Doctor has left a few legacies for education to his old College at Jubbalpur, to N. P. Sabhā of Benares, to Sanskrit Pāṭhśālā at Katni, to Katni High School, and to Haihaya Kṣatriya Sabhā, Allahabad.

May he live long in the memory of his Provinces and may his name inspire the young generations to follow a life of devoted service in the field of history and archæology with a view to add fresh glory to the ancient land of the *Ṛṣis* who first chanted the Vedas.

L. P. PANDEYA

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Some unpublished Papers relating to Indo-British History and Administration from 1790-98

The years under review form an important period in the history of Indo-British administration. It witnessed some far-reaching changes in every sphere of administration as well as in the economic condition of Bengal. At a time when the old system had been paralysed for all practical purposes, Lord Cornwallis and his successors devoted their energies to the erection of a new structure of administration which developed gradually by successive additions. Law and justice, police and prisons, land and revenue settlements, and trade and currency—all were sought to be reformed by them.

Much has already been written about these reforms and some original records relating to these have been published in 'Cornwallis Correspondence' edited by Charles Ross, 'Selections from the State Papers of the Governor General of India: 'Cornwallis' by G. W. Forrest, 'Selections from Calcutta Gazette' by Seton-Karr, 'The Regulations of the Bengal Code' edited by C. D. Field (1875), 'An Elementary Analysis of the Laws and Regulations enacted in Bengal' by G. H. Harington (1805 and 1809), 'Cornwallis in Bengal' by Aspinal and 'Making of British India' by Ramsay Muir. But materials for a scientific reconstruction of the history of India have still to be unearthed from old but interesting and useful papers lying unnoticed in public as well as private collections throughout our country. There are

some such unpublished records in the Record Room of the District Judge of Patna; these appear to me to be of much historical value and a proper study of them will throw some light on the history of India. These have been kept in two shelves: in one letters received by the Judge of Patna from the Governor General's Council in Calcutta, the Sadar Dewani Adalat in Calcutta and also from the Magistrates, Collectors, Residents and other officers in different parts of Bengal and Bihar, and in the other letters issued by the Judge of Patna to different persons. The former begin from 1790 and while the latter from 1816 and continue up to the present day though the records for many intervening years are not available. For the sake of convenience, I have classified and studied them under these different heads:— (1) Political, (2) Economic, (3) Revenue, (4) Judical, (5) Police and Jails, (6) Military and (7) those of general interest. In this paper I have confined myself to the letters received by the District Judge of Patna from 1790-98.

POLITICAL

A. The Danes at Patna:—

(1) Reference to the Royal Danish Factory at Patna (Letters from George Berner, Chief of the Danish Factory at Patna, to the Magistrate of Patna, dated 29th May, and 3rd June, 1790). George Hendrich Berner started the Danish Factory at Patna in 1775 and was its Chief till his death in 1790. His tomb is in the compound of the house in which he lived, occupied now by the Station Master of the Patna Ghat Railway Station. For a connected account of the 'Danes in India' reference may be made to *Journal of Indian History*, December 1934.

(2) "I have the honour to request you to send a Chaparassie of the Patna Court to take in custody Jeto Ghauth Manjee and other Persons, now at this Factory. I shall prosecuth them in the Patna Court, on account of making constantly Disturbance at the Factory's Ghauth. Jeto came last night at the Factory's Ghauth, and did also into six Different Boats, a Rupee, and as the Manghe did not like to go, he being Ghauth Manje of the Killa here at Patna at present, did come this morning with six Sepoys with Bayonets, to take the Boats by force, and

as He could not get them all, He toke (took) one of the Boats along with them, the Sergeant of the Patna Killa came to me after it had happened to justify the conduct of Jeto, or as I did tell him, that it had never been customary to send sepoys armes here to the Factory, he told me that he came *by his order*, and that he hade lend them. I therefore request to leth me know if the sergeant can be prosecuted in the Patna Court, or if I may prosecuth him at Dinapore, I have told the Sergeant that I shall refeare the matter to the Magistrate at Patna, here it will be setlet after Justice, that I would not by any meance take my servants post, or if he are in fault, he shall be punist according to the Laws of the country, I request that the Manghe on boats may be Released, which he took away to the Killa, his name is Ballsser Manghe. You will recollect that it has so often happened that Jeto has made disturbance here, or it often happened that Sepoys are lend here in this manner with Bayonets."

Letter from G. A. Schielke, Resident of the Danish Majesty's Factory at Patna to H. Douglas, Magistrate of Patna, dated 26th November, 1795.

(3) "Captain Morrissen the Brigeath Mejor from Dinapore has been in Patna and setlet the matter between the Sergeant, Jeto Manghee and me. I therefore bege you will have the goodness and realese Jeto if agreabel to you."

Letter from same to same, dated 30th November, 1795.

(4) "I have been honoured with your letter of the 5th instant, and after due consideration on the nature of your request, beg leave to acquaint you that consistent with the station I now hold, and my Allegiance to His Danish Majesty—whose servant I am—I cannot give up Moineddeen the Ghaut Manjee, or Horis Chaparasie—they being in the service of his Danish Majesty—without incurring Censure from My superiors. Upon strict enquiry I find that not any Boats have been taken away by force, by any of the Servants belonging to this Factory after the return of the Vakeel from your Court and acquainting me that it was not your Pleasure to let the Boats remain in the Ghaut Manghes possession, I immediately ordered that he should not have anything to do with them. I have the honour to enclose a Deposition or Akranama (ekrarnama) of seven of the manjees witnessed by People at Marowf Ghwnge, which I conceive will clear up all doubts in this Business.

Two out of the Nine Boats are with Jeetoh—and as the other seven Boats the Majes having hired themselves out and were gone to take in these Loading at Nowyadah made it Necessary, for Me to send for them and prevented my being able to reply to your letter sooner—I am very sorry to observe from what the Vakeel acquaints me—that although the complaint Moineddeen made in your Court was dismissed, He was Fined the sum of Thirty Rupees, the reason why this fine was laid upon him, I should esteem myself greatly obliged by being made acquainted with—and hope after the manner I have herein stated the case, it will render it needless for either of us to address our superiors for instructions."

Letter from F. A. Schielke. Resident for his Danish Majesty, to H. Douglas, dated Patna, the 12th January, 1796.

(5) "I have been Honoured with your letter of the 15th instant, and am sorry that my letter of the 12th has not been fully satisfactory to settel the Business in question respecting the Ghaut Mangee and I now beg leave to repeat that I cannot deviate from the Reasons I therein gave, for not delivering up his Danish Majesty's servants to your officer, I therefore am under the Necessity of referring the Business to be settled by my superiors—the Governor General and Council at Tranqueber."

Letter from same to same.

(6) "I have received the Decree of the Cause which was setlet in the Adaulat, the 2 Inst. between a Sircare of Mr. Pottes and myself, but there are no copy of the depositions of (Messrs Dewvergne, Ferras or MacIvers). I have therefore the Honour to request you to send them per Bearer as they have been demanded by my superiors."

Letter from F. A. Schielke, Resident of His Danish Majesty at Patna, to H. Douglas, dated 30th of May, 1796.

(7) "I am very sorry to be troublesome to you, on account of a complaint preferred by the Danish Resident at Patna Mr. Schielke to the Royal Government at Tranqueber, against the degrading usage he considers himself to have been treated with, by being summoned by your Magistrate at Patna Mr. Douglas to appear at the Adaulat there, on the complaint of a native whom Mr. Schielke has given a slight correction, after that he, in a most insolent and provoking manner with clenched fists hath behaved to him, and which is proved by two witnesses.

The Government at Tranqueber, has directed me to represent that matter to your Government in such a manner as I should deem it most suitable; and as it appears to me to be of such a nature, that it may be, by your interference, as a trifling political matter easily redressed. I beg leave to represent that it in my opinion appears too humiliating that a person in public capacity shall be subject to be summoned to appear in the Adaulat at Patna on any complaint of the Natives and in case of non-obedience to the summons, to be arrested and committed to Jail; which are the very words of Mr. Douglas to Mr. Schielke. To the best of my memory, I believe that I for few years ago, have seen Regulations of your Government for the Adaulat at Patna, whereby not only the French Resident, but every Individual of that nation, are exempted from being summoned to appear in the Adaulat. Should my rememberance be right, I flatter me that you will not deem it extravagant, that I see that the same consideration, may be granted Mr. Schielke his Majesty's Resident at Patna.

In the several disputes he has had with your Magistrate at Patna it is far from, that I approve of his conduct in general, and very sensible of, that he has not the smallest claim to any kind of jurisdiction or to assume any Power of Government, and I am fully pleasured that he for the future, never will attempt to interfere with the authority of your Magistrate there, as the Government of Tranqueber has on that respect, laid him under very serious injunction. Should any well-grounded complaints for the future be against Mr. Schielke, except for atrocious crimes, I request that your Magistrate may be directed to refer them to me when they shall be attended to and meet the most speedy redress and strictest justice."

Letter from A. Bie., chief of Fredericknagore (Serampore), dated 12th August, 1796, annexed to a letter from H. G. Tucker, Sub-Secretary to H. Douglas, dated Council Chamber, Calcutta, 9th September, 1796.

(8) "I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 20th ultimo, and inform you that the Governor General in Council considers the explanation of your conduct in regard to the complaint preferred by Mr. Schielke satisfactory.

2. The Governor General in Council does not think proper to grant any exemption from the Jurisdiction of the Court in favour

of Mr. Schielke or others, and you are accordingly desired to enforce obedience to the process which you may have occasion to issue against him in the same manner as you are authorised by the Regulations to enforce obedience to the process of the Court in the cases of other Individuals.

3. Should Mr. Schielke offer open and violent resistance to your authority you are authorised to have recourse to the aid of a Military Force, but the Governor General in Council trusts that there can be no necessity for proceeding to such extremeties.

4. Information of these resolutions will be communicated to the Chief and Council of Fredericknagore that they may furnish Mr. Schielke with the necessary instructions, and apprize him of the consequences which will attend an opposition to the authority and process of the Courts of Justice."

Letter from H. G. Tucker, Sub-Secretary, dated Council Chamber, 7th October, 1796, to H. Douglas.

(9) "Your favour of the 1st Instant with its Inclosures I have received. I have appointed Vakeels to answer, for me, in your Court, to any complaints that may be made against me."

Letter from F. A. Schielke to H. Douglas, dated 21st November, 1796.

(10) "A few days ago I complained to you that two Boats I hired for a gentleman in his Majesty's 27th Light Dragoons were unjustly seized, and you ordered them to be given up. I sent one of these Boats for 300 Mds of Gram a little distance down the River and when about one hundred Mds. of the Gram was loaded—Mr. Schielke the Danish Consuls Peons—seized her a second time—by which delay and expence, has been incurred—indeed. The conduct of this gentleman's servants is very oppressive. This day—Mr. Schielke has again seized another Boat—he has beat a Mangie—or rather his people has beaten—the man has been plundered of his cloaths and his Boat is detained by force—in order to extort money from him. The conditions exercised by Peons under the Danish Consuls name, are intolerable and require your interference."

Letter from D. V. Kerim, Captain, to H. Douglas, Magistrate of Patna, dated Patna, 27th October, 1797.

(11) "Thro' my Vakeel, an Arzee was presented in your Court, in consequence of a Dingy which is my property having been stole by the people, and taken over on the other side of the River, where it is now laying and has been seen by my People—my Vakeel acquaints me, that you inform him the complaint must be referred to the Dewany Adawlat —and that some Person must swear to its having been stole—this is a point out of my power to ascertain as the Dingy was taken away in the Night—Mooty my Chaprassee now in Jail is the person that has seen it hawld ashore at Singuatpore, therefore as its clear Gopaul Dobeh or some of his People have taken away the Dingy I have only to request you will please to issue an order for its being returned to me having immediate occasion to send it to Malda to Major Hawkshan with a few maunds of potatoes."

Letter from F. A. Schielke, Resident of His Danish Majesty's Factory at Patna, to H. Douglas, dated the 29th February, 1793.

B. The Dutch at Patna:—

(1) Reference to the Dutch Factory at Patna in a letter from R. Sohnlein, dated Patna, the 27th November, 1792.

(2) "The state of affairs in Holland having induced the Prince Stadholder, who has retired to England, to give orders for the admission of British Troops into the several Dutch Settlements in India, for their protection, against the French, the Governor General in Council is pleased to desire that you will communicate them to the Chief of the Dutch Factory at Patna with a requisition to him to deliver up that settlement, on the Terms and conditions specified in the enclosed Proclamation, to be held in the name of His Britannic Majesty, under the condition of its being restored at the conclusion of a General Peace, by which the Independence and constitution of the Republic, as guaranteed in 1788, shall be maintained and secured.

In the event of this requisition being complied with, you will take possession of the Factory in the name of His Majesty, hoist the British flag there, and cause the Proclamation to be publickly read.

In the event of a refusal on the part of the Dutch Chief to comply with your requisition for delivering up the Factory to our temporary possession, you are to forward the enclosed letter to the Commanding

Officer at Dinapore, who is directed therein to detach a Military Force to take possession of it, and to deliver up the keys to you.

This having been done, you will take an Inventory of the Public Property and effects at Patna, and instead of the proclamation abovementioned, you will issue one, on your own part omitting such of the clauses as have relation of the continuance of the Dutch administration, and stating the following.

That the Law and Customs shall not be infringed.

That no fresh taxes or Duties will be imposed.

That Permission will be granted to the subjects of the United States to trade to and from the English Company's Settlements with the same advantages as the subjects of the most favoured nation, and every endeavour will be used to promote, in their behalf the extension of these advantages in the most liberal manner.

You will be particularly observant that the Inhabitants are treated with attention and kindness and you will assure them that they may depend upon both.

One copy of the Inventory is to be attested by the Dutch Chief and transmitted to me. The other copy is to be attested by you and delivered to him. The Public Property and Effects are to remain in your custody, subject to our future orders, and you will advise us of any and what, articles appear to you to be in a perishable state, or might suffer by being kept.

Your future correspondence on the subject of the Dutch Factory at Patna is to be carried on with Mr. Birch the Commissioner for Chinsurah and its Dependencies, and you will attend to any communications you may receive from him upon it."

Letter from G. Hay, Secretary to Government, dated 14th August, 1795, to H. Douglas.

English Version of the Proclamation

Whereas armed Force acting under the pretended authority of the persons now exercising the Powers of Government in France, has entered into the Territories of his Britannic Majesty's ancient allies, their High Mightnesses, the States General of the United Provinces, and has forcibly taken possession of the seat of Government, whereby the Stad-

holder has been obliged to leave his own country and to take refuge in Great Britain. We do by this Proclamation issued in virtue of his Majesty's Commands, invite and require all Commanders and Governors of Settlements, Plantations, Colonies and Factories in the East Indies, belonging to the said States as they respect the sacred obligation of honour and allegiance and fidelity to their lawful sovereigns (of their adherence to which they have at all times given the most distinguished proofs) to deliver up the said Settlements, Plantations, Colonies, and Factories into his Majesty's possession, in order that the same may be preserved by his Majesty until a general Pacification shall have composed the differences now subsisting in Europe, and until it shall please God to re-establish the ancient constitution and Government of the United Provinces, and in the meantime we do hereby promise upon the assurance of His Majesty's Royal Word that so long as the said Settlements, Plantations, Colonies, and Factories shall continue to be possessed by his Majesty, they shall be held and treated upon the same Terms with respect to all advantages, privileges, and Immunities to be enjoyed by the respective Inhabitants upon which the Settlements, Plantations, Colonies and Factories in the East Indies are held and treated which are now subject to his Majesty's Crown, or are otherwise possessed by the Company of Merchants trading from England to the East Indies under His Majesty's Royal Charter."

NOTE

The English, the Dutch, the French and the Danes established factories at Patna owing to the commercial importance of the place. The Dutch were the serious competitors of the English in saltpetre trade in Bihar during the middle of the eighteenth century. But their influence began to decline after the battle of Bedarra (1759 A.D.). During the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars in Europe, Holland was an ally of England and so, as this record shows, the English in India sought to bring the Dutch possessions here under their protection.

C. The Portuguese:—

(1) "I enclose you a copy of a letter I have received from Mr. W. O'Neil the surgeon of this station and request that you will take

such measures as may appear to you best calculated for the apprehension of the Portugese who has robbed him and who it is very likely may endeavour to secrete himself at Patna till joined by his family which he has left at Arrah."

Letter from John Rawlins, Judge and Magistrate of the Zillah of Shahbad, to H. Douglas, dated 7th June, 1797.

(2) Copy of a letter from W. O'Neil to Mr. John Rawlins, dated 7th June, 1797:—"A Portugese servant of mine named Alexander William who I entrusted with my pay Bill for the Medical allowance of the Invalid Establishment of this District for the month of May 1797 having received the money amounting to two hundred and fifty Sonat Rupees decamped with it on the 5th instant from Culwar (Koilwar) was seen to cross the River Soane and is supposed to have taken the road to Patna. You will be pleased to issue any orders you may think necessary for apprehending him. He is about thirtyfive years of age, of middle stature and speaks broken English."

NOTE

Though the "earliest intruder" into the East, the Portuguese could not build any permanent dominion or supremacy in India. By the 18th century they lost their influence in the field of commerce and came to be so degraded as to accept petty jobs of servants, cooks, etc. in European and Anglo-Indian families in Calcutta and other places and they even turned notorious for their infamous habit of piracy. The two letters quoted above show the faithlessness of a Portuguese servant of Mr. W. O'Neil, Surgeon of Shahbad.

D. A letter from G. H. Barlow, Sub-Secretary to the Board of Revenue, to Henry Douglas,[1] Acting Magistrate of Patna, dated 7th December, 1792, refers to the death of Beni Bahadur, who as we know from *Seir-ul-mutakherin* of Ghulam Husain and *Khulāṣat-ut-Tawārikh* of Maharaja Bahadur Kalyan Singh, played an important part in the political affairs of the Delhi Empire and Bihar since the middle of the 18th century.

1 He was Magistrate of Patna for twenty years from 1792 and he died in 1839. His tomb is found in the European cemetry at Bakerganj, Patna.

E. The ministers of the Nawab Wazir of Oudh going to Calcutta :—

Letter from Mr. Edward Otto Ives, Resident at the Court of the Nawab Wazir, dated Lucno (Lucknow), May 20, 1793, to Mr. E. E. Pote, Commercial Resident at Patna, informing the latter that the "Nawab Veezeer's ministers Husain Reza Khawn and Rajha Tickait Roy(?) who were in two or three days proceeding to Calcutta by the route of Fayzabad, Jaunpoor, and Ghazipore may be provided with five good Pinnaces or Budgerows and fifty large Baggage boats on hire to enable them to go down to Calcutta."

Mr. E. E. Pote informed Mr. H. Douglas of it, on 26th May, 1793. The Governor General in Council permitted Mr. H. Douglas through a letter dated 10th June, 1793, "to lend the Nawab Veezeer's ministers the Budgerows etc."

F. Seizure of French possessions on the outbreak of the War of 1793 :—

(1) "I am directed by the Governor General in Council to inform you that he has received advices that war was declared by France against England on the 1st February, 1793. In consequence of this Information, Orders have been sent to the Commanding Officer to detach a sufficient force to take possession of the French Factory at Patna and the other French Dependencies in Behar and, after such Possession has taken, you will concert with the Commanding Officer such measures as shall appear proper to be adopted with respect to the public Building and public Property of every kind whatsoever. Private property is not to be on any account invaded. The Governor General, however, desires that all Trade with the country at any of the Factories may henceforth cease, and that the French Europeans may be sent down to the Presidency as soon as they can procure the means of conveying their Property with them, allowing them in the meantime to remain on their Parole, to which they are regularly and formally to subscribe.

An Inventory of all Public Property is to be taken, and transmitted to the Board and should there not be sufficient number of civil servants at your station to execute this part of your orders, the Commanding Officer has been instructed to assist you in the execution thereof."

Letter from E. Hay, Secretary to Government, to A. Seton, Judge and Magistrate of Behar, dated 11th June, 1793.

(2) "I have the honour to enclose a copy of a letter which I have this day received from the Secretary to the Government containing advices of War having been declared by France against Great Britain and consequent instructions for my conduct relative to the French inhabitants in Behar and their public and private property in Patna, I conceive, that special instructions have been transmitted to Mr. Douglas the Judge and Magistrate of that city. But, in the event of that not being the case, I request to be honoured by the communication of such suggestion as you may have to impart, respecting the public Buildings etc. at Patna which you may have taken possession of. Exclusive of what is situated in that city, I am ignorant of the French having any public property in Behar."

Letter from A. Seton to Colonel Arthur Achmuty, Commanding Officer at Dinapore, dated Gaya, the 16th June, 1793.

(3) Mr. A. Seton wrote a similar letter to Mr. H. Douglas on the 16th of June, 1793.

(4) "In addition to the Instructions which I had the Honour to convey to you in my letter of yesterday, I am directed by the Commander-in-Chief to desire, that as soon as the French Factory at Patna shall have been taken possession of by the officer who may be employed on that duty you will order a committee composed of such officers from your station as you may think proper to assemble at the said Factory with instructions to take an accurate Inventory of all the public buildings, effects and stores which may be found in the place. The original Inventory is to be transmitted to this office for the information of the Commander-in-chief, an attested copy of it to be lodged in the Brigade Major's office."

Letter from Peter Murray, Adjutant General, Fort William, 12th June, 1793.

(5) "Having received a letter from the Adjutant General's office with enclosures for Mr. Harrington, Magistrate of Moorshedabad and the other to Colonel White acquainting him of War having been declared by France against Great Britain with directions to take possession of the French Factory in the vicinity of his command at Sydabad and to comply with every requisition he may make for troops etc. and from the Adjutant General's letter to me, I am every way led to believe, that the letter intended for yourself and me has been by the hurry of

office sent to Colonel White. I therefore think it would be advisable to take possession of the French Factory at Patna immediately, and have accordingly sent an officer with a company of sepoys which I conceive will be more than sufficient and request you only keep as many as you may deem necessary. My opinion was still more corroborated by the enclosed copy of a letter which I this morning received from the Adjutant General. The officer of the above party is ordered to put himself under your orders and obey whatever instructions you may think necessary to give them."

Letter from Arthur Achmuty, dated Dinapore, the 18th of June, 1793.

(6) French Chief of Patna Factory:—"You are desired to acquaint Mr. Panon (late Chief of the French Factory at Patna), in answer to his letter that the Governor General in Council readily consents to his remaining at Patna on his Parole, and will soon determine what allowance shall be granted to him for his support:

Should his wants be such as to render any small advance of money for his present subsistence necessary, you are to make it and charge it upon your public account and the Board previous to their settling the sum to be paid to him in future, wish to be informed by you what allowance, if any Description, he received from the French Government, and what alteration as to Income of any kind the War has made in the personal situation of Mr. Panon."

Letter from E. Hay, 8th July, 1793 to H. Douglas, Magistrate at Patna.

NOTE

The battle of Vandivas (22nd January, 1760), followed by the British capture of Pondichery and other French possessions in India, did not completely extinguish the designs of the French who in spite of their discomfiture "pursued their ambitions in India."[2] Thus there remained a strong French menace for the English East India Company even during the post-Vandivas period and in order to advance their own designs the French in India then tried to form alliances with Indian

2 *Bengal: Past and Present*, July-September, 1931, p. 25. "*The Memoirs of Gentil*" published with notes by Sir Evan Cotton in Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission, 1927, pp. 7-30.

powers like the Marathas and the Mysore Sultanate, who were bitter foes of the English. In 1777 St. Lubin was negotiating for a treaty with Nana Fadnavis[3] for stirring them up against the English "not only in a vague and uncertain manner, but with a view to obliging them (the English) to divide their forces."[4] The French further considered an alliance with Tipu Sultan necessary "for regaining the ascendancy which they have lost in India, and to despoil their rivals of it."[5] Lord Cornwallis wrote to C. W. Malet at Poona on 10th March, 1788.—"I look upon a rupture with Tippoo as a certain and immediate consequence of a war with France." Rivalries in America (1778) or Europe had their echo in India. Thus we find that on the outbreak of the Revolutionary Wars in Europe the English proceeded to deprive the French of their possessions in India. After France had declared war against England and Holland on the 1st of February 1793, Lord Cornwallis "issued orders, which were effected without resistance, for taking possession of Chandernagore and the several French Factories in this country and seizing the vessels here that carried the French flag."[6] He wrote to the Court of Directors on 15th September, 1793: "I have great satisfaction in congratulating your Honourable Court on the reduction of the fortress of Pondicherry and of all the other French Settlements and factories on the continent of India."[7] We should carefully note the influence of European politics upon Indian affairs from 1740 to the present day.

G. Proclamation of Nawab Nasir-ul-Mulk of Murshidabad succeeding his father Nawab Mubarkuddowla:—

A letter from E. Hay to H. Douglas, dated, Fort William, 24th September, 1793, asking him to "proclaim in public that in consequence

3 *Bengal: Past and Present*, July-September, 1931, p. 25.

4 *Bengal: Past and Present*, July-September, 1931, p. 25.

5 *Ibid.* Vide also letter from Earl Cornwallis to the Secret Committee, dated Fort William, 12th April, 1790, in Forrest, *Selections from the State Papers of the Governors General of India*, vol. II: Lord Cornwallis, p. 14.

6 Letter from the Governor General in Council to the Court of Directors, dated Fort William, August 1, 1793. Ross, *Cornwallis Correspondence*, vol. II, pp. 224-26.

7 *Ibid.*

of the Decease of the Nabab Mobarek-ul-Dowlah, his Excellency's eldest son the Nawab Nasir-ul-Moolk Badadur has been this day declared and proclaimed the Seubahdar of these Provinces."

Fort William Public Department, the 18th September, 1793.

Proclamation: "We the Governor General in Council for the management of the affairs of the United East India Company and on their part acting in the Dewanee, and on behalf of the King Shah Allum, do acknowledge and declare our good Friend and Ally, Nasir-ul-Moolk, eldest son of the late Nabob Mobarek-ul-Dowlah to have succeeded to the Subahdary of these Provinces, in which we will Assist and support him to the utmost of our Power, and we also hereby require and commend all Persons within or belonging to our Jurisdiction, and we do desire all Persons, Our Friends and Allies to acknowledge the same Nasir-ul-Moolk as Subah of the said Provinces."

H. To maintain a list of all Europeans living within the Company's jurisdiction:—

(1) I. "Notice is hereby given that the Governor General in Council has been pleased to issue orders, that compleat and accurate Lists of each of the following descriptions of persons residing under the Protections of this Government, shall be laid before the Board.

A list of all Europeans whether British subjects or subjects of foreign States, France excepted, (a requisition at this time for a list of the latter being rendered unnecessary in consequence of a late notice concerning it) not in the Civil, Military or Marine Service of the Hon'ble Company or admitted Advocates, attornies, and officers of the Supreme Court of Judicature and residing within the town of Calcutta and its environs.

All persons of the said description are hereby required and enjoined to transmit, in writing within the space of one month from the present date, to the Superintendent of the Police, a Memorandum of their respective Names, and Places of Abode, present employments, and the Period of time for which they have generally resided in India, or, failing in due compliance with this requisition, they will make themselves liable to a forfeiture of the Protection of Government.

II. A list of all Europeans, as already described wherever they may be or reside, throughout the Provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, and the Zemindary of Benares.

All such persons are hereby particularly required and enjoined to transmit on or before the expiration of six weeks from the present time, to the Judge and Magistrate of the City or district in which they are, a Memorandum similar to the above as to their Names, present employments and Term of residence in India, under pain of the Forfeiture before declared and all Judges and Magistrates are instructed to transmit these lists to the Governor General in Council without delay together with a list of such Persons, as at the expiration of the said Term shall not within the knowledge of the said Magistrates, have complied with the Terms of this Publication.

III. A list of all native Christians of whatever Church, sect, class or orders, not already noted, residing within the town of Calcutta and its Environs, above the age of sixteen years.

Persons of this description enjoying the protection of the British Government, are required to transmit within the space of one month from the present date, in writing to the Superintendent of the Police, or personally to attend at his office, for the purpose of enrolling their Names, occupations, places of abode and (where employed) the offices to which they respectively belong on pain of forfeiting the Protection aforesaid.

Public Notice is also hereby given, for the Information of the Superintendent of Police, and all Judges and Magistrates of Cities and Zillahs, within the provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, and the Zemindary of Benares, that they are required and commanded to forward to the Governor General in Council annually at the expiration of one calendar month after the end of each year, correct lists of all Europeans, as already described being or residing within the limits of their respective Jurisdictions, at the Termination of each year, noting their places of abode, occupations, etc. etc. The said continued Lists are to be made out in the first Instance to the 31st of December, 1793 and forwarded in time to admit of their arrival at the Presidency on or before the 15th day of February 1794."

Public Department, 17th June, 1793 enclosed with a Letter from E. Hay to H. Douglas, dated 24th October, 1794.

(2) An Irish Free Merchant named P. W. Burke applying for a license to remain in Bihar:—

"Being obliged to be absent from the place for several months past, as much on account of ill health, as of some business I had to transact in another quarter, has prevented me from a compliance with the orders of Government before the 20th April 1795, respecting individuals out of the Hon'ble Company's Service, and the Covenants required of them for license to remain in that country, which, I must certainly should not have omitted to apply for, were it not for the circumstances I have mentioned, and from having resided at Patna for the greater part of the time I have been in India, I conceived you was the proper channel of whom I could with most propriety request to forward my application for Government.

I have the pleasure to acquaint you my pursuits have been in the Mercantile and Agency line since my arrival in India, which happened in the month of September 1789 when I arrived in Bengal. I am a Native of Ireland, and have resided at Patna, where I now live, for these five years past and have the permission of the late Governor General in Council to reside in the Benares District since the year 1789. I am now desirous of a Licence, and am ready to execute Covenants agreeable to the orders of Government as a free Marchant, being authorised to name Lieutenant Colonel James Nicol commanding the 2nd Brigade Native Infantry, now residing at Chunar and Lieutenant B. H. Kelly Adjutant to the 37th Battalion Native Infantry now residing at Buxar, for my securities.

I have therefore to request the favour will you forward this my application for Licence to remain in the District of Behar as soon as may be convenient."

Letter from P. W. Burke to H. Douglas, dated Patna, the 6th March, 1796.

(3) "I am directed by the Governor General to request you will transmit as soon as it may be in your power, to the Register of Covenants, a List of the Europeans not in his Majesty's or Company's service residing within your Jurisdiction, as also to ascertain and report at the same time, whether there be any persons of the above description who have not

entered into Covenants[8] and received the Government License for their local Residence."

Letter from Sub Secretary to the Political Department to H. Douglas, dated 24th October, 1796.

(4) "I am directed by the Governor General in Council to request you will transmit as soon as it may be in your Power to the Secretary to the Government, a List of the Europeans not in his Majesty's or the Company's service, residing within your Jurisdiction, as also to ascertain and report at the same time, whether there be any persons of the above description who have not entered into Covenants and received the Government Licence for their local Residence."

Letter from D. Campbell, Sub. Secretary, Public Department, dated Fort William, 17th December, 1797.

(5) Covenant of Mr. John Bryan,: "I have to request that you will forward the Covenant of Mr. John Bryan transmitted sometime since to your office, to the Magistrate of Zillah Behar, Mr. Bryan having become a Resident of that District."

Letter from D. Campbell Sub. Secretary, Public Department, dated Fort William, 3rd November, 1797, to Henry Douglas.

(6) "As several Europeans coming within the description of the Circular orders of Government under date 10th instant, reside in the vicinity of your jurisdiction; and Mr. (?) & Mr. Goodall have requested they may be permitted to execute their covenants in your presence, I have no doubt you will be good enough to indulge them in attending on you and have them a disagreeable journey to this place. Under this persuation, I have taken the liberty to transmit the following papers.

8 Compare:—"That these Courts may have complete authority over all persons residing in their jurisdictions and that natives may be able to procure redress against Europeans with the same authority as the latter can obtain it against the former, we have determined that no British subject (excepting King's Officers and the civil and military covenanted servants of the Company) shall be allowed to reside beyond the limits of Calcutta without entering into a bond to make himself amenable to the Court of Justice of the district in which he may be desirous of taking up his abode, in all civil causes that may be instituted against him by natives. Letter from the Governor General in Council, to to Court of Directors, dated Fort William, March 6, 1793. Ross, *Cornwallis Correspondence*, vol. II, pp. 568-63.

Covenants, counterpart and duplicate Covenants of John Bottomley of Dannapoor together with a local license for him.

The same for James Macfarlane of Bar.

The same for John Bryan of Dannpoor.

The same for John Goodall of the same place.

The same for John Benon of the same place.

Local License for Nicholas Huell and for John of the same place.

The counterpart Covenants and local licenses are to be given to the parties, from whom the following fees are due, which you will oblige me by receiving and either forwarding to me, or to Mr. (?) & Mr. Secretary Campbell, as may be most agreeable and convenient to yourself.

From Mr.	Bottomley	...	10 rs.
,,	Macfarlane	...	10 rs.
,,	Goodall	...	10 rs.
,,	Benon	...	10 rs.
,,	Fruen	...	2 rs
,,	Huell	...	2 rs.

The foregoing fees are due to Mr. (?)

From Mr. Bryan ... 10 rs.

which are due to Mr. Campbell.

I have these days directed those persons to wait on you immediately and to pay the fees and I request the favour of you to return the covenants and duplicate covenants after they have been duly executed in your presence; but those to whom covenants are transmitted are not to be permitted to enter into them, until they shall have delivered to you their bonds in duplicate, which also to be for with—

I trust to your goodness to excuse the trouble I have thus given you."

Letter from A. Supton, Zillah Bihar, to H. Douglas, dated 29th September, 1798.

(7) "I am directed by the Right Hon'ble the Governor General in Council to desire, that you will transmit to this office, with as little delay as possible a list of all the Foreigners at present residing within your jurisdiction, and that you will particularly distinguish to what nation

each individual belongs, and the nature of the employment in which he is engaged."

Letter from D. Campbell, Sub. Secy., Public Department to Henry Douglas, dated 19th October, 1798.

I. Sheriff of Mecca:—

"The Hon'ble the Governor General has been pleased to authorise my furnishing the bearer Shereef Mohummad, first cousin to the reigning Shereef of Mecca, with a letter to your address on occasion of his return to Patna for the purpose of removing his family preparatory to his departure for his native country, as I believe you are already acquainted with his history, as well as his person, it is not necessary, to add any more, than that the Governor General requests you will show the Sheriff every proper and suitable attention."

Letter from Fort William, dated 19th October, 1795 to H. Dogulas.

J. Magistrate of Patna:

"Having obtained leave of absence from the Governor General in Council for fifteen days, I, in obedience to his orders bearing date the 23rd ultimo now deliver over charge of my office to you during the time that I shall be absent."

Letter from H. Douglas to James Thomas Grant, Registrar to the Dewanne Adaulat of the city of Patna.

K. The Sikhs at Patna:—

"I am directed by the Nizamat Adawlat to transmit you the enclosed copy of a petition from Beswa Sing and others and to desire that you will ascertain whether Gobind Sing, a Gooroo of Sicks, alluded to therein be a resident of the city of Patna as might be inferred from one construction of the petition; and should he prove so to report the same to the court with any information you may be able to procure of his circumstances and conduct, and also to question him on the subject of the petitioners who state themselves to be his followers and to have undertaken their pilgrimmage by his directions, submitting to the Court such information as you may desire from him."

Letter from Mr. Stuart, A Registrar, Sadar Nizamat Adalut, Fort William, 20th May, 1797.

L. Raja Jao Lal:—

(1) "As the two Hircurrahs who accompany Rajah Jao Laul from Benares to Patna will be of no use after his arrival, Sir John Shore authorises me to request that you will dimiss them."

Letter from N. B. Edmmotrne to H. Douglas, dated Calcutta, 30th May, 1797.

(2) "I am directed by the Hon'ble the Governor General to acknowledge the receipt of your arzie to his address (vide that received 2nd June 1797) and to inform you, that your immediate compliance with his desire that you should take up your residence at Patna instead of Benares was very proper. He has further instructed me to add that you will find no restraint or molestation in your person or property while you conduct yourself according to the Regulations of Government to which all are subject who reside under its protection, and that in this confidence you will have no fears or apprehensions."

Letter from N. B. Edmmotrne to Rajah Jao Laul, dated 19th September, annexed to a letter from Mr. N. B. Edmmotrne to H. Douglas, dated 16th June, 1797.

(3) "I am favoured with your letter (recapitulate that received 5th September) and am directed by the Hon'ble the Governor General in reply to inform you, that he does not mean to impose any restrictions upon you as to the place of your residence and that you are at liberty to reside wherever you may find it most convenient in full security within the Company's provinces except in the province of Benares."

Letter from N. B. Edmmotrne to Rajah Jao Laul, dated 19th September, 1797, annexed to a letter from N. B. Edmmotrne to H. Douglas, dated 19th September, 1797.

M. Nawab Sadet Ally Khan:—

"Enclosed I transmit to you a letter from the Governor General to the Nawab Sadet Ally Khan with a duplicate as the last advices, received here, of him, from Rajmahal and it is possible that he is on his return to Benares. I request that you will be pleased to forward one of the Letters by water, and the other by Land under charge of careful People, with such instructions, may occur to you, necessary to secure the safe and expeditious receipt of the Letters by him."

Letter from G. P. Cherry, Agent to Governor General, Benares, the 8th December, 1797.

N. Case of Mr. G. F. Grand:—

1. "The Vice President in Council having had under consideration the charges preferred against Mr. G. F. Grand, late Judge of the City of Patna, I am directed by him to communicate to you the following Instructions on the subject.

2. 1st. With regard to the deposits the Vice-President in Council observing that there are sums still claimed by Individuals on this account, he desires you will receive such claims, and after making the necessary enquiry, should they appear to you to be satisfactorily established and no receipts have been produced by Mr. Grand to the Parties, or should the Parties deny the Vouchers produced by Mr. Grand, and establish to your satisfaction that the money was never received by them, the Vice President in Council desires you will pay the amount which may be found due to them respectively, and report the result of your enquiry for the information of Government.

3. The Vice President in Council observes that the total Amount of the Deposits is stated at 25314. 3. 3, in part of which sum Mr. Grand appears to have produced receipts for Rupa. 15,335-4-11. He appears also to have paid you in cash Rupees 11,714/- making in the aggregate Rs. 27,049-4-11 and should the Receipts be admitted by the Parties, there will consequently be a small excess to be carried to the credit of Mr. Grand.—Government desire therefore that you will ascertain whether the Receipts are admitted by the Parties or not that this account may be adjusted with Mr. Grand.

4. 2ndly. With regard to the complaints which were prepared against Mr. Grand's officers, the Vice President in Council thinks it necessary only to remark that they are cognizable in the Courts of Justice, and that the Parties have therefore always had the option of prosecuting them regularly in those Courts. Should it however appear to you that any doubt is entertained by them in this respect, Government desire you will explain the circumstances to them.

5. 3rdly. With respect to the complaint which relate more immediately to Mr. Grand himself, the Vice President in Council observes that the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William is the only tribunal to which he is at present subject, that the Parties who may be desirous of prosecuting him personally, must therefore proceed against

him in that Court. Government desire you will notify this circumstance to them if necessary, and should any Individuals still consider themselves so far aggrieved by the conduct of Mr. Grand as to be determined to institute a Prosecution against him, you are desired to report the circumstances of the case that Government may take into consideration how far it may be proper to afford them the assistance of the Company's Law Officers.

6. Should you in the course of your enquiry into the claims on account the deposits require any Papers or any further Information from this office, they will be furnished on your application.

Letter from G. H. Tucker, Sub-Secy. Judicial Department, dated 23rd February, 1798.

O. The Court of Nizamat Adawlat having been advised that the Magistrate of Zilla Ghazipore, on a charge of assault against Mr. Allan Maclean, has under an erroneous construction of Regulation 2, 1796, sent down the said Mr. Maclean, under custody of a guard of Sepoys to the Presidency you are hereby required to make enquiry whether the Boat conveying Mr. Maclean, and which appears to have been despatched from Ghazipore on the 3rd instant, has passed your station, and, if not, to take the necessary measures for stopping it on its arrival at any place within your jurisdiction. You are further required, in the event of the said Allan Maclean being found within your jurisdiction under custody as above-mentioned to release him forthwith from such custody, and to direct the guard to return to Ghazipore, exhibiting this Precept to them as your authority for so doing.

Letter from G. H. Harrington to H. Douglas, dated 19th April 1798.

P. Nepal Raja's House[9] *at Patna:—*

"Colonel (Alexander) Hardy sold me in 1781 a house in Patna and received the money (Rs. 1601); that house was and is of little use to me, but it serves for the temporary residence of some poor natives of this country who go that way to perform their ablution in the Ganges and to make the Pilgrimage to Gaya. Every Captain who goes upon command to that city molests the people who are

9 For a short description of the Nepali Kothi lying west of the house of Rai Bahadur Radha Krishna Jalan, vide *Patna District Gazetteer*, pp. 185-86.

in charge of the Bazar, land and house; this matter was before represented to you, and I now trouble you to request that, you will furnish me with a letter prohibiting such molestation so that, the present and future commandant may refrain from giving any; or else, that, the present commandant may restore the prices of the house etc. to my servants and take possession of it, I have repeated this for your information."

Extract from the translation of a letter from the Rajah of Nepal annexed in a letter from Calcutta to H. Douglas, dated 20th August, 1796.

ECONOMIC

A. *Opium Contract at Patna*:—

(1) "I send my Vakeel to you with an Arzee complaining against Bohorah Pandu and Dodah Maltoo, Benee and Poorun, who after having made an agreement under their hand in writing, to deliver to my agent Isa Iehaun Five Maunds of opium which they had seized in on my account, they sold it clandestinely in the Bazar, also Thirty seers more which they had also obtained under the sanction of my authority were caught by my servants which they were clandestinely disposing of, being my property which together with the above Five Maunds of opium they had received money in advance to the amount of 20 rs. 4 annas—for—

I am therefore to Request that agreeable to the orders of Government of the 29th July last, you will give me the most speedy and exemplary Justice, that others may thereby be deterred from practices so prejudicial to the Opium Business and further to the Regulations of Government."

Letter dated 12th February, 1790 from J. L. Ross[10] Opium Contractor for Bihar, to George Francis Grand, Magistrate of the Dewany Adawlat at Patna.

(2) "Having sometime ago instituted a suit in your Court against Durage Doss—I am now sorry to find by my Vakil, that it is preceded by the other Business of your Court, which causes a delay tending greatly to hurt the opium Business.

10 James Lindsay Ross acted as the Revenue Chief of Patna for two months after the death of William Maxwell on 19th August, 1781. In 1780 he lived in the house now occupied by the Collector of Patna as is clear from the inscription on the tomb of John Lovis, Revenue Chief of Purneah, who was buried in that compound. He later on became the Opium contractor for Bihar and his tomb is found in the Patna cemetery lying west of the Patna Charitable dispensary.

I beg to quote to you, that part of the 11th Article of the Opium Regulations dated the 29th of July, 1789 which expressly says—'the Judges of the Dewany Adawlets to take cognizance of all causes respecting opium instituted by the Contractor or his agents against the Ryots or others concerned in the provision or Manufacture of opium, or by the latter against the former, and to proceed to try and decide upon the same, previous to any other suits, which may be pending in their Courts, and to award Damages to the party according to the circumstances of the case and to request that the most speedy Decision may be given in any cause accordingly."

Letter from same to same, dated Patna, 6th March, 1790.

(3) Another letter from same to same, dated 26th May, 1790, referring to the dismissal by the opium contractor of Bihar of one Mr. Daniel Murray, a writer in his service. The opium contractor complained against Mr. Daniel before the Magistrate as he refused to deliver the keys of the Company's Godowns even after the dismissal. He sent the keys later on. There was a long case between Mr. Ross, the revenue contractor, and Mr. Daniel.

(4) Advances to the Gomastas.

Letter from same to same, dated 18th June, 1790.

(5) Death of Mr. Ross and the affairs of his contract:—

"Lieut. Marwell has acquainted us with Demise of Mr. J. L. Ross and transmitted us copy of your letter to Mr. Bird directing him to seal up the Papers and take an Inventory of His Effects. We beg leave to acquaint you that we are securities for the performance of Mr. Ross's contract with the Hon'ble Company and possessed of a Paper purporting that we should take charge of his business in case of his death. We have reason to believe that Mr. Ross has died intestate and shall tomorrow apply for Letters of administration to his Estate. In the meantime we have requested Mr. Oswald Churters and W. J. Champain to look after the Business of the Opium Contract that it may not suffer interruption in consequence of Mr. Ross's death. We have therefore to request that these Gentlemen (who had entered in opium business during Mr. Ross's lifetime) may be permitted to carry the duties of the contract and make the necessary disbursements on account of it under your sanction,

from the money which may be found in the Treasure of the chest of the deceased."

Letter from Messrs Colvin and Bazett, dated Calcutta, June 20, 1790, to Mr. G. F. Grand, Judge of the Adawlat at Patna.

Messrs. Colvin and Bazett wrote to Earl Cornwallis, Governor General in Council, on 21st June, 1790, about the above-mentioned letter to Mr. G. F. Grand, and Mr. E. Hay, Secretary to the Government, wrote to Mr. G. F. Grand on 21st June, 1790, that he had "his Lordships (Governor General's) authority for complying with the request made to you in their (Colvin and Bazett) of the 20th instant." After the death of Mr. Ross, Mr. Oswald Churters and J. Champain were placed in charge of the Opium contract in Bihar, which is mentioned in their letters to Mr. Grand, dated 1st July, 1790.

(6) Opium Smuggling:—"We beg leave to send you a person detected in smuggling Opium etc. near 6 muns seized from him; the accompanying people who discovered it will give you every information on the subject; amongst other particulars they say the opium belongs to a European at Dinapore, which the offender is not inclined to deny but will by no means mention his name; although we have taken every method to induce him to do so not only by offering reward, but by promising he shall not be punished; all however has been to no purpose, we would hope however that by the assistance of those we send and your threatening him that he may be brought to discover the principal and we beg your Endeavours to effect this."

Letter from Oswald Churters & J. Champain to Mr. Grand, dated 13th August, 1790.

(7) "Having obtained Letter of administration from the Supreme Court to the Estate of the late Mr. James Lindsay Ross, opium contractor for Bihar, I beg leave to acquaint your Lordship that Mr. David Colvin proceeds to Patna to take the charge of the business.

On Mr. Ross's death you were pleased at my request to instruct the Magistrate, Mr. Grand, to place the business of the Contract under the charge of Mr. Oswald Churters and Mr. James Champain. I now have the honour to request that Mr. Grand may be directed to see these gentlemen deliver over charge to Mr. David Colvin with all the Books, Papers and Engagements relative to the contract together with the Balance

of Cash and Opium now in the Godowns. I request also that your Lordship will be pleased to direct the orders for the advance for the present year to be made payable to Mr. David Colvin, or to his order.

It is with great satisfaction I communicated to your Lordship that the accounts I have of the Opium this season are very favourable; at the same time I am informed by Mr. Champain that one Ram Charun Pandit who was formerly employed in this Business has found means to procure a considerable quantity of opium and smuggle it from Bihar into the Gauzipore and Benares districts. When I am more fully informed and in possession of sufficient proof to establish the fact I shall be under the necessity of again addressing your Lordship on this subject."

Copy of Letter from Alex. Colvin, administrator to the estate of J. L. Ross dead, dated Calcutta, the 9th September, 1790, to Earl Cornwallis.

In response to the request contained in this letter Mr. G. H. Barlow, Sub. Secretary to Government, wrote to Mr. G. F. Grand on the 11th of September, 1790, to ask Mr. Churters and Mr. Champain to "deliver over charge of the opium business of the Opium Contract to Mr. David Colvin with all the Books, Papers of accounts and Engagements relative thereto with the Balance of Cash and Opium now in the Godowns."

Messrs. Oswald Churters and Champian informed Mr. Grand through their letter to him dated 27th September that they agreed to comply with the above. They delivered over charge of the opium godowns to David Colvin in the presence of Cornelius Bird who had proceeded there according to the instructions of Mr. Grand, dated 26th September, 1790.

Letter from Mr. Bird to Mr. Grand, dated 29th September, 1790.

(8) Opium Smuggling:—"By order of the Governor General in Council, I send to you in close custody five persons who have been convicted of smuggling, and selling of opium, contrary to the Regulations of Government viz., Chhedun, Herfa, Anunt, Chhutturutti and Bukhtwer and am directed to desire that you will detain them in confinement, till they shall have paid the Fine imposed on them, agreeably to the Regulations, amounting two thousand eight hundred and forty six Rs., twelve annas, or until the Governor General in Council shall be pleased to order their Release."

Letter from Mr. Meyer, dated Khalsa, June, 27th 1791, to Mr. G. F. Grand, Magistrate of Patna.

(9) Opium Smuggling:—"I am directed to inform you the Governor General in Council has been pleased to order that in all cases of future seizures of smuggled opium within your jurisdiction you cause the opium seized to be immediately delivered to you; and that upon receipt thereof you issue a publication notifying that if no claimant thereto shall appear within one month it will be confiscated. If any claimant shall in consequence appear within the limited period you will investigate and decide on his right to the opium. In the event of your deciding against the claimant, or if no claimant shall appear, you will send the opium to the preparer of Reports to be sold at the Khalsa."

Letter from G. H. Barlow to Mr. G. F. Grand, Magistrate of Patna, dated Council Chamber, 8th July, 1791.

(10) Opium Business:—"I am informed by my Vakeel at Your Durbar that orders has been given for the sale of the smuggled opium lately delivered into your Cutcherry, and a supposition that you may have either mistaken or misunderstood the late orders respecting seizures of opium, induces me to offer my opinion upon it. The proclamation of 29th July, 1791, I believe, directs that after the necessary process of verification are gone through that the opium shall be sent by the Judge of the Adawlut to the Khalsa in Calcutta there to be disposed of by the Superintendent of Opium Sales.

Selling the opium here would be a publick sanction to Individuals to purchase, which is positively prohibited in the Contract, with a view to preserve the sole right of purchasing to the contractors and if such a sanction as publick sale in the Moffussils was to be given I conceive it would involve this right of the contractor in much difficulty, as a great deal of other opium might be smuggled away under the cloak of that sold to Individuals, thus sanctioned by Government.

I beg leave to acquaint you that Mr. Brooke (Collector of Arrah), put the same construction on the proclamation of July, 1791, which you now do, in the case of a small seizure of opium in his district last year, and he advertised it for publick sale. I immediately offered him the same opinion I now take the liberty of submitting to you, & he acknowledged the mistakes. The Instructions to you are I hope the same, & that you will be good enough to stop the sale accordingly.

I further beg leave to mention that in order to encourage the detec-

tion of smuggled opium I pay the Informer one Rupee a seer on all that is detected & I have paid this premium on the opium delivered into your adawlat and although it is not noticed in the proclamations of July 1791 I suppose it is the Intention of Government to reward the Informer or the person who detects this Illicit Trade."

Letter from D. Colvin, agent for Bihar Opium Contract, to Mr. G. F. Grand, Magistrate of City of Patna, dated 24th September, 1792.

(11) Opium Smuggling:—"I beg leave to trouble you with a seizure of opium which was made and brought to me yesterday by Mudaree, a merchant and Fakeera his servant from a European foreigner I believe a Frenchman who says he brought it from the house of Peter Brilliard a Frenchman at Dinapore I believe a Cook and Butcher.

I beg leave to call your attention to this very cunning here made use of to carry off this opium by packing it in jarrs with pieces of salted meat on the top to make it appear as jarrs of provisions, this man Peter Brilliard has long practised the smuggling of opium, that has hitherto evaded detection. I now beg leave to solicit that the severest punishment which the regulations admit of may be put in force against him.

I beg leave to acquaint you that in order to encourage the detection of smuggled opium I find it necessary to hold out a reward of One Rupee p. seer to the person who detects it. I will, therefore, be obliged to you to weigh the opium and acquaint me the quantity that I may pay Mudaree accordingly and I will thank you to mention this to the Board when you send it to Calcutta that I may have a claim to be reimbursed from the sales."

Letter from D. Colvin, agent for Bihar Opium Contract, dated 28th June 1793, to H. Douglas.[11]

(12) Opium Smuggling:—"I am directed by Colonel Achmuty to acquaint you that it appears on investigation that accompanying Frenchman named Peter Brilliard is the person who the opium belonged to Emey's he having been living as a pentioner on Brilliard and who seems not to have had a Rupee to bless himself. The Colonel has, therefore,

11 Vide also letter from C. Shakespear, Sub. Secretary, to H. Douglas, dated Fort William, 12th July 1793. In this letter Mr. H. Douglas was "requested to enter upon a hearing of the complaint" and to refer his proceedings to Government "for their ultimate decision."

requested me to inform you of the same that you may take such steps as you deem necessary either by sending him or both to the Presidency."

Letter from W. D. Fawcett, Major Brigade, to H. Douglas, dated Dinapore, 30th June, 1791.

(13) "I beg leave to inform you that same Boats the owners and mangees of which have received advances and entered into engagements for carrying opium to Calcutta, have been pressed for accommodation of the Vezeers ministers on their way to the Presidency.

It gives me much concern to interfere or throw the boats obstruction in the way of any public Business but this heavy loss which the opium contractor may sustain by these Boats being taken and this very great inconveniency that may occur for want of Boats to transport the opium at the proper season to Calcutta renders it incumbent on me to represent the circumstances and to solicit that the Boats on which advances have been made for the transportation of opium may be excused from the present inconveniency or if this request cannot be complied with I beg the favour of your representing the circumstances to Government that I may have obtained to reimbursement of the advances I have made, three thousand Rupees as also any extra expense which I may insure for the transportation of the opium of the present season."

Letter from D. Colvin, agent for Bihar Opium Contract, to H. Douglas, dated Patna, 2nd July, 1793.

(14) Opium Smuggling:—"I beg to acquaint you that I have information of a quantity of Opium being secreted in the House of a Person named Bundee as Dumaulie or *pawn seller* in the city and I beg leave to solicit your assistance to seize the opium and if found that this offender may be brought to the punishment annexed to a breach of the orders of Government and for encroaching on the Rights of the Opium Contractor."

Letter from D. Colvin, agent for Bihar Opium Contractor, dated 24th July, 1793, to H. Douglas, Magistrate of Patna.

(15) Opium Business:—"Agreeable to the proclamations of July, 1791 respecting seizures of opium, I beg leave to trouble you with a quantity seized in consequence of the reward I held out for the purpose of detecting the ruinous practice (to the opium contractor) of smuggling. There being a doubt respecting the persons who is entitled to receive the premium on the opium, it being claimed by two or three, I deem it

necessary to refer the enquiry to you, for which purpose the several claimants and their witnesses all of whose names are particularised in a petition my vakeel Meer Wahed Ally will present to you will attend your cutchery when convenient to you to take their depositions & I beg the favour of your questioning them at the same time respecting who the persons were who were concerned in clandestinely attempting to carry it away.

I directed my vakeel to claim the opium on the part of the contractor which were seized sometime ago from a person named Singunaut also that which was seized from Mr. Brilliard and delivered into court agreeable to the orders of July, 1791 by me, he acquainted me, your reply to the claim was, that it was not consistent with the regulation but I am of opinion that no other person can have any legal claim to any part of the opium produced within the limits of his contract except the contractor himself and although he does not purchase it immediately from the ryotts I conceive their selling and others clandestinely purchasing cannot by such clandestine interference with his rights do away his claims or affect his rights which the Government engage to preserve to him to the exclusive privilege of purchasing the whole produce of opium within the limit of his contract. I beg further to observe that any seizures of opium which are made are in consequence of the reward which is held out and paid by the contractor. The proclamation holds out now and besides the premium of one rupee p. seer which I pay for detecting the ruinous and illicit practice, I have a large establishment of people to support to present and detect it as far as possible from all of which I hope the contractor's claim to all the opium delivered into your court by him will appear to you legal and just, but should it not, I beg the favour of your referring the question to Government for their decision"

Letter from D. Colvin, agent for the Bihar Opium Contractor, dated 9th October, 1793, to H. Douglas.

(16) Opium Business:—"I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 24th October, and to acquaint you that the terms of the contract do not entitle the contractor to the confiscated opium. In consideration however of the expense which the contractor incurs to prevent this illicit trade, the Governor General in Council directs that all smuggled opium seized and delivered into court by the contractor, and

which may be declared confiscated by the Court, be given to the contractor until further orders. This order is to be applied to the opium now under the charge of the Court."

Letter from G. H. Barlow to H. Douglas, dated 27th December, 1793.

(17) "I am directed by the President in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 5th Instant and to desire you will send the confiscated opium mentioned therein to the Presidency, consigned to the Board of Trade, who have been instructed to dispose of it at public auction on its arrival at the Presidency.

You are desired at the same time to report whether any persons have claims, under the Regulations, to a moiety of the proceeds of the sale, on the ground of their having seized or discovered the opium."

Letter from H. G. Tucker, Sub Secretary to the Judical Dept., dated Council Chamber, the 19th January, 1798, to Henry Douglas, Judge of the City of Patna.

Account of opium confiscated in the Dewany Adawlat of the city of Patna and sent to the Board of Trade.

No. of chest	Weight when delivered into Court			Weight of the earthen vessels in which the opium was packed and loss of weight of opium			Weight of opium including bags when despatched			By whom delivered into Court	Date of delivery to the Court	Date of confiscation	Weight of opium in each chest excluding bags		
	M.	Sr.	Ch.	M.	Sr.	Ch.	M.	Sr.	Ch.				M.	Sr.	Ch.
1	Not weighed			Not weighed			1	37	12	John Martin Playdell Esq. Opium Agent for Bihar	14th Nov., 1797	18th Dec., 1797	1	37	12
2		...			...			...		...	...	...	4	7	0
3		Do			Do		8	34	3	Do	4th Dec., 1797	4th Jany., 1797	4	27	8
4		...			...			...		...	...	...	4	25	8
5		...			...			...		...	...	...	4	4	0
6	19	15	0	3	13	8	16	1	8	Do	20th Dec., 1797	20th Jany., 1798	4	32	0
7		...			...			...		...	...	...	3	20	0
8	3	21	0	0	32	8	2	28	8	Do	27th March 1798	5th May, 1798	2	28	8
9	0	14	4	0	1	8	0	12	12	Do	18th May, 1798	11th July, 1798	0	12	12
10	2	22	12	0	0	12	2	22	0	Do	15th June, 1798	11th Aug., 1798	...	...	...
11	4	19	0	0	12	12	4	6	4	Do	28th July, 1798	31st Aug., 1798	4	6	4

B. Saltpetre Trade :—

(1) Saltpetre trade at Patna and boats hired for it by the Company:—"I have the pleasure to enclose you a representation from Mahasing Burdar stating that two boats belonging to him had been pressed from their station at Chaupar (Chaprah) after he had received the Company's advances and were delivered to a Private Merchant at Patna who had laden them and that Mahasing considered his boats engaged to the Company on account of the advances he had received.

On this statement I have to request you will send for the merchants and order them to unload these Boats that they may proceed to the Factories for their ladens of saltpetre as Mahasing has received advances for the transportation of it to Calcutta.

I must further request that you will prohibit the pressing of boats from Mullahs who have received advances and whose boats are engaged to the Company."

Letter from E. E. Cota, Commercial Resident at Patna[12] dated 4th July, 1793.

(2) I have received your letter of the 3rd instant respecting a Peon put over a boat by Aditsing, the Company's Burdar, which the proprietor was not inclined should be hired. I have, therefore, ordered the Peon to be taken of.

I must however request that you will give me all the assistance in your power in regard to Boats for the lading of the Company's Investment, that I may be better enabled to carry Board orders into effect who are very desirous to have the saltpetre now under despatch delivered in Calcutta as soon as possible.

Letter from the Assistant to the Commercial Resident at Patna, dated 7th August, 1793.

NOTE

Opium and saltpetre were two very important articles of external as well as internal commerce of Bengal during the Eighteenth Century. A study of some Eighteenth Century writers like Stavorinus, Grose, Holwell and Abbee Raynal and some unpublished records preserved in the Imperial Records Department, Calcutta, show that Bihar's

12 He lived in the house now occupied by the District Judge of Patna and collected the Oriental Manuscripts which were stocked in the library of the Eton College.

economic importance was due largely to the manufacture of these two articles.[13] Opium formed a valuable merchandise of export of the East India Company to China, Malaya Archipelago and Java.[14] Besides its commercial value, opium formed an important source of revenue for the East India Company. "The manufacture of opium and salt," said Holt Mackenzie, one of the witnesses examined by the Select Committee on the Affairs of East India Company in 1832, "is conducted with a view to revenue, not trade."

The East India Company in Bengal enjoyed a monopoly of trade in opium since 1761,[15] and in 1765 they threw this trade and its profits in the hands of their servants at the Patna factory.[16] During the administration of Warren Hastings half of the opium exported from Bengal went to China and the rest went to Java and other countries.[17] In 1773 Warren Hastings granted the "Contract or exclusive privilege for providing opium" to Meer Muneer and Ramchurn Pandit who "had before the management of this business been under the factory at Patna."[18] The contractors were to deliver Bihar Opium at 320 rupees and Oudh opium at 350 rupees per maund.[19] The Company's notification stated that the purchases of opium "would be made to the satisfaction of the cultivators and no oppression would be committed."[20] The contract was renewed to the same persons in 1775 on the old terms and the contractors engaged "to carry on their own business without oppression to the ryots, and would not force them to prepare the lands for the cultivation of the opium poppy, nor force them to cultivate the opium poppy, but leave them to till the lands as most agreeable to themselves."[21] But they being eager to amass as much money as possible during their term of contract often committed various oppressions on the poor cultivators by forcing them to cultivate poppy. A letter to the Provincial Council

13 Vide my paper on 'Economic importance of Bihar during the Mid-Eighteenth Century' published in *Indian Journal of Economics*, December 1934.

14 For details reference may be made to *Report of the Royal Opium Commission of 1893*, vol. VII, pt. II.

15 Moncton Jones, *Warren Hastings in Bengal*, p. 231.

16 *Ibid.* 17 J. C. Sinha, *Economic Annals of Bengal*, p. 168.

18 Moncton Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

19 Firminger, *Fifth Report*, vol. I, p. 40.

20 *Ibid.* 21 *Ibid.*

of Revenue at Patna, dated 1st August, 1777, stated:—"It having been intimated to us by good authority that in or about the month of January 1776, a considerable tract of land in the neighbourhood of Gaya was covered with green corn.....that this corn was suddenly cut down in order that land might be prepared for the immediate cultivation of poppy."[22] On 11th July, 1785, the Company's Government in Calcutta published that the contract should be exposed to public sale and should be disposed of for a term of four years to the highest bidder.[23] The Government reserved to itself the right of appointing inspectors to supervise the manufacture of opium and enjoined upon the collectors of the districts "to hear all complaints of the ryots against the contractors and their officers and to grant such redress, according to the former practice and usage of the respective districts as may be required and that this provision be publicly notified by advertisement throughout the districts where opium is manufactured, with this condition, that the contractors may appeal to the board from the decision of the collectors provided such appeal be made within one month from the date of such provincial decision; which is in the meantime to be in force and obeyed, till the judgment on the appeal shall have been passed.[24] A penalty of 300 rupees for every chest of opium was to be exacted from the opium contractor on his failure to supply the stipulated contract. This exposed the ryots to the oppressions of the contractor whose only business was to make good the contract by hook or crook.

This state of things attracted the attenion of Lord Cornwallis after his arrival in Calcutta on 11th July, 1786. "The mode of supply by contract" was not discontinued but was renewed by a public advertisement, dated 29th July, 1789, for another term of four years. Lord Cornwallis imposed many new conditions on the opium contractor with a view to afford relief to the opium cultivators and manufacturers.[25] He wrote to the Court of Directors on the 2nd of August, 1789:—"A regard for the true interests of the Company, no less than the irresistible claims of humanity, rendered it necessary to give these people the protection

22 Quoted in James Edward Colebrooke's *Digest of Bengal Regulations*, 3 vols. Calcutta, 1807.

23 *Fifth Report*, p. 40.

24 *Ibid.*

25 *Ibid.*, p. 41.

of laws against personal violence and to enable them to make an equitable bargain with the contractor for the produce of their labours."[26] As provided by the new terms of the contract, the contractor would not "compel the ryots to engage for the cultivation of a greater number of bighas than they cultivated the preceding year" but he was no longer to pay the penalty of 300 rupees for every chest of opium if he failed to procure the stipulated quantity for natural calamities.

It appears from the papers studied here that inspite of the contract the Government maintained a strict control over opium business in Bihar. The contractor, his agent and staff also took strong measures to prevent smuggling of opium. We find that Mr. James Lindsay Ross was the contractor for Bihar opium in 1790. After his death Mr. Oswald Churters and Mr. W. J. Champain were appointed temporarily by Messrs Colvin and Bazett, with the permission of the Governor General, to look after opium business at Patna. But within a few months they had to deliver over charge of the opium contract to Mr. David Colvin, acting for Alexander Colvin, who had been appointed administrator to the estate of Mr. J. L. Ross after the latter's death. The revenue arising from opium "having considerably diminished and the trade in it declined owing to the debasement of the article by adulteration," the contract system was abolished and the agency of a covenanted servant of the Company was adopted instead in 1799.[27]

Saltpetre was in great demand among the European traders especially because of its use as an ingredient for gunpowder during the European wars of the 18th century. It was manufactured in Bihar and was thence carried to Calcutta and Hugli by the English and the Dutch respectively for being sent to Europe. The Dutch were the great rival of the English in their saltpetre trade in Bihar and they very often quarreled over it.[28] But Clive secured a monopoly of Bihar saltpetre trade for the English East India Company in the year 1758 from Mir Jafar, and since then the Dutch or the French had to buy it only in time of peace from

26 Forrest, *Selections from the State Papers of the Governors General of India*, vol. II: Cornwallis, pp. 139-40, Ross, *Cornwallis Correspondence*, vol. I, p. 554.

27 *Fifth Report*, vol. I, p. 52; Rickard, *India*, vol. I, p. 649.

28 Vide my paper on 'Saltpetre trade in Bihar' published in the *Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission*, December, 1930.

the Factories at Patna, at prices fixed by the English Council in Calcutta. The profits of the English East India Company's saltpetre trade fluctuated in different years during the 18th century and it appears from figures supplied by Henry Thomas Colebrooke on the authority of the statements of the Directors that the Company sold saltpetre more during peace time than during wars.[29] They sold 295,673 bags in thirteen years of peace from 1764 to 1776; 76,059 bags in six years of war from 1777 to 1782; and 331,301 in ten years of peace from 1783 to 1792. This difference in sale during peace and war times was due to the "circumstance of exportation (of saltpetre) being prohibited in war (time)."[30] At the commencement of the Revolutionary Wars in 1793 "the exportation (of saltpetre) by private persons whether British subjects or foreigners was entirely prohibited, lest the enemy be supplied with this requisite means of warfare from the British dominions. It was afterwards authorised 'under certain limitations.'"[31] During the years preceding 1792, there was a glut in the sale of the Company's saltpetre though they reduced the price from 80s. to 38s. per cwt.[32] This glut disappeared with the outbreak of war with France, but the "Company's trade in saltpetre was generally unprofitable during the administration of Lord Cornwallis."[33]

C. Inland Duties, Markets, etc:—

(1) "Representaions having been made to the Governor General in Council that in consequence of the officers of the Sayer being withdrawn it will be necessary to appoint persons to regulate the markets and superintend the Police in the principal Towns and Gaunges, and His Lordship in Council being of opinion that the inhabitants in consideration of the great additional advantage with which they can now prosecute their commercial concerns and introduce articles of consumption duty free in consequence of the late general abolition of the internal duties, ought to be charged with the expense of the establishments necessary for the purposes above-mentioned, I am directed to desire that you will furnish with the least possible delay a list of the several Gaunges and

29 Henry Thomas Colebrooke, *Remarks on the Husbandry and Commerce of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1804, p. 113.

30 *Ibid.* 31 *Ibid.*, p. 112.

32 J. C. Sinha, *Economic Annals of Bengal*, p. 257. 33 *Ibid.*

Towns within your jurisdiction in which officers are required for the regulation of the markets and superintendence of the police, with an estimate of the expense of each establishment, and that you transmit your opinion on the best mode of raising the amount whether by levying a tax on the houses or shops or on articles of consumption assuring the inhabitants that no part of the money will be appropriated to any other purposes but those for which it is raised and that the accounts of the Receipts and expenditure will be regularly submitted to their inspection."

Letter from G. H. Barlow, Sub. Secretary to Government, dated 20th October, 1790, to Mr. Grand of Patna.

(2) Duties on Cotton (Case of D. V. Kerim):—"I had the honour of receiving your letter of the 15th instant enclosing an arzee against some servants of mine from Assaram and others—it sets forth that duties have been collected on cotton—or attempted to be collected. This is a false statement.—True—I have appointed a Dandydar or Weigh Master. This is customary. The complainants in the present case unjustly assumed this privilege. I have employed a Vakeel and conscious as I am that I have done nothing wrong—I shall support the suit. I shall not oppose Assaram, or any other person in weighing their cotton out of the Kella—but their right of appointing a Dandydar—I shall oppose by law—and if the law decides against me I shall submit.

Letter from D. V. Kerim, Captain, to H. Douglas, dated Patna, 18th November, 1797.

D. Ferry Ghats at Patna:—

Mr. A. Seton, Collector of Behar, enquired through his letter, dated 13th September, 1791, to Mr. G. F. Grand, Judge and Magistrate of Patna, "if certain collections had been levied under his orders for defraying police charges on boats moved at the following ghauts or landing places: Nimmuck Ghola, Maroof Gunge, Khanjee Kelaun, Metun, Doallee, Nongier, the Magazine, Raje Puttree, Mahendree, Moradpoor and Bankipur."

E. Purchase of grains at Patna:—

One Mr. Prawn was sent by Mr. Jonathan Duncan, Resident at Benares, to Patna "for the purchase of grain for the Company."

Letter from J. Duncan, dated Benares, 26th December, 1791, to G. F. Grand.

F. Gold Currency:—

1. "I am directed by the Governor-General in Council to enclose a copy of a letter written to the Board of Revenue on the subject of rendering the gold universally current throughout the country.

2. The proclamation therein quoted you will be pleased to publish at all the police stations within your jurisdiction and otherwise make it as generally known as possible. At the same time you will notify that any person refusing to take gold in satisfaction of a debt or exacting a batta upon it in such payments will be punished according to his offence."

Letter from G. H. Barlow to H. Douglas, dated 12th August, 1793.

"To

William Cowper Esq.

President and member of the Board of Revenue.

Gentleman,

On the 22 of November, 1792 we published a Proclamation that all gold mohurs of full weight with their subdivisions coined in the Calcutta mint since the 20 of March, 1769 corresponding with the year of the Hidjree 1182 should be a legal tender of payment in all public and private transactions throughout the country at the rate of sixteen sicca Rupees for each and proportionally for its subdivisions.

2. Being very desirous of establishing the currency of gold in every part of the country we desire you will instruct the collectors to notify the above proclamation in the country languages in the Cutchery of every village within the limits of their respective Districts.

3. We are aware that it would not be avisable to issue the commercial and salt advances in gold at present but we see no objection to the salaries and establishments of the commercial and salt departments as well as those of the Judicial and Revenue Departments being issued in gold immediately and as the gold so issued will come back into the Treasury through the channel of the collections, its currency will thus gradually become established and the principal objection to the circulation of it in the other Departments be consequently removed.

4. We are sensible that the success of the measures which may be desired for establishing the currency of gold throughout the country will depend in a great measure upon the exertions of the collectors,

since without their hearty co-operation to carry the regulation into effect and more particularly to prevent improper obstacles being thrown in the way of the receipt of gold at their respective Treasuries there is great reason to apprehend that the object which we have so much at heart may be materially impeded. In order, however, to make effectually guard against the obstacles above alluded to we desire it may be notified to the officers of the Collectors Treasury that if it shall be proved that they have in any instance refused to receive gold coin tendered at the Treasury or exacted a Batta on it subsequently to such notification they will be dismissed from their offices with ignominy."

Fort William,
The 12th August, 1793

(Signed). We are
Cornwallis
P. Specke
W. Cowper
Tho. Graham.

(2) "A mistake having happened at the time of your last selection of Musters, from taking an unrefined Ingot to the lamenating office and issuing it into Gold Mohurs I request you will be pleased to take the depositions of the under-mentioned Mint servants respecting the circumstances of the mistake and furnish me with copies thereof that I may transmit them to the Mint Master for the information of the Hon'ble Governor General in Council.

Mr. Peter M. Entee (not clear) assistant Cummel Sircar (Kamal Sarkar) English writer Choormul Bullion keeper.

I request you will be pleased to inform me whether you recollect at the time of your last selection on the 12th September my observing to you that I was going to commence the coinage of gold desirous that you should take samples of Gold I requested your staying a short time until some blanks which I had ordered to be prepared were struck off.

I shall be much obliged, by your informing me whether you have heard any reports or suggestions from the Shroffs or merchants of any inferiority in the Patna coin."

Letter from K. T. Blake, Issuing Muster, Patna Mint, dated 6th November, 1795.

G. Banking and Hoondee:—

"I have been favoured with your letter of the 6th in-

stant and agreeably to your request herewith transmit to you my receipt for the Hoondee in my favour in the house of Gopaul Das, and Hurkissen Doss at 21 days sight for Sa. Rs. 93-7-0 (Ninety three seven annas)."

Letter from Thomas Dashwood, Registrar of Covenants' office, dated 19th May, 1797.

Form of the Receipt:—"Calcutta 19, March 1797. Received from Henry Douglas Esqr. a Hoondee in my favour in the House of Gopaul Doss and Hurkissen Doss at Calcutta payable 21 days after sight of sicca rupees ninety three and seven annas."

Sa. Rs. 93-7-0.

Thos. Dashwood,
Registrar of Covenants.

H. Shroffs at Patna:—

1. Ramchan Sahoe (Sahu)—a shroff in the city of Patna.

Letter from the Judge of Sircar Sarun to Henry Douglas, dated 19th August, 1793.

2. Lutchmy Narain and Rutchpaul Daus, shroffs at Patna.

Letter from the Collector of Behar to H. Douglas, dated Gaya, the 14th March, 1793.

I. Letter from the Commercial Resident of Patna, dated the 3rd of November, 1792, to Mr. G. F. Grand requesting him to order the delivery of 12 pieces of cloths stolen and seized by the Magistrate's Cutwal Coorsingh by name from the Factory at Mograh.

J. Slave Boys:—

(1) "From the indulgence of Mr. Brooke I have it at my option to detain the two Boys (slaves of mine) and I assign as a reason however great their crime, I do not wish they should suffer the rigour of the law as they were brought up in my family."

Letter from Bartho. Lewis Grenier, 6th European battalion, Dated Dinapore, the 7th November, 1792.

(2) Slavery:—"It having been represented to the Court of Nizamat Adawlat a practice has prevailed of purchasing young slaves for the purpose of making Eunuchs of them, to be afterwards again disposed of by sale, the Court have thought it proper to ascertain from their Law officers whether this inhuman practice be duly punishable by Muhammadan Law, and also whether, in any case, it would entitle the party injured to emancipation from Slavery.

By the answer of the Law officers to the reference made to them on these heads it appears that the Right of Mastership over his slave is not forfeited by making such slave an Eunuch, either under the Masulman or Hindoo Law, but that the castration of any person, whether a slave or otherwise, is held criminal and punishable by the Muhammedan Laws, particularly if the offender be proved to have made it his professional or frequent practice, nor will the consent of the party be allowed to obviate the punishment, which, in all cases, is left to the discretion of the Governor of the Country, or his Representative and to be proportioned to the magnitude of the offence.

With a view to discourage and prevent as much as possible, the cruel and detestable practice above adverted to, the Court desire you will make publick the foregoing provision of the Mohummadan Law against it by a circular notification to the Police Officers under your Jurisdiction, and that you will enjoin them to apprehend all persons charged with the crime in question, in like manner as they are directed to apprehend persons charged with other crimes of a hineous nature; that if there appear sufficient grounds for the same, they may be brought to trial before the Court of Circuit, and to exemplary punishment as the Law directs."

Letter from J. H. Harrington, Registrar, Court of Nizamat Adawlut, Fort William, to Henry Douglas, Magistrate of Patna, dated 27th April, 1796.[34]

REVENUE

A. Regarding lease of the farm for the sale of spiritious liquors in the city of Patna.

1. Letter from A. Seton, Collector of Behar, dated Gaya, the 27th September, 1790, to Mr. Grand and another dated 1 November, 1790.

2. Letter from same to same, dated 24th December, 1790, regarding the impediments in the work of the officers entrusted with collections, etc.

B. Extract of a letter from the Board of Revenue to the Governor-General in Council, dated 16th June, *1790*:

"We beg leave to recommend that instead of selling all lands as at present at the Khalsa, such lands only as pay a revenue to Government exceeding 1,000 rupees p. annum and lands paying a less revenue in

34 Harington, *Analysis of the Laws and Regulations in Bengal*, vol. I, pp. 78, 279.

the vicinity of Calcutta be in future sold at the Khalsa and that all land paying an annual revenue not exceeding 1,000 Rs. if more contiguous to Patna, Dacca and Moorshidabad than to Calcutta be disposed of, at public auction by the judges of those cities respectively, the Sudder Jumma having been previously adjusted by us."

C. Extract from the Proceedings of the Governor-General in Council under date the 30th of June, 1790:—

"To The Hon'ble Charles Stuart
President and Member of the Board of Revenue.

Gentleman,

Having reconsidered our orders of the 23rd instant relative to the sale of lands the Jumma of which shall not exceed the sum of Rs. 1000, we think proper to revoke the same and direct that your proposition of the 16th instant relative to the sale of such lands be adopted.

Fort William — We are etc.
The 30th June, 1790. — G. H. Barlow
Sub. Secretary."

The above decision was communicated to Mr. G. F. Grand, Magistrate of Patna, by Mr. G. H. Barlow through a letter dated 9th April, 1791.

D. Instructions relating to recovery of arrears of revenues and decision of causes between individuals:—

"We desire that until you shall be furnished with the instructions mentioned in our letter of the 29th March last you will consider the regulations regarding the recovery of arrears of revenue under which you and the collectors acted prior to the 1st May in force with this qualification that instead of holding any judicial proceedings on balances due to Government from the land-holders or farmers of land you are to enforce payment of the amount that may be due from the Defaulters according to the Public account leaving them to apply to the Courts of Justice under the Regulations which will be hereafter published should they have any objection to make to the Demand. You will likewise instruct the Collectors that if they should have occasion to confine any landholder or farmer for arrears due to Government they are to carry the Defaulter to the Jail of the Dewanny Adawlut of the Zillah the Judge of which will receive and keep the defaulter in close custody

until he shall make good the Demand or if he shall dispute the justness of it until he shall institute a suit against the Collector in the Dewanny Adawlut to try the same and give good security to discharge the amount that may be adjudged by the Court to be due from him. With respect to the causes between individuals depending in the Maal Adawlut you will instruct the Collectors to deliver over all records and papers respecting them to the Judges of the Dewanny Adawluts of the respective Zillah who will be instructed to proceed immediately to try and decide them."

Letter from G. H. Barlow, Sub. Secretary, to William Cowper Esqr., President of the Board of Revenue, dated 29th May, 1793, enclosed with a letter from G. H. Barlow to Henry Douglas, Judge of the City of Patna, dated 29th May, 1793.

E. Land Revenue:—

"Having received orders from the Board of Revenue to transmit a statement of all the lands in this District belonging to the Company of the quantity of land of that description in and about the city of Patna, never having been accurately ascertained, I directed the Cannoongoes to assist a Mohurrir of mine in measuring it. But they meet with opposition in the execution of their duty. I therefore request that whenever these officers may find it necessary to make a representation to you, you will be pleased to afford them every support consistent with justice and the rights of Government."

Letter from G. Hawkins, Collector of Zillah Behar, to H. Douglas, dated 31st October, 1797.

F. Case of Bickermajeet Sing vrs. Ramlochun Ghose:—

"The pergunnahs of Shahabad were farmed to Rajah Bickermajeet Sing in the year 1187 who states that his Malgozary was paid into the public Treasury through the house of Kishen Dee Tewary Mahajan of Patna.

The Vakeel of Defendant states that the Papers of that house are at present officially in your charge. If this should be the case I have to request you will order all accounts and Papers relative to the sums paid into Treasury of the house of Jubboololl and Dowlut Ram Vakeels of Rajah Bickermajeet Sing on account of the malgoozary of Shahabad for the year 1187 may be delivered to the Bearer."

Letter from E. W. Webbs, Zillah Shahabad, the 1st of December, 1797 to H. Douglas.

G. Excise:—

"The Court on due consideration of the Regulation proposed in the 5th Paragraph of the above Letter with a view to give the Magistrates a more direct control over the licensed manufacturers of Spirituous liquors, are of opinion that it might produce an opposition of authority between the Magistrates and Collectors which would be detrimental to the Public service; and that for the present it will be sufficient to instruct the Magistrates to give immediate notice to the Collectors of all instances wherein a licensed manufacturer or seller of spirituous liquors may be convicted of any of the crimes specified in the conditions of his license, as detailed in sections 10 and 11, of Regulation of 1793, and to instruct the Collectors immediately on the receipt of a written notice to the above effect from the Magistrates to resume the License granted to the offender according to the conditions abovementioned. The Court accordingly resolve to recommend to the Governor General in Council that instructions to this purpose be issued to the several Magistrates and Collectors."

Extract from the resolutions of the Nizamat Adawlut, dated 23rd November 1796.

SOCIAL

Two Companies of Sepoys and four guns were lent to Nawab Selawar Jung *to celebrate the Id festival* by Lieut. Simpson (?), Colonel Commanding at Dinapore, Mr. G. F. Grand, Magistrate of the City of Patna, apprehended "that the tranquility of the city of Patna may be disturbed" thereby. But the Colonel Commanding at Dinapore wrote to the Magistrate of Patna on 14th June, 1790:....."Nothing could be further from any intention that this complimentary guard which it has been customary to grant to the Natives of Rank under the British Government on similar occasions should be employed in the manner you seem to apprehend.....

I have been induced to comply with the request in consequence of the attention shown by the Nawab in politely *inviting the gentlemen and ladies of this station to be present at the celebration of the festival.*"

JUDICIAL[35]

A. Letter from J. M. White, Fouzdary Department, Fort William, to Mr. George Francis Grand, Magistrate of Patna, not to carry into execution sentences of mutilation passed by the Naib Nazim.

B. Letter to G. F. Grand, Magistrate and Judge of Patna, dated Gaya, the 2nd July, 1790, regarding a "petition which has been presented by Dewan Kheyalleram stating his claim to a house in Patna which has been advertised for sale by your order, to satisfy a decree obtained in a suit instituted before you by Musummaut Zebul and Hans Raj."

C. Letter from Mr. G. H. Barlow, Sub. Secretary to the Board of Revenue, dated Calcutta, the 15th December, 1790, to Mr. G. F. Grand informing him that the "Darogah of Fouzdary at Patna has been ordered to deliver over charge of the Fouzdary Prison to the Magistrate."

D. Another letter dated 15th December, 1790, from same to same authorising Mr. Grand to entertain "a Guard in the Fouzdary Jail and to draw of the Diet money on the Collector of Shahabad from the 17th June, 1789."

E. Letter from Mr. J. Sombelle, Registrar, Nizamat Adalat, Fort William, dated the 10th of January, 1791, to Mr. G. F. Grand, Magistrate of Patna, along with a copy of the Regulations passed by the Governor-General in Council for the administration of justice in the Fouzdary or Criminal Courts in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.

F. The Magistrate to put into execution sentences passed by the Naib Nazim except in cases of mutilation, etc. etc.:—

"I am directed by the Nizamat Adawlut to acquaint you that it has been recommended to the Governor General in Council to write a letter to the Naib Nazim requesting that he will pass decisions on trials that have been referred to him by his Darogahs in the several districts previous to their removal, and transmit the same to the Nizamat Adawlut, together with such decisions as he may have already passed, but not forward to his Darogahs to be carried into execution.

35 Field, *Regulations of the Bengal Code*, pp. 134-41; Harington, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 562-63.

As soon as these decisions are received, they will be forwarded to the several Magistrates that they may be duly enforced.

The Court deeming it possible that decisions may have been passed by the Naib Nazim on trials which took place previous to the abolition of the late system for the administration of Criminal Justice, and transmitted by him to his Darogahs in the several districts, previous to his receipt of the letters which the Governor-General in Council has now been requested to write him, you are hereby directed to carry such decisions into execution in the event of their arrival, with an exception to sentences of mutilation, the execution of which is to be delayed, and the circumstances reported to the Nizamut Adaulut for their Orders.

I am further directed to desire that you will examine the proceedings delivered over to you by the Darogah of the Naib Nazim, and report to the Nizamut Adawlut the nature of the crimes of those prisoners who may be now in confinement under sentence of imprisonment during pleasure together with any reasons which may have been assigned by the Naib Nazim or his proceedings for passing such Sentence, communicating such further information as you may be able to obtain from an examination of the proceedings held on the trial, that the Nizamut Adawlut may be enabled to judge of the Degree of the Criminality of each individual confined under such sentence."

Letter from J. Sombelle to Mr. G. F. Grand, Magistrate of Patna, dated Fort William, the 14th February, 1791.

G. "I am directed to inform you that the Governor-General in Council was this day pleased to resolve, that the Head Assistants to the several Collectors, and the Registrars to the Adawluts of the cities of Moorshidabad, Patna and Dacca, shall be empowered to act as Magistrates in the event of the indisposition or absence of the Magistrates."

Letter from Mr. G. H. Barlow, Sub. Secy. to Government to G. F. Grand, dated 25th February, 1791.

H. "..... the officers of the late criminal Court at Patna have informed through the Nabob Muzaffer Jung, to whose orders they were subject, that their salaries were to cease with the abolition of their respective offices which took place on the 31st December last, their salaries are acordingly to be discontinued from that....."

Letter from same to same dated 15th March, 1791.

I. Orders of the "Court of Sudder Dewanny Adawlut not to maltreat the prisoners or to inflict any corporal punishment on them for extorting confession."

Letter from Mr. J. Sombelle, Registrar Sadar Nizamat Adawlut, to Mr. G. F. Grand, dated 11th April, 1791.

J. Messers Hunter and J. Neave, Judges of the Court of Circuit of Patna Division.

Letter dated 17th June 1791, from Alen Wright, Registrar, to Mr. G. F. Grand, Magistrate of Patna.

K. Letter from Mr. John Sombelle, Registrar of the Nizamat Adalat, dated Fort William, 24th October, 1791 to Mr. G. F. Grand, Magistrate for the city of Patna, informing him that personal confession of a crime should be confirmed by as many witnesses "as Muhammadan law requires" and such confessions should be "free and voluntary."

L. Establishments of the Adalat for the city of Patna in 1793:—

Letter from Mr. G. H. Barlow to H. Douglas, acting Magistrate of Patna, dated 29th March, 1793:—

I am directed to transmit to you the encolsed establishment which has been fixed for the offices to which you have been appointed from the 1st May next.

The amount will be paid by the Collector of Shahabad under the Regulations regarding the payment of Civil Establishments.

P.S. Mr. C. Buller the Gentleman appointed Registrar to the Dewany Adawlut of your city with a salary of Rs. 400 per m. is to draw Rs. 500 per month the full salary annexed to his office from the time he may become qualified to hold it under the act of Parliament.

Judge, salary p. annum 30,000			...	...	2,500
Registrar	...	...	...	...	500
Rent of a Court	...	...	...	...	150
					3,150
Clerks					
1 **Portugese Writer**			...	...	80
1 **Native Do**			...	...	40
					120

Dewanny Department

1	Moulavy		100
1	Pundit		60
1	Sheristahdar		100
6	Mohurrers @ 25		150
1	Munshee		50
1	Mullah		5
1	Brahmin		5
1	Dodar		10
1	Nazir		25
1	Naib		15
20	Peons @ 4 each		80
1	Mirdah		10
1	Burty		4
1	Matric		3
Bengal Paper, Pens and ink			30
			647

Fouzdary Department

Jail Establishment

1	Mirdar		25
30	Burgondosses		90
1	Tublia		20
1	Tazenaburdar		4
1	Jillab		4
1	Gouchand		4
			147

Cutwally Establishment

Cutwally			475
	Sica Rupees	4,539	1,389

M. Oath of office for Mr. J. Neave, appointed Judge and Magistrate of Zillah Tirhoot.

Oath of office for Mr. Samuel Carters appointed Judge of the Provincial Court of Appeal and Court of Circuit for the divisions of Patna.

Oath of office for Mr. W. Hunter, appointed Judge and Magistrate of the Zillah of Ramghar.

Oath of office for Mr. H. Ramus, appointed Judge of the Provincial Court of Appeal and Court of Circuit for the division of Patna.

Oath of office for Mr. A. Seton, appointed Judge and Magistrate of the Zillah of Behar.

Letter from G. H. Barlow to H. Douglas, dated 6th April, 1793.

N. Engagement of Vakeels[38] *in cases:—*

"I am directed to acquaint you that it is the intention of the Governor-General in Council to appoint, under rules and restrictions which will be hereafter published, a certain number of Hindoo and Muhamedan Vakeels or native pleaders to plead the causes of the parties in suits instituted in the Zillah and city courts of Dewanny Adawlut, the Provincial Court of Appeal, and the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, and that no other persons excepting the Vakeels so appointed, and parties who may choose to plead their own cases, will be allowed to plead in suits brought before the courts.

2. These licensed pleaders are to hold their appointments immediately from the Governor-General in Council, and are not to be removable but for incapacity or misconduct proved to his satisfaction.

3. The parties in suits are to have the option of committing the prosecution or defence of their causes to whichever of the pleaders attached to the court wherein they may sue or be sued, they may think proper. The pleaders will be allowed certain fees a table of which will be hereafter published upon the papers filed in the causes in which they may be employed, and will be prohibited from receiving from their clients any other reward or Emolument, besides the fees so authorised.

4. It is the intention of His Lordship in Council that one of the most able and respectable pleaders attached to each of the courts shall be appointed to prosecute and defend suits in which Government, under the regulations that will be shortly published, may be a party with its subjects.

5. His Lordship in Council considers it to be essential to the due

38 Harington, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 147-54. Thornton, *History of the British Empire in India*, vol. II, p. 542. This may be regarded as marking the beginning of British Indian legal profession of today.

administration of justice that the pleaders in the several courts should be men of integrity and ability and that they should have had a good education; and as it would be moreover extremely desirable that they should possess a knowledge of the Hindoo or Mahomedan Law (according as they may be of the former or latter persuasion) it is his intention that only persons bred to the study of the Hindoo or Mahomedan law shall be selected to fill these appointments, provided a sufficient number of such persons possessing the qualification before specified can be procured. As these offices from the principles in which they are constituted must necessarily become of considerable importance and respectability and as the faithful and zealous discharge of the duties of them must be productive of considerable Pecuniary Emolument his Lordship in Council is induced to believe that many persons who possess the qualifications required for them will be eager to obtain them.

6. His Lordship in Council therefore desires that you will as early after the receipt of this letter as may be practicable, report to him what number of Hindoo and of Muhammadan Vakeels will in your opinion be sufficient for pleading the cases in the Dewanny Adaulut of the city of Patna and that you will report to him the names of any persons who have resided for a considerable time in that district whom you may deem qualified to act as pleaders in the court, and that you will also point out which of them shall appear to you best qualified to hold the office of pleader for Government.

You will explain to the persons whom you may propose to recommend the nature and importance of the offices and ascertain whether they are willing to accept of them, acquainting them at the same time that they will be required to take an oath to perform the Duties that may be prescribed to them truly and faithfully and to the best of their knowledge and judgment....."

Letter from G. H. Barlow to H. Douglas, Patna, dated 26th April, 1793.

N[1]. *Pleader at Patna:—*

"I am directed by the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut to inform you that the Court have been pleased to appoint Peer Aalee a pleader in the Dewanny Adawlut of the City of Patna."

Letter from Cha. Rs. Blunt, Ad. Registrar, Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, dated Fort William, 18th May, 1797, to H. Douglas.

N[2]. *Sunnuds for Vakeels :—*

I am directed by the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut to desire that you will transmit a list of such of the authorized pleaders of your Court as have not already received permanent Sunnuds from this Court (viz. Sunnuds not restricted to one year as was limited in the original appointment of Vakeels under Regulation 7,1793 for reasons, which no longer exist to render such limitations necessary) that new Sunnuds authorising them to act as Pleaders during good conduct may be granted to them respectively on stampt paper according to section 25 of Regulation 6, 1797.

Letter from J. Stuart, Deputy Registrar of Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, dated Fort William, 1st November, 1797, to H. Douglas.

O. Letter from J. Sombelle, Registrar, Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, to Henry Douglas, dated the 2nd January, 1793, informing him that "the Governor-General in Council has been pleased to appoint Moulavee Amaun-ud-Deen to the office of Cauzy for the city of Patna. This appointment took place on the 21st ultimo."

P. Abolition of death punishment for witchcraft or sorcery :—

"I am directed to acquaint you on that the Governor General in Council understanding from a reference that has been made to him by the Court of Nizamat Adawlut, that it has been the immemorial custom with people of Satar Cast to try persons for witchcraft and to put them to death when supposed to have been guilty of the charge without any reference to the Courts of Justice his Lordship in Council, with a view to put an effectual stop to such a shocking and inhuman customs in future, has been pleased to direct that you issue a proclamation in the native languages throughout your jurisdiction, giving notice that if any person or persons of the Satar Cast or any other cast or persuasion within the Company's provinces, or the Zemindary of Benares, shall hereafter put any person to death on the ground of his or her being versed in or practising sorcery, or on any other ground, that such person or persons on being convicted of the crime will be held guilty of murder and be invariably punished accordingly....."

Letter from G. H. Barlow to Henry Douglas, acting Judge at Patna, 15th February, 1793.

Q. Powers of the Registrars:—

"I am directed to acquaint you that the Court of Sudder Dewanny Adawlut having observed that many of the Registers (Registrars) of the Courts of Mofussil Dewanny Adawlut have considered themselves empowered to exercise the powers of judge in the absence of the judge and this assumption of the judicial authority not being sanctioned by the Regulations the Court have thought it necessary expressly to prohibit the Registers from exercising any judicial powers in the absence of the judge of the court to which they may be attached or upon any other occasion except in the cases and in the manner now, or that may be in future directed by the Regulation of justice without the express sanction of the Governor-General in Council."

Letter from G. H. Barlow to Henry Douglas, dated 6th June, 1793.

R. Judicial powers of Henry Douglas[37]*:—*

"I am directed by the Governor-General in Council to acquaint you that until such time as you shall be furnished with the new Regulations of the administration of Justice, you are to receive and try all civil suits including those formerly cognizable in the courts of Maal Adawlut agreeably to the rules and forms prescribed for the receiving and trying causes cognizable in the courts of Dewanny Adawlut in the Regulations of the 27th June, 1787.

2. You are not however to exact any deposit fee on the amount or value of the property sued for, his Lordship in Council having been pleased to abolish the fees levied under the 44th article of the abovementioned Regulations, and to resolve that no such or any deposit fee shall be exacted either upon the original institution of suits in the Zillah or City Courts or upon their being appealed to the Provincial Courts of Appeal or to Sudder Dewanny Adawlut.

3. You are to receive and transmit to the Provincial Court of appeal for the division of Patna all appeals (without any limitation as to the amount or value of the property decreed) that may be presented to

37 Compare:—"The judges of these Courts are also to be vested with the powers of Magistrates to preserve the peace and to apprehend and commit offenders, take their trials before the Courts of Circuits."—Ross, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 562.

you from divisions that have been or may be passed in the Dewanny Adawlut of the City of Patna, provided that all such appeals be presented within three months after the date of the decision, and that the party appealing shall give security for the costs of appeal, and for the performance of such order or decree as the Provincial Court of appeal may pass. The amount of this security is to be fixed by you at such sum as you may think proper upon a reference to the annual produce, amount or value of the property decreed but is in no case to exceed five hundred rupees.

His Lordship in Council desires that you will as soon after the receipt of this letter as may be practicable transmit to him a table of such fees as you recommend be allowed to the Vakeels who are to be appointed to plead the causes of suitors in your court."

Letter from G. H. Barlow to H. Douglas, dated 24th June, 1793.

S. Under the new Regulation fees "hitherto levied for the Register and native officers be discontinued immediately."

Letter from G. H. Barlow to H. Douglas, dated 24th June, 1793.

T. Liquidation of Bonds:—

"I request you will be pleased to obtain and transmit to me the sworn replies of some of the principal and most respectable Bankers of Patna to the accompanying questions respecting the usage prevailing among them in cases where persons, after executing bonds object to the liquidation therefore under the pretence that the amount specified in the instruments in question was never paid to them or on their behalf. The question arising out of this objection, is whether a plaintiff sueing for the recovery of a bonded debt, be bound to prove the mere execution only of the bond on which he sues or whether he be also bound to prove the delivery of the amount specified therein."

Letter from A. Seton, Judge of Behar to H. Douglas, Judge of Patna, dated Gaya, the 20th September, 1793.

U. "The Deputy Accountant General is to perform the duties of accountant to the judicial department and to correspond immediately with the Governor-General in Council in that department.

You are to tranmit your monthly cash account, accompained by the vouchers hereafter specified to the Deputy Accountant General."

Letter from G. H. Barlow to H. Douglas, dated 18th October, 1793.

V. Imamuddin appointed Cauzy (Kazi) in the city of Patna; Mr. John Adam appointed assistant in the office of the Registrar and second assistant to the Magistrate of the city of Patna.

W. Punishment for castration:—

Letter from J. H. Harrington, Registrar, Court of Nizamat Adawlut, Fort William, to Henry Douglas, dated 27th April, 1796.

X. Equality of Justice:—

"In framing regulations for the administration of Justice, the very object of them requires that they should be equally applicable to all and no exceptions should be made in favour of any one without the most urgent reasons. An Indulgence conceded to one would be claimed by many, and if admitted, would be an impediment to the due execution of the laws and be even in itself an act of injustice, because injurious to those to whom the Indulgence should be denied. I hope therefore you will see propriety of my declining to comply with your request to be exonerated from the forms of the Court and from giving security."

Letter from N. B. Edmmotrue to Coonwar Dowlat Sing, dated 16th June, 1797, annexed to a letter from Mr. N. B. Edmmortrue to H. Douglas, dated 20th June, 1797.

Y. Use of Stamps on papers and payment of Court fees.[38]

(1) "I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of the Deputy Register's Letter of the 9th instant and to desire you will inform the Suddar Dewanny Adawlut in reply to the first question proposed therein that the Governor-General in Council is of opinion that all Plaints presented in the first instance to any Zillah or City Court must under section 17 of Regulation 6, 1797, be written on stamped paper, whether the causes be referable to the native Commissioners or otherwise, and that this was the intention of Government in framing the Regulation. The Governor-General in Council thinks it necessary to desire at the same time, that after the cause shall have been referred to the Commissioners in their capacities of referees or arbitrators the Pleadings or Papers subsequently submitted to them are not required to be written in stamped

38 Harington, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 157-58.

Paper, the Courts to which the rules in section 17 apply as particularly enunciated therein."

Extract from a letter from the Sub. Secretary to the Judicial Department dated the 25th of August, 1797 annexed to a letter from Mr. Stuart, Deputy Registrar, Sadar Dewanny Adawlut to H. Douglas, dated 6th September, 1797.

(2) "I am directed by the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut to acquaint you that the copies of Decrees to be transmitted to the Board of Revenue and Collectors under section 9 of Regulation 4, 1793, Section 2 of Regulation 45, 1793, and section 3 of Regulation 58, 1795, are to be written on stamped paper as required by section 18 of Regulation 6, 1797, and that the Governor-General in Council has authorised the stamp duty payable on such copies to be charged to the account of Government."

Letter from Mr. Stuart to H. Douglas, dated Fort William, 27th September, 1797.

(3) "I beg leave to submit the following querries to the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, respecting the Stamp Papers, and request to be honoured with their orders thereon.

2nd.—First, aught a Vakalatnamah which has not the Cauzie's Seal and signature to it, to be Drawn out on Stamp Paper, or is only the fee on it, as an Exhibit to be collected.

3rd.—Second, Are the parties in a suit obliged to receive copies of the Petition, answer and Replication, in order to Reply thereto, from the Court on Stamp Paper? It is not expressly mentioned in section 5 of Regulation V of 1793 that such copies are to be furnished by the Court, and unless the parties are strictly enjoined to receive copies of them from the Court, they will probably furnish each other with copies, in order to evade the Stamp Duty.

4th.—By Section XXVI of Regulation IV of 1793 a copy of the Decree is directed to be delivered to each party or their Vakeels. But it very often happens that the party against whom the Decree is passed goes away, unless he means to appeal it, without taking the copy of the Decree, and when a Razeenamah is delivered in, or when the suit is settled amicably by the Parties, or a Kistbundy signed, and presented to the Judge, or Register, to be attested with their official signature, neither of the parties think of taking a copy of the Decree. If therefore copies of all Decrees were invariably to be drawn out for the parties,

there would be a very great expenditure of Stamp Paper for no purpose, unless the Parties were compelled to take out copies of every Decree, and pay the stamp Duties thereon. I therefore beg leave to recommend that copies of Decrees be made out in future on the written application of the parties themselves or their Vakeels, and a Book might be left in the Cutcherry for them to notify their wish, and it would also be a check against their assertions to the Court of appeals, of which I have had one or two late instances, Viz. "that they applied Court for a copy of the Decree but did not receive it" whereas by reference to such of a Book, the truth or falsity of their assertion would easily be known.

5th.—I presume it is meant that one side only of the Stamp paper is to be used for transacting or drawing out Petitions, Derkhausts etc. or may both sides be used for that purpose."

Letter from Jas. Spottiswood, Judge of Zillah Adawlut, Burdwan, to J. H. Harrington, Registrar to the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, dated 4th October, 1797.

(4) The Court gave the following answers to the questions:—

"The Court are of opinion that Vakalatnamahs are not required by any part of Regulation 6, 1797, to be on stampt paper, unless attested by the Cauzy, as provided in section 16 of the above Regulation, and consequently that when delivered, without such attestation (as supposed in the Judge's question on this head) they can only be made subject to the fee on exhibits prescribed in section 5 of the above Regulation.

Second. The Court are of opinion that as the parties are not required by any Regulation to take copies of the Petition, Answer or Replication, for the purpose of replying thereto, they should not be compelled to take such copies on stampt paper, but if instead of furnishing each other with copies or making copies themselves from Records of the Court, they should apply to the Court to be furnished with copies, such copies must be furnished on stampt paper and the Duty paid thereon as prescribed by section 16 of Regulation 6, 1793.

Third. As by section 26 of Regulation 4, 1793 copies of all decrees are ordered to be prepared, and delivered or tendered to the Parties, the Court are of opinion that the Stamp Duty on all Decrees so prepared and tendered should be levied from the parties, although they may not attend to take out the Decree, or decline receiving it though in attendance. But as the Judge has referred to cases wherein a Razenamah

may be delivered, or the suit be in other manner amicably adjusted by the parties the Court think it proper to notice to him, that if such Razenamah, or adjustment be antecedent to the decision of the suit, an order for discontinuing all further Proceedings upon the case with such Provisions as the Regulations direct, respecting Vakeels fees and costs would in most, if not all, cases be sufficient; and any Decree upon the merits of the case, such as is referred to in section 26 of Regulation 4, 1793 being pretended by the private adjustment of the Parties, the provisions in that section would not, of course be applicable.

Fourth. Under Section 23 of Regulation 6, 1797, the Court are of opinion that all stampt paper used for the purposes therein mentioned should be written as usual upon one side only and that any papers written otherwise, unless shewn to be according to established usage should be liable to a double duty or such other Penalty, as may appear proper under the Provisions made in the above Regulation."

True copy annexed to a letter from C. Keating, Judge, Court of Appeal, dated Patna, 10th November, 1797, to H. Douglas.

(5) "I have received a Persian Translate of Regulation 10th, 1797 but no English copy unless I mistake the said Translate the draft paper is required to be used in cases determinable by the Magistrate in conformity to section the 12th Regulation the 22nd, 1793. I request to be informed what is to be done, if a complainant exaggerate and misrepresent the Fact so as to make it impossible till the Investigation be over to pronounce whether it be a case cognizable by the Magistrate or not. This is the common practice here, to invite instant attention."

Letter from J. Stonhouse, Magistrate of Zillah Chittagong, to J. H. Harrington, Registrar to the Nizamat Adawlut, dated 10th October, 1797.

(6) Decision of the Court of Nizamut Adawlut:—

"The Court are of opinion that if any Person for the purpose of evading the Stamp duty prescribed by Section 6 of Regulation 10, 1797 or, (as stated by the Magistrate of Chittagong to be a common practice in that district) with a view to excite the immediate attention of the Magistrate shall exaggerate or misrepresent matters of complaint which on examination may prove to be within the description of petty offences mentioned in section 8 of Regulation 9, 1793 and which therefore ought to have been preferred

on stampt paper conformably to section 6 of Regulation 10, 1797, in such cases, as in all other cases were it may clearly appear that the complaint ought to have been preferred on stampt paper, according to the above section, and has intentionally been not so preferred, the Magistrates, who are restricted by the above Regulation from hearing the complaints therein specified if the same be not written on stampt paper, are authorised to dismiss such complaints when not so written with costs according to the circumstances of the case, and to direct the Plaintiffs to prefer their complaints anew on stampt paper as required by the above Regulation. This mode of proceeding the Court are aware may for a time occasion some additional trouble to the Magistrates by the rehearing of complaints partially or perhaps fully investigated, but the Court are of opinion that it will in the end save them both time and trouble, by the due enforcement of the stamp duty declaredly intended to discourage the numerous petty complaints preferred from litigous or other improper motives, as well as by checking the prevalent disposition to exaggerate or misrepresent matters of a trivial nature for the purpose of exciting immediate and undue attention to them.

Extract from the Proceedings of the Nizamat Adawlut on the 1st November, 1797, annexed to a letter from C. Keating to H. Douglas, dated 13th November, 1797.

(7) "The Judge of Zillah Rajesahy having submitted to the Court of Sudder Dewanny Adawlut whether under Regulation 6, 1797, petitions presented to the Judge for the recovery of arrears of Rent or Revenue as prescribed by section 11 Regulation 35, 1795, on the arrear of the defaulters to the demand, are to be drawn out on stampt Paper; also whether petitions complaining of dispossession of land or crops, as specified in section 3 Regulation 49, 1793, are to be written on stampt paper, the Court have been pleased to answer the Judge, that they consider all petitions of plaint preferred to the Civil Courts with the answers to them to be within the meaning and intention of section 17 of Regulation 6, 1797, and to prevent similar references they have directed me to communicate to you their instructions to the said Judge for your information and guidance."

Letter from J. Stuart, Deputy Registrar, Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, to H. Douglas, dated 22nd November, 1797.

(8) "I am directed to acquaint you for your information and guid-

ance that certain questions having been stated to the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut on the construction of the 4th and 5th clauses of the section 17 Regulation 6th 1797 the Court after mature deliberation of the said clauses consider the rates of stamp duty specified in the two clauses abovementioned to be applicable to suits appealable and not appealable to this Court under the existing Regulations, (Viz. 2 Rupees for the former and 1 Rupee for the latter), whatever may be the standard fixed for appeals to this Court, and consequently, that under the limitation of appeals to this Court in suits for personal property contained in Regulation 12, 1797, the stamp duty of 1 Rupee only is demandable in the cases declared not to be appealable to this Court in section 2 of that Regulation."

Letter from J. Stuart, Dy. Registrar, Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, to Henry Douglas, Judge of the City of Patna, dated the 21st of February, 1798.

(9) "I am directed by the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut to inform you for your guidance, that the Court on certain questions, stated to them relative to the construction of Regulation 6 of 1797, have been induced to consider Vakalatnamahs liable to the fees, are exhibits prescribed in section 5 of the Regulation in question, both as not being within the exception contained in that Section, and as being exhibited by the parties in civil causes in evidence of a fact relating thereto; viz. the appointment of pleaders in such causes, and that under the same construction of the Regulation the Court consider all Documents delivered by the parties in proof of any matter relative to their cause, as within the description of exhibits on which fees are required to be paid, excepting the pleadings of the parties, which are declared to be exempted from the fees in question, the intention of which exemption although the plaint, answer, reply and rejoinder only are expressly excepted, the Court consider to include all Supplementary pleading of the same descriptions, as well as all petitions of whatever nature which may be delivered by the parties or their Vakeels in the course of trial, and which being required to be written on stampt paper are liable to the payment of the stamp duty prescribed in the 17th section of the Regulation aforesaid—that the Court having communicated the foregoing construction of the Regulation in question to the Vice-President in Council he has been pleased to express his entire concurrence in it.

I am directed to add for your further information and guidance that on another reference to the Vice-President in Council on the construction of Regulation 6, 1797, he has been pleased to inform them, that it was not the intention of Government to comprehend bail bonds and security bonds in the general description of bonds referred to Section 21 of that Regulation and that consequently these descriptions of bonds are not required to be written on stampt paper, but will be liable as exhibits to the fees prescribed in Section 5 of the Regulation."

Circular from J. Stuart, Deputy Registrar, Sudder Dowanny Adawlut, dated the 14th February, 1798, to H. Douglas, Judge of the City of Patna.

POLICE[39]

A. "The Darogah of the late Naib Nazim having been required, when the change of system in the Fouzdary Department took place, to deliver over the records of their offices to the several magistrates."

Extract of letter from the Nizamat Adawlut to Mr. G. A. Grant, Magistrate of Bhagalpur, enclosed in a letter from the latter to Henry Douglas, Magistrate of Patna, dated 21st January, 1793.

B. "First, you will divide the city of Patna and the places adjacent which are subject to your authority into ward, or jurisdictions and appoint a Darogah to superintendent the Police of each Ward.

Second, you will direct the Darogahs to report every morning to the Cutwal the occurrence of the night, and to bring before him any thieves, or robbers or persons charged with or suspected of criminal offences whom they may have apprehended the preceding night. The Cutwals are to carry persons so apprehended before you without delay.

Third, you will appoint a Mohullahdun and Mohulladarin to each ward with directions to give notice to the Darogah of the ward of any robbers or offenders who may be concealed or have taken up their residence in their respective Wards.

Fourth, you will state what addition to your present establishment of officers will be necessary for guarding the different Wards effectually and

39 Field, *op. cit.*, pp. 188-89; Harington, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 510-13; Ross, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 205, 550.

you are to assess the amount upon the merchants, Traders and Shopkeepers, residing in each Ward, consulting with some of the principal among them as to the best mode of raising the sum required.

Fifth, previous however to levying the assessment directed in the preceding articles you are to report the amount required to be raised in each ward with the mode in which you would recommend it to be leived for the approbation of the Governor-General in Council.

Sixth, the collection of the sum which may be assessed upon each ward is to be committed to one of the principal merchants residing therein.

Seventh, as soon as you shall have divided the city and the places adjacent into wards or jurisdictions directed in the 1st article and the Governor-General in Council shall have determined upon the establishment to be entertained and the assessment to be levied, you are to transmit the particulars thereof in the following form:

Statement of the Police Establishement for the protection of the city of

Names of the mahallas or Wards	Extent of each Ward	Names of the Darogahs	Establishment of the officers in Ward			Expense of the establishment of each Ward
			Darogah	Peon and Burkandoss	Muhalladar & Muhalladareen	

Statement of the sums raised on the Merchants, Traders and Shopkeepers in the city for defraying the charges of the Police.

Names of the jurisdiction or ward	Names of the Merchant or Shopkeeper to whom the collection of the tax is committed	Amount levied in each ward	Explanation of the manner in which the money is collected by what descriptions of persons paid the rate of the assessment

Letter from G. H. Barlow, Sub. Secy. to H. Douglas, acting Magistrate of the City of Patna, dated 7th December, 1792.

C. "The Court enjoin you to be particularly attentive to the conduct of the Darogahs of Police, and upon the office of Darogah in any jurisdiction becoming vacant, to be careful to select a person duly qualified for the trust to fill the vacancy."

Letter from G. H. Barlow, Registrar, Court of Nizamat Adawlut, Fort William, dated 23rd April 1795, to H. Douglas.

D. "The object of the appointment of the Cutwals and Darogahs of Police, in the Cities and Zillahs being chiefly to prevent robberies, murders and other enormities affecting the security of the lives and property of individuals and representations having been made to the Court that the authority vested in these officers of taking cognizance of the complaints on which the Magistrate is empowered to decide, affords them an opportunity of interfering in all petty disputes and private differences between individuals, and is often perverted by them to the purposes of extortion, or oppression, without being productive of any adequate advantage to the people at large, as in general the complaints are of a nature which must render it more advantageous for both parties that they should be dropped altogether, or amicably adjusted, and where there are of a different description, the party injured if determined to prosecute them, can always have recourse to the Magistrate, the Court wish for your opinion how far it would be expedient to deprive the Cutwals and Darogahs of Police, in the cities and Zillahs of the power of taking cognizance of or interfering in any shape whatever, (excepting for the apprehension of the Defendants, or serving warrants on them by special orders from the Magistrates) in, any complaints, theft excepted, on which the Magistrates are empowered to decide and to restrict their authority to receiving charges for theft, and for murder, robbery, or other enormities which the Magistrates are required to refer, for trial to the Courts of Circuit.

Letter from G. H. Barlow, Registrar, Nizamat Adawlut, Calcutta, to H. Douglas, dated 29th July, 1795.

E. "It appearing to be a general Practice with the Police Darogahs, on apprehending Prisoners, to take their written confessions or answer to the charges against them, and also the Depositions of Witnesses neither of which they are authorised to take by the Regulations, but on the contrary by section 11 of Regulation 9, 1793 they are expressly restricted from making any enquiry with regard to persons charged with Crimes and Misdemeanours their Duty respecting whom is declared to be confined to apprehending and sending them under safe custody to the Magistrates or taking security for their appearance before them. We have therefore to call your attention to this Regulation and require that you enjoin and enforce a strict obedience thereto, by all the

Darogahs and officers of Police, throughout your Division in future."

Letter from the Court of Circuit, Patna, to H. Douglas, dated 24th March, 1796.

(F) "We have to request your serious consideration of the measure hereunder proposed, and that you will furnish us as early as possible with your opinion and sentiments thereon in order to the same being transmitted to the Court of Nizamat Adawlut

Common attention on the part of the Magistrates can at all times restrain the Police Darogahs from the Commission of Enormous oppressions on the Inhabitants of their jurisdiction, but while the Darogahs continue vested with authority to receive complaints and admit compromises in petty matters, a great opportunity is let to them of exercising petty extortion, particularly when the length of a Darogah's Residence in the same station, has given him a kind of confirmed authority over the neighbourhood and the Distance of his Thannah from the Magistrate's Cutchery renders the Trouble of complaining against him more an object than the Redress which could be obtained by complaining, with a view to guard against the possibility of this Inconvenience, I would propose, that the Darogahs be exchanged from one Thannah to another within the same Zillah either at fixed periods, or occasionally by permission of the Nizamat Adawlut, obtained on application from the Magistrates."

Letter from C. Keating, B. Grindwall, M. Leslie. Dated Patna, Court of Circuit, the 6th of August, 1796.

NOTE

Under Mughal rule and for many years after the Company had received the Dewani, the Zamindars were entrusted with the task of maintaining and enforcing peace and order throughout the country. This system gradually lost its efficacy and fell into decay and disorder; "in many instances robberies and other breaches of the peace, were found to be promoted by collusion between the perpetrators of them."[40] During the administration of Lord Cornwallis maintenance of peace and order engaged serious attention of the Company's Government. Lord Cornwallis wrote to the Court of Directors on 3rd March, 1788:—"You

40 Harington, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 510.

will receive with a letter on the subject from the Board, the draft of an Act of Parliament for giving this Government more extensive powers to enforce good order in the police of this country. As the credit of your Government and the interests of humanity and justice call loudly for the measures I am persuaded that you will be inclined to give it your utmost support and assistance, and it will no doubt give you satisfaction to know, that the principles of those propositions have been examined and discussed with great deliberation at several meetings of the Members of Government and Judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature and that in the adjustment of every point, there was the most perfect unanimity."[41] A new system of police was therefore established on the 7th of December, 1792; these rules with certain amendments were re-enacted in Regulation XXII of 1793.[42] By Section II of this Regulation, "the police of the country was declared to be under the exclusive charge of the officers who might be appointed to the superintendence of it on the part of Government; and the landholders and farmers of land, who were before bound to keep establishments of police officers for the preservation of the peace, were required to discharge them, and prohibited from entertaining such establishments in future."[43] The whole country was divided into districts of above twenty miles square. Each was placed under a Darogah with a body of armed men, appointed by the Magistrate of the Zillah. The Darogah was empowered to accept bail in certain cases and to decide some petty offences, but as a general rule, he had to send all prisoners to the Magistrates. The pasbans, pykes and other village guards were placed under the Darogah's authority, though the zamindars could fill up the vacancies caused in their numbers. In large towns like Dacca, Murshidabad and Patna, a similar plan was followed with changes caused by the difference between rural and urban populations.

JAIL[44]

A. Letters from J. Stuart, Deputy Registrar to the Nizamat Adawlut, Fort William, dated 15th May, 1795, to H. Douglas informing him "that the inscription directed by the Court in their orders of the

41 Ross, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 340.
42 Field, *op. cit.*, p. 10; Harington, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 510. 43 *Ibid.*
44 Harington, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 448-58.

23rd ultimo, to be made on the backs of all persons who now are or may be sentenced to imprisonment for life, is to be made on the foreheads of all persons of the above description."

B. Tobacco smoking in Jails:—

"Prejudicial consequences being likely to arise to the prisoners from their being deprived of the use of Tobacco, agreeable to the orders passed on the 23rd April, 1795, you are hereby authorised to allow the use of it to the Prisoners confined in your Jail from the date of the receipt of this letter."

Letter from C. Keating, B. Grindwall, M. Leslie, Judges of the Court of Circuit, Patna, to H. Douglas, dated 1st December, 1795.

C. "The Court of Nizamat Adawlut having ascertained from their Law officers that the employment of all convicts, sentenced to imprisonment in the repair of the Publik Roads, or in other similar publik works is consistent with the Mahomedan law, and being of opinion that such employment must be salutary to the prisoners, they have thought proper to resolve that all prisoners of the description above-mentioned shall be so employed, with exception to any persons who may be incapable of bodily labour from age, sickness or other infirmity and they desire you will issue the necessary orders to the several Magistrates within your Division."

Letter from J. A. Stuart, Deputy Registrar, Court of Nizamat Adawlut, Fort William to C. Keating, B. Grindwall, M. Leslie, Judges of the Court of Circuit for the Division of Patna, dated 6th April, 1796.

(2) "I am directed by the Nizamat Adawlut to desire that in future none of the Prisoners in your Jail, who now are or may be sentenced, to be confined for life or for a term of seven years or upwards, are to be allowed to dress their own victuals. The victuals of all such persons, who may be Hindoos, are to be dressed by a Brahmin cook, and the victuals of such as are Mahomedans, by a Mahomedan cook.

ii. You are not to allow any Prisoners who now are or may be confined under sentence, whatever may be the term of their confinement, to smoke.

iii. You are to be particularly careful also that liquors or intoxicating drugs are not introduced into the Jails.

iv. At every Jail delivery, you are to cause a written proclamation

to be prepared, notifying that all persons who may be sentenced to be confined for life or for a term of seven years or upwards, for Murder, Dacoiting, Robbing, or Plundering, or burning houses or property, will be liable to be sentenced by the Nizamat Adawlut to be transported to the Andamans, or some other place beyond the Seas. You will cause this proclamation to be read and fixed up in your Cutchery and transmit a copy of it to each Darogah of Police to be fixed up in his Cutchery.

v. To facilitate the apprehension of prisoners confined for life, who may make their escape from Jail, you are to have inscribed on the back of all Prisoners who now are or may be sentenced to confinement for life, their name, the crime for which they may have been convicted as murder, dacoiting etc., the date of the sentence and the name of the Division by the Court of which it may have been passed. This inscription is to be made by the process by which the Hindoo women ornament their faces, which in the Hindowee Language is termed Godena and which leaves a blue mark that cannot be effaced without tearing off the skin."

Letter from G. H. Barlow, Registrar, Court of the Nizamat Adawlut, Fort William, dated 23rd April, 1796, to H. Douglas.

(4) "I am directed by the Nizamat Adawlut to inform you that the Court have thought proper to repeat their orders of the 23rd April, 1795, restricting the Zillah and City Magistrates from allowing Prisoners confined for life or for seven years and upwards to dress their own victuals, and desire that you will in consequence discontinue such restraint and discharge any works entertained by you for dressing the Provisions of the prisoners above-mentioned."

Letter from J. A. Stuart, Deputy Registrar, Court of Nizamat Adawlut, Calcutta, to Henry Douglas, Magistrate of Patna, dated 6th July, 1796.

"The Nizamat Adawlut have directed us to instruct the several Magistrates within our Division in case any convicts now or hereafter sentenced to imprisonment should from the rank and situation of Life or otherwise appear to them an improper object to be employed on the Public Roads, or other similar works agreeably to the said order (i.e. of 6th April) to report the same with the circumstance of the case for the special orders of the Court, and in the meantime to suspend the execution of the former order."

Letter from C. Keating and M. Leslie to Henry Douglas, dated Patna, 22nd August, 1796.

(5) "Herewith you will receive a copy of an extract from resolutions of the Governor General in Council, containing his observations respecting the employment of convicts sentenced to imprisonment, and you are required to communicate your opinion on the subject to this court on or before the 15th of February next ensuing."

Letter from C. Keating and S. L. Leslie, Judges of the Court of Circuit, dated Patna, the 24th January, 1798, to Henry Douglas Esquire, Magistrate of the City of Patna.

Observations:—"The Vice-President in Council adverting to the circumstances represented by the Magistrate of Hooghly, observes, that there appears great reason to apprehend generally that the convicts cannot be employed at any considerable distance from the station of the Magistrate without great inconvenience, and an expense which their labour can by no means compensate. Whenever they are removed any distance from the Jail a very large guard becomes necessary to prevent their escape; temporary buildings must be erected for their accommodation and various other incidental charges occur which in the aggregate greatly exceed the expense which Government would incur if the work performed by them were executed by hired labourers. It is at the same time impossible always to prevent the escape of the convicts, as many opportunities must necessarily occur as removing them from place to place and a further expense is in consequence not infrequently incurred by Government in paying rewards for their reapprehension. It is however of the greatest importance that the sentences of the Criminal Courts should not become inefficient, merely from the want of proper means of employing the convicts, whose labour, properly applied, might in a great measure, if not entirely, provide for the expense of their maintenance. The punishment of hard labour ought at the same time to be very rigidly enforced, not only as it may operate in a very salutary manner by the example which will be constantly exhibited to the public, but as it tends to the preservation of the health of the convicts, and by inducing habits of industry, may enable those whose sentences are for a limited term of years, to provide for their own subsistence when released from confinement and thus prevent them from again recurring to their former habits of life, so injurious to the peace of the community. The Vice-President in Council is therefore extremely anxious that some general plan should

be devised for employing the convicts in a manner more beneficial to the public and less liable to the objections above-noticed. He accordingly resolves that the subject be recommended to the particular consideration of the Nizamat Adawlut and that they be requested to call upon the different courts of Circuits as well the Zillah and City Magistrate for their opinions with respect to any general plan which may appear to them practicable, and at the same time likely to accomplish the object proposed."

Extract from the proceedings of the Vice-President in Council in the Judicial Dept. (signed by J. H. Harrington) under date the 5th January, 1798.

6. "The Court of Nizamat Adawlut having had before them a report from the 3rd Judge of the Patna Court of Circuit on the conclusion of his late Circuit, direct me to express their satisfaction at the cleanliness of the Jail at your station, and of your attention to the good treatment of the prisoners, which will be further communicated to the Governor General in Council."

Letter from Daniel Seton, A. D. R. Niz. Adt., to H. Douglas, dated 12th July, 1798

7. "The Court of Nizamat Adawlut considering the frequent escape of convicts whilst employed on the Roads or in other places out of Jail, under the custody of a single Sepoy or Burkundauz, have thought it proper to prohibit the employment of any convicts, out of Jail under the custody of a single guard, and direct that the convicts under your charge be on all occasions employed, as far as possible, collectively under the Guard of as many Sepoys and Burkundazes as can be spared from other duties for the purposes."

Letter from J. H. Harrington to H. Douglas, dated 14th November, 1798.

MILITARY

A. Extract from the Proceedings of the Governor-General in Council in the Military Department on the 26th of May 1790 regarding the Sepoy's dress:

"All persons, European and natives, within the Company's provinces which includes the district of Benares, (excepting the Vakeels from the native powers) are positively forbid to dress any of

their servants, either for the purpose of parade or of business, in the uniform of the Hon'ble Company's Sepoys and Laskars, or in a dress so nearly approaching to that uniform as to enable the persons wearing it to impose themselves on the country people for Sepoys and Laskars."

A copy of these Regulations was sent to G. F. Grand, Judge and Magistrate of the city of Patna on 26th May, 1790.

B. Letter from Brigadier Major Whinayates, dated Dinapore, 14th September, 1790, to Mr. Grand, regarding William Haynes, a private soldier of the 6th Battalion, who had deserted the station on the 12th of September.

C. Letter from J. Sombelle, Sub. Secretary to Government, to Lieutenant Colonel Murray, Adjutant General, dated 6th of May, 1791, "carrying orders of the Board regarding a murder committed on 25th of March last in an affray between some of the soldiers belonging to the Dinapore station and the inhabitants of the village of Shekarpore."

D. Letter from Captain H. Vincent, Captain commanding 35th Battalion Sepoys from his camp at Jaffarkawn's (Jafar Khan's) Gardens, to the east of Patna city, to H. Douglas, Magistrate of Patna, dated 3rd February, 1793, soliciting the latter's permission for marching through the city of Patna to the station of Dinapore.

E. Extract from the Resolutions passed by the Governor-General in Council on 17th of May, 1793 for regulating the distribution of the additional donation of six month's batta granted by the Hon'ble Court of Directors to the Army that served in the late war:—Distinct abstracts or lists are to be made out according to the returns for each corps discriminating the shares as follows.

5th.—Lists of the natives entitled to this Donation who have taken their discharges with Abstracts.

6th.—Lists of persons who have deserted or have been dismised the service since the 1st of February, 1792 with abstracts.

10. The claims of the persons mentioned in the list of the 5th description are not to be admitted until they shall have been identified by certificates from the adjutants of the corps or from the European officers who demanded the Companies in which they served countersigned by the commanding officers of the corps testifying that the persons named and described in those certificates were present with their corps

in Mysore above the Ghauts on the 1st February 1792 the Rank they then held and when they were discharged.

16. European or native officers or soldiers in India entitled to shares of the said donation shall forfeit the same unless they shall be claimed within six months from the date thereof, but as the commandants of native corps or companies are allowed to draw for the officers and soldiers of their Battallions or companies absent under the general orders of the 23rd January last those commandants are to be responsible to the absentees for their respective shares.

18. No officer or soldier in Bengal belonging to corps serving under other Presidencies shall be allowed to draw for his share in Bengal without producing a certificate from the Paymaster General of the Presidency under which his corps is serving that it has not been paid from any of the departments of that Presidency and it will be recommended to the subordinate governments that after such certificate shall have been granted the person to whom it was given shall not be paid by any of the Departments belonging to their Presidency.

19. Persons who belonged to corps on the establishments of their Presidencies on the 1st of February 1792 who have been received into any corps on this establishment are not to be drawn for until it shall be ascertained that they have not been enclosed in the abstracts of the corps to which they belonged on the said day.

21. Lists of the men who were severely wounded in the late war and who are permitted by general orders dated the 7th of July 1792 to reside where they please are to be prepared by the adjutant at Mongheer by whom the shares of the survivors are to be drawn and paid and he is to make a written Report to the Commander-in-chief through the Adjutant General of the payment of these men.

This is annexed to a letter from J. Sombelle to H. Douglas, dated Fort William, 17 May, 1793.

Case of Captain Fleming:—

(1) "I am directed by the Governor General in Council to inform you, the permission formerly granted to Mr. Robert Fleming (of the 6th European Battalion) to remain at Bankipur has been extended to the end of December, at which period he is positively required to repair the

Presidency, and in the event of his failure you are to proceed against him in the manner already prescribed."

Letter from V. Thornhill, Military Department, Fort William, to H. Douglas, dated 23rd November, 1795.

(2) "I am favoured with your letter of this date. In reply to which I beg leave to acquaint you that my not preceeding to the Presidency in obedience to the orders you mention has been occasioned by a want of means to bear any expenses and not from any contempt of authority, and I likewise beg to inform you that the same cause operates to the prevention of my voluntary going down by the time you prescribe. I beg leave to acquaint also that I have an Infant Family from whom, with life I am determined not to be separated."

Letter from Robert Fleming, dated Bankipore, 17th January 1796, to H. Douglas.

(3) "it is not my intention to resist orders of Government respecting your sending me per force to the Presidency, let the mode of executing those orders be what they may, provided my Family are permitted to accompany me, otherwise I beg leave to repeat, that from them with life I am determined not to be separated, until I can make some provision for them, which at present is out of my power; to be proceeding voluntarily, I really cannot, as I am very much indebted to the Bazar people of this place, for mere means of subsistence, and to leave this without satisfying their demands, unless I am compelled forcibly to do so, I cannot reconcile it with my ideas of Justice."

Letter from same to same, dated 11th January, 1796.

(4) "..... I have received your both letters of this date, the first informing me that, you had procured and sent me a Budgerow and that you expected I would have this tomorrow morning; the second in answer to mine, of this day, respecting my expenses on the way to Calcutta. To which letters I thus reply, 1st that it will be out of my power to proceed by tomorrow Morning, as I have not made, nor could not make any preparation for the reasons assigned in my first letter of today but that as soon as I can make this necessary preparation by laying in a sufficient stock of provisions I shall depart in the Boat prepared for me. 2ndly, there being no remedy, I shall of course receive, on the part

of Government, however, inadequate, the sum of 30 Rs. for which when you are pleased to send them, I shall give a Receipt."

Letter from same to same, dated 24th January, 1796.

(5) "I beg leave to be informed whether you purpose to force me from hence or not, as the furthest period which you allowed me to prepare for that purpose is expired. I also request to know, whether you are empowered to defray my necessary expenses on the way, as I must now inform you, that I have not the means."

Letter from same to same, dated 24th January, 1796

(6) "I have received your letter, and now beg leave to acquaint you that in about an hour after I wrote you all the people of the Boat assembled on Board, when I instantly left off in prosecution of my passage to the Presidency."

Letter from same to same, on the River, Thursday Evening, 26th January, 1796

KALIKINKAR DATTA

Cults and Cult-acts of Kerala

(*Man-Cult and Tree-Cult*)

Early man as he gradually emerged into a thinking animal found himself completely shrouded in mystery. His birth was a mystery, his life a mystery, his death also a mystery. The star spangled heavens, the brilliant life-giving sun, the delightful moon, the variegated fauna and flora, the configuration of the Earth, the ever recurring seasons—all these only served to make the mystery of this universe more mysterious. This oppressive, rather oppressing, sense of mystery led to the awakening of his latent powers, and in his attempts to fathom the mysteries that shrouded him he was led in due course to postulate the invisible existence of a being or beings who ruled over all this earth, a postulate that has not yet changed fundamentally in spite of our vaunted achievements in the varied fields of knowledge. That, to a great measure, helped him to solve the mystery that ever seemed to shroud him and his universe.

The postulation of a higher creature, which is more or less in imitation of himself, only superior to him in every respect, led to that being treated with fear and awe, with reverence and respect, and later with love and devotion; and this naturally was followed by acts of worship to allay his anger, to honour him to gain his help, or to worship him as a matter of duty, or service.

When a particular type of idea or conception materialises itself in the shaping of what may be termed a God and when specific acts of worship are conducted in his honour, then we have a cult. A cult necessarily presupposes a cult-act. The cults and cult-acts current in Kerala are so many and so varied that we are forced at the outset to delimit our scope of inquiry, all the more so because the field is yet untrod. We propose to consider here primarily the main cults of tangible objects, of spirits and of symbols. Under the first of these varieties we have the worship of living beings, of trees and plants and of inanimate nature. Under the second, we have the worship of good spirits, bad spirits and the spirit of dead men. The most important under the third variety is the worship of *Bhagavati* who is conceived in manifold forms. Thus we have man cult, animal cult, tree cult, stone cult, spirit cult, demon

cult, ancestor cult and *Bhagavatī* cult. And our consideration must, for the time being, be limited to a consideration of the major features of these various cults. These cults, as a matter of fact, almost sum up, but do not exhaust, all the more favourite cults of the Malayalis from the untutored denizen of the hills to the most cultured Brahmin. They also extend by their ramifications through all the various conceptions of religion and magic from the primitive forms of animism, totemism, fetishism, and demonolatry to the highest conceptual abstraction of the supreme being as expressed in *Parabrahma* or *Śakti*, which is even to-day exercising the minds of great philosophers.

All these primitive cults have profoundly influenced our Hindu cult-acts, for there is no such act now practised which is not characterised by some *Mantric* or *Tantric* rituals. As a matter of fact, if we may separate from the popularly called Hindu cult-acts all the elements savouring of the primitive, or if I may use the word, Dravidan and the pre-Dravidan, ideas and conceptions, they will become little better than conceptual rituals, more or less similar to the absolutely simple code of *Vedic* rituals. And this fact makes the present study a subject of more than ordinary interest to the students of Hindu Religion.

What exactly is meant by a cult-act? By this term we understand an act of worship made by the worshipper to a deity whom he conceives as immensely superior to himself. There are so many varieties of cult-acts which may broadly be classified under the four heads of the mental act, the vocal act, the physical act and the oblational act, according as the one or the other predominates in any act of worship. Thus to think absorbedly over the deity, i.e., *Dhyāna*, constitutes the mental act. The singing of hymns glorifying the deity comes under the second type, while prostrating before the deity, or circumambulating it, may be characterised as a physical act. The last consists in the offering of oblations to the deity in the shape of food, and drink, accompained by *Tantric* acts and chanting of hymns and by showing a lighted wick before the deity, the food or drink offered being whatever constituted our own favourite food or drink. Each of these acts would have elements of the other three also in it; but only one element will be predominant. When all these items are fully represented and co-ordinated in a single act of worship, then we have a ritual; and when a particular cult ascends to

this sphere, we can easily see in it an intellectual, an emotional and a physical element, all harmoniously blended.

A cult-act, as mentioned before, is thus an act of worship offered to a higher power who is admittedly superior to the worshipper in every respect. Consequently, when he stands before the deity he is worshipping, he does not and cannot forget that he is standing before a superior being. In other words, in all acts of worship, there is an implied assumption of the deity's superiority. The deity is great and powerful to him, and with this basic conception we find first dread, and later holiness, associated with the deity, and consequently with the worshipper in the act of worship, and then with the act of worship itself.

It is an essential condition in every act of worship, as conducted in our parts, that the most scrupulous care is taken in the matter of personal purity. One of the most important rules in the code of conduct laid down is that every body who goes to worship in a temple must take a plunge bath—not merely the high priest who goes into the *sanctum sanctorum*, but all alike who are in any way associated with the act of worship—the priest who prepares the oblation, the servant who cleans the vessel or who gets ready the flowers and garlands, and all those who move about in the inner precincts of the temple. All these are required to take a plunge bath and thus secure the highest measure of personal purity and cleanliness. Another noteworthy feature is the regulated sort of admission into the various areas of the temple. Thus a few privileged people alone are allowed into the most sacred presence, some are allowed to enter the *Garbhagṛha*, others to approach the antechamber, still others beyond it and so forth ranging through a surprising gradation, as surprising as the gradation of the caste and sub-castes and their various social disabilities. I am not here concerned with the justifiability or otherwise of the system, but with the fact merely. And in this respect, our centres of worship apparently stand on a distinctly different footing from the temples on the east coast. So great is the importance attached to the purity on the part of the people taking part in the temple worship, active or passive, that a violation of the traditional rule is supposed to be punished in the direst form that a human being can conceive of. So deep-rooted is the conviction that it acts on the nerve of the violator even without the orders of the deity itself! This sense of personal

purity is shared by the hill-tribes in common with the people in the plains. In this matter both the literate and the illiterate are alike. While it is interesting to inquire into the origin of this austere type of ritualistic purity which is conceived as an indispensible preliminary for all kinds of cult-acts, it is equally important to point out that this conception of personal purity and its insistence in actual practice have had a very healthy influence in the field of social hygiene of the people of Kerala. For, they are even today looked upon as the cleanliest of all peoples. This insistence of personal purity more or less gives a clue to the true meaning of a cult-act; in a cult-act we may see not so much of a bribe, but a desire to rouse sympathy and thus to have communion with a higher power.

Still another point of interest that may be touched upon here is the nature of the places where these deities are located. Tracing, as is generally done, the beginnings of religious worship in fear and dread or respect and reverence of things or spirits, visible or invisible and necessarily superior to the worshipper himself, the deified will naturally be located in higher places or dangerous or inaccessible places. Thus tops of hills and mountains and inaccessible groves, which are remote and mysterious—these offered the earliest sites for the location of our early deities; similarly the foots of gigantic trees, the midst of big plains, the strategic points on big rivers and mountain passes—these are the favourite sites for temples. And conversely, the more mysterious or dangerous the place, the more important, or more correctly, the more dreadful and potent, the deity. Thus the *Ayyappan* at Saurimala where the trade-routes across the hills in ancient days converged, the *Vatakkunathan* at Trichur, the *Bhagavati* at Granganore, the *Perumal* at Kottiyūr—these are typical instances. With these prefatory remarks we shall now proceed to a consideration of the various cults and we shall begin with man cult.

I. Man Cult

Four different kinds of human beings are offered some kind of worship and they are the secular head, the religious head or Deity's earthly representative, the family head and the family priest. The first of these constitutes the royalty cult. It is considered to be very auspicious to have a

look at the king 'crowned and annointed.' To mention but one instance: when the Maharaja of Cochin is dressed in his royal robes and is ready to start on his annual *Attacamayam* procession with which are associated some of the items of religious service, it is held to be very sacred to circumambulate and offer obeisance to the person of the royalty; and many people do so even now. This is held to be as sacred as going and worshipping in a *Viṣṇu* temple. This royalty cult may have originated from the fact that originally we had priest-kings, and the Maharaja of Cochin is even today looked upon as the religious over-lord of all Kerala.[1] In the origin of kingship we may, therefore, see the main reason of our worshipping kings: and the act of worship consists in falling at the royal feet and bowing to him.

Very similar is the homage we pay to our religious heads, as also to the representatives of Deities, such as the *Komaran*, the earthly representative of Goddess. The family head also is worshipped on certain specific occasions, such as religious ceremonies, especially when they come under what are called the *Ṣoḍaśakriyās;* and then we offer worship to our parents or elders, and the act of worship consists in making them sit before a lighted lamp on a peculiar kind of wooden plank, called *avaṇappalaka* and circumambulating them and falling at their feet, which is followed by their blessing the recumbent figure. A similar process of worship is also offered to our preceptor or our family priest. In all these cases we have a cult and certain forms of cult-acts. It is impossible to say with any amount of certainty whether in all these we have a religious act, but there are two circumstances which point to their being religious. Traces of royalty cult are available elsewhere also and in the case of others they are always associated with a specific ritual. In view of this we may not be far wrong if we find in them the most primitive type of man-cult—offering worship to a human being for his greatness, physical, intellectual or spiritual or for the good he has done. Side by side with this there are two more types of cults connected with human beings, what is connected with a new born child and the dead body of a near relative. It is held to be very auspicious to have a look at a new born babe within twenty-fours after its birth, and this is regarded to

1 See writer's paper 'King of Cochin *versus* Emperor of Kerala'.

give children to the childless. The cult-act here consists of simply seeing the baby. Similarly, when one sees the deadbody of a near relative, he generally circumambulates it and falls prostrate before it. In these two cases the basis of the cult must have been wonder and fear, for birth and death constitute the two great mysteries that are yet to be solved.

II. Tree-Cult

By the term tree-cult is understood the worship of trees, plants and flowers and their use as accessories in the worship of other deities. The more important of the trees which are worshipped as objects of worship in themselves are (1) *Aśvatha* (Ficus religiosa), (2) *Elañji* (Mimusops Elenji,) (3) *Pāla* (Alstonia scholaris), (4) *Veppu* (Azadirachta indica), (5) *Konna* (Cassia Fistula), (6) *Tānni* (Terminalia belerica), (7) Jack tree (Artocarpus integrifolia) and (8) the *Karimpana* (Borassus Flabellifer). Among plants the more important ones are (1) *Tulasī* (Ocimum sanctum), (2) *Kūḷam* (Aegle marmeloo), which are especially associated with *Viṣṇu* and *Śiva* respectively. Among flowers the more important are lotus (Nelumbium), *Cetti* (Ixora Coccinea), *Mallikā* (polyalthia) and *Aśoka* (longifolia). Some of these are associated with particular deities and particular rituals, while some others are common to all kinds of deities and in all rituals. It is a singular feature that not one variety of fragrant flowers appears to be commonly used in our old temples, though such flowers are coming now into vogue.

1. *The Al-tree (Ficus religiosa)*

Of all the trees worshipped the most important is the *Āl* (Ficus religiosa), as we call it. The cult-act consists in circumambulating the tree reciting the *Puruṣa Sūkta* or reciting the names of *Viṣṇu* or *Śiva*, according as the tree stands in front of a *Vaiṣṇavite* or *Śaivite* temple, the foot of which is generally paved with stones. This tree is associated with both *Śaivite* and *Vaiṣṇavite* shrines, and consequently it is not an object of sectarian worship.[2] The object of worship is to get long life and

2 Mūlato brahmarūpāya madhyato Viṣṇurūpiṇe/
Agrataśśivarūpāya Vṛkṣarājāya te namaḥ//

issue. The tree is also associated as being the seat of semi-divine beings such as *Gandharvas*, *Yakṣas* and a host of other deities such as *Gaṇapati*, *Nāga* etc. who are connected with the celestial world and occupy a secondary position in the Hindu pantheon. These denizens are supposed to be inhabiting this tree evidently awaiting an opportunity to pounce upon unwary human beings or to worship in the temple. And circumambulating the tree is supposed to be doing worship to these spirits also. This tree is also supposed to be the habitat of unseemly spirits, the spirits of people who have come to a tragic end, especially when the tree happens to stand all alone away from a temple. In other words, the spirit associations of the tree are widely divergent, depending upon the spirit associations of the locality, and in this we may possibly find the beginnings of the worship of this tree. It is worshipped because of its mighty stature, its rich wealth of fruits and its utility as giving shade during hot days. It is a fact that all kinds of spirits, good, bad and indifferent, are connected with this tree, and so the worship of this tree has got two distinct aspects, the beneficent and the dreadful—probably not unconnected with the impression that it makes on the mind of the illiterate and the literate. The beneficent aspect of the tree is as patent as its size: it forms the abode of hosts of birds and it also supplies them with food. The very overshadowing size of the tree must strike terror into untutored hearts. The worship of the trees which evidently began in fear, must have become purified as the realisation of its utility became more and more apparent.

It is generally found that a *Gaṇapati* or a serpent idol graces the foot of the tree—an aspect, which I believe, must have been introduced by the Tamil immigrants. For, it is significant that the ordinary Malayali never cares to worship this idol, even though he circumambulates the tree. Thus the presence of an idol at the foot of the tree is not an argument to prove that we are not worshipping the tree.

It is also not rarely the feature that an exorcist after driving away the ghosts from a human body and taking them on a copper or silver leaf generally deposits the same at the foot of the banyan tree. This and its association with *Gandharvas* and *Yakṣas* clearly prove the fact that the worship began in fear and dread and not in the realisation of the beneficent aspects of the tree. As matters now stand, this

is a tree commonly held in veneration by all alike, irrespective of his caste or creed.

2. *The Juicy trees of the Bhagavatī Shrine*

The three trees of *Pāla* (Alstonia scholaris), *Elañji* (Mimusops Elenji) and *Veppu* (Azadirachta indica) are particularly associated with the shrines of *Bhagavatī* and *Serpents*. All these trees are characterised by thick foliage, dark green in colour. Of these trees the *Bhagavatī* is particularly fond of the *Pāla* tree, and at least this tree is found invariably planted in *Bhagavatī* shrines, called Kāvus. Any stone boulder lying at the foot of this tree is an object of fear and worship to the rustic villager. It is also not a rare thing to find the *Pāla* tree (Alstonia scholaris) adorned with many copper leaves struck into the trunk. These are the plates into which the sorcerer has driven the bad spirits from a victim. The *Pāla* (Alstonia scholaris) tree at the *Kīḻ Kāvu* temple at Cottanikkara is a very good illustration to the point. Sometimes these leaves, carrying mystic symbols in which uncouth spirits are supposed to be imprisoned, are also found deposited at the foot of the tree. The association of these trees with *Bhagavatī* and with sorcery and witchcraft definitely prove their primitive origin. The *Vepu* tree (Azadirachta scholaris) is similar in all respects to *Pāla*, and besides it is also looked upon as particularly associated with evil spirits. The *Elañji* (Mimusops Elenji) tree is associated with *Bhagavatī* shrines, and one of the recreations of the Goddess is supposed to be to gather the seeds of the Elañji—a kind of recreation which is also associated with Kṛṣṇa; and it is supposed to be a beneficent thing for a little boy or girl to carry on his or her body a seed of *Elañji*, as a protection from the influence of uncanny spirits.[3]

It deserves to be pointed out that none of these trees have any beautiful or useful aspects. It is therefore an interesting question to ask why these trees have come to be so closely associated with *Bhagavatī* cult. As regards *Pāla* (Alstonia scholaris) the quick rush of the milky juice, when a twig or a leaf is broken, might have appeared somewhat uncommon to the ordinary intelligence of the primitive man. Similarly,

3 See writer's paper "Kerala Ornaments."

the very wealth of seeds of the *Elañji* (Mimusops Elenji) tree and the extreme bitterness of the *Veppu* (Azadirachta indica) tree may have been the first causes of their deification, aided no less by their physical aspects: their straight trunks, dark green foliage, their wanton growth, even though uncared for, these might have made them a fit habitat for the uncanny spirits with which the primitive man peoples the space around him.

3. *The Karimpana Tree (Borassus Flabellifer)*

The tall *Karimpana* (Borassus Flabellifer) is another tree looked upon with awe and dread by the rustic villager. This is always supposed to be the habitat of demons and *Gandharvas* who take a delight in victimising the un-suspecting passers-by. The tall tree with its spread out leaves looks like a giant with his dishevelled hair, especially during nights. Further, it grows in dreary areas and forming as it does the seat of the owls etc., it appears to scream forth during nights a dismal, moaning cry which sends a thrill, even when the object of the cry is known. No wonder then, that the primitive man looked with fear upon this tree, as he found in it the sole home of all malignant deities. It is, however, interesting to find that there is no actual cult-act associated with this tree.

4. *The Tānni Tree (Terminalia belerica)*

It deserves to be pointed out that the trees we have so far mentioned have no particular cult-acts associated with them. They are looked upon with fear and awe, as being the home of the cruel and unkind demons. And from this point of view the banyan tree also is not exempt. The *Tānni* (Terminalia belerica) tree stands distinct in this respect, because there is a particular cult-act associated with it. The act of worship connected with it is a cure for a particular variety of skin disease, locally called *Cerumpaka*. The presiding deity of the *Cerām*-tree is supposed to attack a man at particular times in the year resulting in eruptions on the body. The most common cure for this is for the patient to go to the *Tānni* tree (Terminalia belerica) and circumambulate the same, reciting the *mantra*. *'Cerum makkaluṃ ceita pila Tānniṃ makkaluṃ kṣamik-*

kaṟe'. He is to do this act of worship for three days, when he will be cured of the eruptions. This is believed to be an efficacious cure for the disease, and this is resorted to generally by all classes of people. One might characterise the act as a piece of superstition, it may be; but there is the fact before us: people suffering from the skin disease actually getting cured by performing the prescribed act of worship. I believe the *Tānni* (Terminalia belerica) tree might have some specific property to cure the particular type of skin disease. And we know as a matter of fact that the seed of this tree is utilised for curing eye-diseases. The seed is supposed to be very cooling.

5. *Tulasī* (*Ocimum sanctum*)

Coming to plants, the most important plant with which some cult-act is associated is the *Tulasī* (Ocimum sanctum), which is connected with the *Viṣṇu* cult. The most important item of cult-act connected with it is the act of circumambulation and the placing of a lighted wick at the foot of the plant. Another act is to partake of the water falling over the leaf of the plant or of water in which some leaves have been dipped. The leaves of this plant are an unavoidable part of the flowers requestioned in any ritualistic act, whether the *Pūjā* to be offered is to *Śiva* or *Viṣṇu* or *Bhagavatī*. In other words, in all forms of *Mantric* and *Tantric* rites, higher or lower, this is an indispensable plant, and it is supposed to be particularly efficacious as far as *Viṣṇu* is concerned. While there is nothing to prevent us from associating the worship of this plant with animism, there is another aspect which gives the worship of this plant quite a different colour. The leaves of this plant and also of all its varieties are a very powerful antiseptic. When it is also remembered that many of the centres of *Viṣṇu* cults have originally been centres of *Jainistic* cult, in which the science of cure was an important feature, here is a sufficiently trustworthy historical survival of one aspect of the genesis of this *Vaiṣṇavite* cult.

The corresponding leaf so far as the *Śaivites* are concerned is the leaf of the *Bilva* (Aegle marmelos) tree. This is held sacred, but it is not known whether any specific cult-act is performed with regard to this tree. The sacredness attached to this tree may be due to the fact that

the fruit of the tree bears some resemblance to the *Liṅga*. It is held to be sacrilegious to break open a *Bilva-fruit*. Only one cult-act may be said to be done with reference to this tree and that is placing some wicks at the foot of the tree at nightfall. This tree is not devoid of medical properties: the roots of this tree when administered form a good cure for vomiting.

Amongst the flowers held sacred as articles to be used in acts of worship, mention may be made of *Cetti* (Ixora Coccinea) and *Aśoka* (longifolia) flowers. These flowers, be it remembered, are particularly good in the case of *Bhagavati* shrines, probably because the deep red colour of these flowers forms as it were some sort of compensation for the absence of blood. Of these *Cetti* (Ixora Coccinea) is also a favourite flower in some *Vaiṣṇavite* shrines. It deserves to be pointed out that this flower has got some medical properties: when oil, especially cocoanut oil, is prepared with the *Cetti* (Ixora Coccinea) flower it is a good medicated oil for children and keeps them free from skin diseases. As such it is commonly used in our parts.

There is probably only one flower which has been accepted mainly for its beauty, I mean the lotus (Nelumbium) flower. This flower is looked upon as the habitat of *Lakṣmī*, the consort of *Viṣṇu;* at the same time this is a flower commonly held in esteem by all classes of gods. This flower must have come into the cult-act, because of its uncommon beauty, which is almost supernatural.

It is however a significant fact that we are not found using fragrant flowers in our acts of worship: if I understand aright, fragrant flowers are actually tabooed in some temples. If at all they are now used, it is only in shrines which are dedicated to *Bhagavati* and sometimes to *Śiva*, provided there is also *Pārvati* enshrined in the temple. This appears to me a significant omission. Can this be taken as suggesting that the original conceptions of gods have all been in fear and dread? Can it be there is no one of the gods of our ancient forefathers which had a benevolent aspect? I am not so sure as that. I am inclined to think that the fragrant flowers must have been tabooed, for the simple reason that the cult-acts might be more imposing and austere.

There is one more tree, the flowers of which are used in worship in a particular temple. I have in mind the *Konna* tree, which gives beauti-

ful yellow flowers. This flower is particularly used in the ancient *Saivite* shrine of Tiruvanchikulam at Cranganore—the famous shrine associated with the imperial dynasty of the Perumals and supposed to have been built in exact imitation of the temple of Chidambaram. I have not come across any other instance of this flower being used in any cult-act elsewhere; they are not used probably because they are not so easily available. This is, however, a very important flower, for on the occasion of the *Viṣu-Kaṇi*, it is supposed to be very auspicious to let our eyes fall on a bunch of *Konna* flowers as the first thing in the morning; and in connection with the *Viṣu* celebration, every temple uses this flower. Be it noted that this tree generally flowers in the month of March-April, but in the temple at Vanci we have a couple of trees which yield flowers every day.

There is one more tree which is associated with some cult-act and this is the *Jack* tree (Artocarpus Integrifolia). This is a very important tree, in as much as this tree alone supplies wood for the construction of idols in temples; as such, this is a very sacred tree. This tree has no beautiful flowers, and its fruit is only very rarely offered as a votive offering. There is at least one cult-act performed with reference to this tree, even though it is but a domestic function. On the occasion of the *Vātal-purappāṭu*, i.e., the taking of the new born baby for the first time out of the door-way of the house, one of the most important rites is to take the child and with it to circumambulate the tree and make the baby kick the tree thrice and offer acts of *tantric* worship at the foot of the tree. This is a pure *Gṛhya* rite, but at the same time it is an important rite, being the first rite done for the child outside the limits of the four walls of the house. That the act is purely domestic is a very clear indication that it is an ancient rite. The tree is treated with great respect in view of the fact that it gives them food for six months in the year and excellent timber for the construction of their houses. Here then we probably see the worship of a tree on account of its utility.

We have also a type of cumulative tree worship. Every tree in a *Nāga* tope is held sacred. And the sacredness in active form is practised only so far as no trees are cut down from the tope. But I incline to think that here it is not so much a question of worship of the trees as the fear of the *Nāgas*. If we do not cut the trees, it is not because we

worship the trees, but because we are afraid of making the *Nāgas* angry.

From what has been said it will be found that in tree worship we have more or less association worship rather than pure tree worship. We can also find here utilitarian motives. When these two ideas are separated from the worship there will be practically no tree worship. It is, therefore, difficult to associate with our tree worship any form of animistic worship.

K. R. PISHAROTI

An Old-Javanese Prasasti from Surabaya of the Saka year 956

This stone-inscription has been described in the text as *tāmraprašasti*, probably because it is a copy from a copper-plate record. It stood formerly in the premises of the local Resident of Surabaya and has now been kept in the Museum of Batavia, where it is numbered D. 16. Being one of the most important records of ancient Java, this record, though not yet translated into any language, has been several times cursorily noticed, e. g., in the *Notulen* for 1876, pp. 27, 81; *TBG.*, XII, p. 585; by Brandes in Groenveldt's *Catalogus*, p. 378, and also recently by Prof. Krom in his *Geschiedenis*, 2nd ed., p. 259. Dr. Brandes wrote (*op. cit.*) that the record bears the character of a typical Old-Javanese form with a protruding upper extremity and a pedestal. The size of this inscription is approximately 64·4″; in height at the middle 46·4″; at the sides, 38·4″ in breadth above, 29·2″ below, 13·2″ at the smallest sides above and 12·4″ beneath. The height of the pedestal is 8″; in breadth it is 34·4″ and 16·4″ respectively. The record is written in Old-Javanese character of East-Java, on all the four sides and both the top surfaces. The language appears to be fairly good Old-Javanese of the time it purports to belong to. As in some other records of the king, the royal seal is also called here *Garuḍamukha*. The *praśasti* describes the gift of free-holds to the *karāmān* (community) of Baru by King Airlangga who was given protection by them one night at a critical period of his war with the king of Hasin. According to Rouffaer[1], this Hasin is the same as Mahasin of I-tsing, a Malay land[2] outside Java, and identical with Tumasik, mod. Singapore. This identification, however, has not yet been generally accepted. The life of Airlangga was thus full of vicissitudes. Of his earlier struggles we read in the Calcutta stone-inscription[3]: "*pralaya ring yawadwīpa irikang śakakāla* 928.....*haji wurawari an wijil sangke lwarām, ekarṇawarūpanikāng sayawadwīpa.*" During the time of this great flood and the invasion of the King

1 *BKI.*, 77 (1921), pp. 74 ff. 2 *Notulen*, 1876, p. 27.

3 Brandes-Krom, *OJO.*, LXII, l. 5; also Kern, *VG.*, VII, pp. 102 ff.

of Wurawuri,[4] Airlangga was not more than sixteen years of age. As a matter of fact, he was compelled to live with the ascetics at Wanagiri just after these disasters. During these days of troubles, he was shadowed by his faithful servant Narottama who enjoyed the King's affection and trust till the last days of his life. The full name of this person was Dharmamūrti Narottamadānaśūra (which name was misread by Brandes in *OJO*, LXI, ll. 2-3). He was indeed the foremost of Airlangga's faithful followers, through thick and thin (*vide OJO*. LXII, ll. 10-11; Kern, *VG*., VII, pp. 102 ff). In the record under review, he has been described as holding the post of the *rakryān kanuruhan*. Dr. Krom[5] says that he must have been promoted to this post between 954 and 957 Śaka. We also find him holding the same position in 963 Śaka when the Calcutta inscription of King Airlangga was promulgated. In the inscriptions of this king (*cf. OJO*., LVIII, first face, l. 5; LXI, l. 2; LXIV, l. 2), immediately after the mentioning of his name, we find one *rakryān mahāmantri i hino śrī sanggrāmawijaya dharmmaprasādottunggadewi*, whom Dr. Krom thinks (*Geschiedenis*, 2nd ed., p. 245) to be the daughter of the King and not his wife. She is thus the grand-daughter of Dharmawangśa Anantawikrama through her mother.

The copyist of this record appears to be careful in the work he was asked to perform. For, he has maintained almost perfect uniformity of spelling of the same word, though we find its violation in some rare cases in this record. For example, the difference between *i* and *s* in the word *praśāsti* (read, **astī*) has been neglected in l. 17 of the first face and l. 9 of the left margin. As there appears to be no sharp distinction between *a* and *ā* in Old-Javanese, their confusion in the Skt.-Kawi words in ll. 2, 4, 11 of the first face does not call for any particular attention. So also is the case with *i* and *ī* in l. 3 of the first face and l. 7 of the left margin. It is noteworthy however that there is no single word in which *wa* has been changed into *o*, though this tendency is already apparent in the

4 Lit. clear water. Kern says that it is not clear if this is to be taken as the name of a person or a place. According to Rouffaer (*BKI*., 77, p. 43 and f.ns. 1-2) Wurawari is synonymous with Ganggāyu which appears from the *Sajarah Malayu* (*c*. 1612 A.D.) to lie on the Malay Peninsula, and Lwarām is the capital thereof. There are some difficulties in the way of our accepting these identifications. See also *OV*., 1919, pp. 156 ff.

5 *TBG*., 55, p. 586.

8th century A. D. In many cases, etymology demanded *wa*, but the influence of pronunciation corrupted it into *o*. The change of *wa* to *o* becomes prominent in Middle-Javanese works. There are at least two examples (ll. 7, 13) where *o* has been used for *au*. The confusion between *e* and *ai* has been, however, avoided by uniformly following the latter (*cf.* ll. 2, 21).

This important record originally obtained from Simpang (Surabaya) has been transcribed in Brandes-Krom, *Oudjavaansche Oorkonden*, LX. The present edition of the text is based on this transcription, with the addition of an original translation and proper diacritical marks.

TEXT

First face and right side

1. || o || swasti śakawarṣātīta 956 waiśākhamāsa tithi saptamī kraṣṇapakṣa pa wa a wāra wugu|wugu dhaniṣṭanakṣatra wiṣṇudewatā brahmā

2. yoga wawakūraṇa cārapūrwwasthāna irikā diwaśa ny ājñā śrī mahārāja rakai halu śrī lokeśwara dha | rmmawangśa airlanggānantawikramottunggade

3. wa tinaḍaḥ rakryān mahāmantri i hino śrī sanggrāmawijaya dharmmaprasādottunggadewī umingsor i rakryān | kanuruhan pu dharmmamūrtti narottamadāna

4. śūra rakryān hujung pu amṛta kumonakĕn ikanang karāmān ring baru makabehan padamlakna sang hyang ājñā haji tāmra praśā | sti tinaṇḍa garuḍamukha kmitananya sambandha

5. ri panghinĕp pāduka śrī mahārāja irikanang thāni ring baru maprayojana irikanang rātri ri sdanganyan jayaśatrwa śrī mahārāja ri(ng) | samara kumawasākna musuḷnira ikana

6. i hasin atĕhĕr tumunggalakna ikanang pṛthiwīmaṇḍala an sīmā pārṇnahan ikanang thāni ring baru dening rāma ring baru makabeha | n samangkana rasa ni pratijñā pāduka śrī mahā

7. rāja ring kulĕm siddha manorawa pwa pāduka śrī mahārāja karuhun mpungku śaiwasogata ṛṣi makādi samgat parblyan ḍang hyang mahānanda makacihna | ri kakawnang nikanang ratu i hasin sampu

8. n pinjahan sākṣāt warttamāna katon denikanang rāt kabeḥ pinitutunan pwa pāduka śrī mahārāja de samgat laṇḍayān rarai pu ba | mā mwang samgat luwĕm rarai pu manuritan

9. dadiningkadi sira prabhu mitihyā*thawana* an hana prā pangulĕm irikanang thāni ri baru an sīmā parṇnahanikāng thāni ring baru deni sa | manya ring baru matuha manwam makabehan

10. yatikā mangkin asamasama nirmalajñā ni pāduka śrī mahārāja ri pamisinggiḥnira ring pitutur samgat laṇḍayān rarai mwang samgat lu | wĕm rarai yata kāraṇā samgat pamaṇi

11. kan pu godṛḍa mwang ikanang karāmān ni baru masāmagrī sumambahakĕn turunyānugraha pāduka śrī mahārāja sang hyang ājñāhaji tā | mraprasāsti kmitananya sadhanānyan siddhā

12. kna sapangutus pāduka śrī mahārāja kapanggiha deni wka wetnya hlam i dlāha ni(ng) dlāha āpan atyanta gŏng ni pūrwwaṛṇa śrī mahārā | (ja) ri sakweḥ ni sahāyaniran kṛtāpadūna lā

13. wan śīlāgrāhānira wastra ring jatānurāga gānggāprawāha iwa tānurāgān pāduka śrī mahārāja ring paraporajana sampun kapraka | śa ri saparyyānta ning yawadwīpa lumrā tkaring dwī

14. pāntara yatikā kadi hilī ning ganggā dṛsni pangupakāra śrī mahārāja saha lāwan wḍihan pamodanā irikā sang śakticūra yan | tambĕhani(ng) sahāya balarakṣaka ri śrī mahārā |

15. ja mangdadyakna kūlahaning śairu digjaya pāduka śrī mahārāja ring samara waluyani kṛtā ning bhuwana pagĕhaning caturwarṇna caturāśrama | karuhun punar jīwa sang hyang sarwwadharmma sama |

16. loṣṭakāñcaṇajñāna pāduka śrī mahārāja yāwat sādhanā ning amahaywang bhuwana donanya matangnyan inanugrahākĕn | pāduka śrī mahārāja sang hyang ājñā haji tā |

17. mra praśāsti kmitana nikanang karāmān ring baru makabehan ring tan kawukiwukilanya de sang nāyaka pratyaya wineḥ airthāni | hlam i dlāha ning dlāha nguniweḥ sanganāgata

18. prabhu māri ta ikāng ring baru thāni watĕk airthāni kewalā ikanang karāmān ring baru juga pramāṇa makasīma ikāng ring baru tkari | sukhaduḥkhanya magŏng maḍmit parṇnahanya

19. swatantrā tan katamāṇa deni winawa sang māna katrīṇi pangkur tawan tirip mwang saprakāra sang mangilala drabya haji wuluwu |.lu magŏng maḍmit makādi miśra paramiśra

20. pangurang kring paḍĕm maṇimpiki paranakan limus galuḥ mangriñci manghuri parang sungka dhūra pangaruhan taji watu tajĕm | sukun halu warak rakasang ramanang pini

21. nglai katanggaran tapahaji airhaji malandang lca lablab pakalangkang kutak tangkil tṛpan salyut watu ꦮalaḥ pa | maṇikan sikpan rumban tirwan wilang thā

22. ni wiji kawaḥ tĕngkĕs māwī manambingi tanghiran tuha dagang juru gosali mangrumbai mangguñjai tuhānambi juru kli| juru hañjman juru juḍi juru jalir pabisar

23. panggulung pawungkunung miśra hino miśrānginangin wli tambang wli hapū wli pañjut wli wadung palamak urutan dampulan | pakalungku karĕngrĕngan tpungkawung sungsung pangu

24 rang pasukalas sipadwilut juku(ng) pāningangin pamāwasya hopan panrāngan skar tahun a *hā* | ma awur panigang blaḥ patatar tampö si

25. rir parājap*h*ala pagara*k*apan pawdihan pamahat manglāka pasangaṇi patangkalan widu mangidung watĕki | jro ityaiwamādi kabeḥ tan tamā ta (?)

26. irikanang thāni ring baru kewalā ikanang karāmān ring baru sapaśukthāni kabeḥ juga pramāṇa ri sadrabya hajinya | magöṇg maḍmit prakāra mwang ri wnanga rāmanta ring (ba)

27. ru mapada()rwang rahiring sapadagang apatitiha abasana angawari acamara baṇyāga atukla apubara a | ngulanga abakula salwir ning sambyawahāra

28. bhaṇḍa paribhāṇḍādwala wwĕlya mwang masulpika paṇḍai mās paṇḍai wsi pandai kāngśa lāwan ri wnanganya mahuluna ḍayang huñjman nambi jĕnggi pujut asing

29. salwiranya tan swīkāranĕkang rāmanta ring baru kabeḥ irikā samangkana ikanang sukha duḥkha kadyanggūning mayang ta | npawwaḥ walū rumambating natar wipati wangkai

Second face and left side

1. kabunan rūḥ kasawuring natar hidu kasirat | dūhilatĕn sūhasa hastacapa | la wākcapala mamijilakĕn wuri ning kikir ma

2. muk mamumpang ludan tūtan angśapratya | ngśa ḍaṇḍa kuḍaṇḍa maṇḍihalādi prakāra ikāng | karāmān ring baru sapaśuk thāni pramāṇa irikā

3. makaśaraṇā kahyangan kinabhaktyan rāmanta ring | baru sang hyang huwan sang hyang ḍĕpur sang hyang kawyölan sang hyang | roḥ samangkana kadeyakna taṇḍa rakryān ring

4. balān kasinggahan sowāra sang mangasö magöng | maḍmit tka ri parawadwā haji wadwā rakryān parajuru hamba rakryān ryyā | wān hamba rakryān rājaputra rājaputrī

5. rakryān strīhaji makādi hamba rakryān mahā | mantri mwang hamba rakryān śrī parameśwarī tkarikanang magalaḥ mamanaḥ magaṇḍi ma | tĕngrān makuda mahaliman makarapa

6. karungan pawḍusan mahwan lambu haturan *jang* | haturan pādu pabaraka kḍi walyan sambal sumbul hulun haji jĕnggi singgaḥ mabṛṣi mawu | luwulung ityaiwamādi kabeḥ an kapwātasi

7. ra*pa*matĕkyĕna tan baryyabaryya śila irikang thāni ring baru tan pangalapa tĕnamtĕnamān salinarangnikeng ta | nayan thāni hampyal pring ptung pucang sĕrĕḥ kayu |

8. kayu sarwwaphala mūlaphala tkaring wnang wnang prakāra kapwātikā tan baribarin denira yathānya tan pamuhara pramāda ri(ng) si | yāpwan hana sira kamatan tan yatna i sarasa (sang) hya

9. ng ajñā haji tāmra prasāsti kmitanikanang karūman ring baru sapaśukthāni matuha manwam kabeḥ ya sangkānani pramādanya salwirning langla(ng) | sang hyang ājñā haji lwiranya knāna nigraha kā 4

10. mā su 10 likhita pātralekha manuwul matangnyan pangang*syö*kĕn pasĕk ikanang karūmān ring baru makabehan i rakryān kanuruhan wḍihan yuga 1 | rakryān hujung wḍihan yuga 1 samgat laṇḍayan wḍi

11. han hlai 1 rakryān jasun wungkal wḍihan hlai 1 samgat laṇḍayan rarai wḍihan hlai 1 rakryān paliñjwan wḍihan hlai 1 samgat luwĕm rarai | wḍihan hlai 1 samgat pajabungaḥ salimut hlai (1)

12. sira mpu ring paruhapa ragi hlai 1 samgat pamwātan mā 4 juru sāmya i kahuripan jati mā 14 akurug i tinghal pinghai kaki rājya mā 1 | ku 1 juru kuda *nga*nggin mū 1 ku 1 makādi samgat

13. pārblyĕn salimut yuga 1 ||o|| pratyeka ni nāma nikāng karāmān ring baru sapaśuk thāni matuha manwam kabeḥ tumarima anugraha pāduka śrī | mahārāja sang hyang ājñā haji tāmra praśāsti dūwā

14. ni punaga padma tenggö kaki lĕgö lĕgö bhagawān godhṛmān kaki adra kaki pingul basija kaki basija kaki warta udati ritak

baklĕ kuḍĕng mawwad | pingul pahit maṇikara sondong kaki baḍoti

15. baḍoti dolo buddhange bungkaluḥ katon sīma nini bagiḍiḥ rĕṇĕb ḍĕpur suwĕg kaki goṭā kaki bongok tunggu hyang laṇḍĕḥ atuha | samangkana sang rayana kaki wata kaki purug juru pañjir

16. kaki truḥ kaki sṛgut tumbas ningkal padar wĕwĕkan baḍong uja kli tĕtĕg godri tangkĕb silum buru berĕk gandar paragul | jĕmbĕḥ kulima kuḍĕn bantyak glar cetĕm ma

17. ninghat hamala praghata singkab bakul boreḥ gotami kaki abuḥ manggar kaki aghĕtĕ kaki abul ḍasar pnĕd kaki ba | ranggoḥ mañcam daśrī udĕl giṇa bhĕñjit

18. ciwaḥ māl kaki haḍang bakal kĕbĕk bungkaḥ sawo lisyan monĕn bukuḥ kasap cupona kaki saritĕm saritĕm rĕmbu | mutanĕm hayyĕn ḍĕnuḥ maṇḍĕg wulik nudi

19. śrī kośrī naris manub utĕ gereneng kaki sutanĕm gĕgyĕn gacang disāra kaki hadyĕn || duwāni gunung ḍarāt truk | manarāt katir wngek rosi mawwad uśrī

20. ḍti munggang gahan kacang dhanajo gawang wĕnyĕn rawa aguta anggita bacu eṇḍaḥ nini tĕhĕr ĕnuk buddhijo sĕmbak goḍĕngga | sentel malĕk barāt goṣṭi agonĕ

21. kaki ugramān pajatyan bhaṭeri dayadya lumbang atuha samangkana butatut kaki dharaṇa kaki turuk tāl juru sama | ngkana gaṇitra || dûwāni ḍĕpur maning jañjĕk

22. gowana ajot drayo sampor wāhana uwi usĕn udikh tuwuḥ agotĕm badrik hing bnik udi dunggi | mahitĕm cabya soddha jugil antĕb ka

23. ki robhitĕm jagra kriyā baṭak rājaṇa gṛk angkĕn sambat yodini golo durāt jungan basĕ(ng) wulyan a | gĕm baranggo kukup galĕng plĕwok waka

24. bayangan pajyan anamūr bhawan damūr wiramān koḍowok gumawang tanggal pagyĕn gusa|r galimpo gahyang trikĕm soṇḍok

25. pracala nini gupĕk nini hanyan turuk gōng kaki gubaḥ kaki rājaṇa buñcang ampĕt wijyawa abṛn kṛtana | kaki tingkĕs kaki angkĕn binag buddhiwu uha

26. atuha samangkana kaki antop kaki sĕndĕng kaki basḍang ugreśa hemān kaki cakal kaki aryyana ha | tan buyut sagar pu godṛ juru godhara

27. nan toṇḍĕm nini halintĕr tulus dhanaja kohana nuwul moḍik kaki sĕgĕh pingul nini cakal minā gamit sugal sūri icchā ni

28. wangśa nini aibong bāṇa nutug gṛhana winaya ali mĕruk angkĕn gamparan muṇḍuku saralā gĕntar | diśrī pidyaḥ bacol anti puruṣa tikus

29. ab unggwan bhingakuḥ amĕn ampag tejani abhitu sabhālwaḥ uni arūm dugamān loḍan aywan citi | m pinghai wudĕl ḍungaḥ humu(ng) gayung bhutaka

30. trikĕm abuḥ wĕtĕḥ rimbit nulus uñjman diso pindyan wrat mahawan wahimān umĕk gampar kaki | bagukri buruñju sumrik basĕgĕḥ gumān

31. udini kaki manĕṭĕn wuri buñjara bhitĕm pṛgol atuha samangkana harap rĕmbho guwawo kaki lo | ḍan kaki hĕnggō winkaa kaki gṛhana juru

32. samangkana rahab || dūwāni pkan godhanā mĕṇḍaḥ gosinĕm nini bagan gĕmbo dharmmaja tguḥ manda jitem | pilang muraḥ nini badewĕk umbĕg kĕjĕbatu

33. yodhā kaki yodhā bañcal bungkaluḥ nini ṇdat aḍot ibu gowistha buyut ṛṇa buddhi mañjok sadan | mulya kiran suddhikā suddhinĕm paragul

34. kaki lĕmbāna mantun gutung kaki hlam kti lungguḥ kaki manada pangi mgut nutĕr ngewoḥ alĕm sura abo | s tinĕm gumuk maṇik nini maṇik ka

35. ki bhawaṇa wagaḥ gati mamān dhṛrmma surĕl sampĕt mandal bangkak mṛgas bopekol jiwati satra | mārmmā ṛmus nihak saniddhyamaṇḍawa

36. maṇḍala tĕngge tirĕm mongwa baḍati pagut widdhi 3[6] bog bikukal ramān kaki adiyā purulu nimi māryya | tama goṇḍok dadi kaki ṭowok nini

37. tungi tarahan ḍawĕk kaki sĕngka buddhaja atuha samangkana () mān ()no kaki tirim nini hadyan godṛḍa kāliḥ kaki bāṇa gowiṣṭa kaki winaya salaka

38. bajĕn samangkana kweḥ nikananang karāmān ring baru sapaśukthāni matuha manwam kabeḥ tumarima anugra | ha pāduka śrī mahārāja sang hyang ājñā ha

6 Written in Old-Javanese characters.

39. ji tāmra praśāsti ‖ yāpwan hana sira wwang durācāra tan yatnā i sarasa nikeng sīmā ngke ring baru kabwa t | karmaknanya salwirning pañcamahāpāta

40. ka bhuktinya ring ihātra parātra awūku tan tmwa sāma muwaḥ yājanma kiwatĕngĕn pakelakning janma tma | hananya‖o‖

Translation

First face and right side.

1. ‖O‖ Hail! The Śaka year past, 956, the month of Vaiśākha, seventh day of the dark half of the month, *paniron* (day of the six-day week), *wage* (day of the five-day week), Sunday, *wugu*/*wugu*,[7] the star is Dhaniṣṭhā, the deity is Viṣṇu, the *yoga*

2. is Brahma, the *karaṇa* is Wawa, the planet[8] is in the Eastern region. At this time the orders of Śrī mahārāja *rakai halu* śrī Lokeśwara Dha| rmmawangśa Airlanggānantawikramottunggade-

3. wa were received by *rakryān mahāmantri i hino* (who is) Śrī Sanggrāmawijaya Dharmmaprasādottunggadewī and communicated to *rakryān* | *kanuruhan* (viz.) Pu Dharmmamūrtti Narottamadāna-

4. śūra (and) *rakryān hujung* (viz.) Pu Amṛta, who ordered that the *karāmān* (community) of Baru all together shall bring into execution the sacred royal command (inscribed on) the copper-plate (*tāmraprasasti*) sealed with Garuḍamukha. This has to be taken care of in connexion

5. with the night-sojourn of H. M. the great king at this place of Baru. The necessity thereof being that, in the night, while he was desirous of conquering enemies, Śrī mahārāja had to dwell in the field of battle. These enemies of him were

6. from Hasin. Afterwards, he alone possessed the earth-ball. Then the free-hold destined for the people of Baru (was obtained) through the instrumentality of the *rāma-s* of Baru, all together. Thus the import of the promise of Pāduka śrī mahā-

7 Name of a *wuku*.

8 Abbreviated form of *grahārāru*, as we find in other records.

7. rāja at (that) night was acted upon to diffuse (his) fame.[9] But, before that, Pāduka śrī mahārāja, and my master who is a *Saiva-Sangata*[10] ascetic, headed by (lit., to first having) the *samgat parbhyan* (and) *dang hyang* Mahānanda | signalised the defeat of the king of Hasin. After he was

8. killed, he was personally seen before by all the people. Then Pāduka śrī mahārāja was followed by *samgat laṇḍayān rarai* (who is) Pu Ba |.....and *samgat luvĕm rarai* (who is) Pu Manuri. It is not

9. necessary even so to offer a false eulogy[11] for the king, since he (really).....passed the night at the place of Baru. Then the free-hold destined for the people of Baru, (was obtained) through the co-operation of all the people of Baru the old and the young, all together.

10. These are the people who gave a hearing to the clear orders of Pāduka śrī mahārāja and to the exhortations of the *samgat laṇḍayān rarai* and the *samgat luvĕm rarai*. For these reasons, the *samgat pamaṇi-*

11. *kan* (who is) Pu Godṛḍa and the *karāmān* of Baru collected themselves to pay respects for the bestowal of the favour of śrī mahārāja. (Now) the sacred royal command (contained in) the copperplate has to be taken care of (and) to be used as an instrument

12. for fulfilling the pledges of Pāduka śrī mahārāja which have been received for their children for the remotest future. On account of the very greatness of earlier affections, śrī mahārāja gave all his helpers (from Baru and elsewhere?) places and

13. his beneficent attention, (and) clothes to those who were attached (to him). Like the current of the (river) Gaṅgā, the affections of Pāduka śrī mahārāja also (flowed) on

9 The text has *manoraura* which may be the compound of Mal.-Polynesian verbal prefix *ma* and the *kaul* (also, Skt.) *saurabha*. In Indonesian linguistics, *au* is frequently replaced by *o*. The reading of *manoratha* gives however a better sense. We should then translate as "...was brought to a success."

10 A detailed note on this phrase has appeared in the *Indian Culture*, vol. I, no. 2, pp. 284-86.

11 The text has 'mitthyāthawana'. °āstavana? The root may be '*stu*'.

different citizens and were henceforward noticeable up to the end of the island of Yava, widely spreading to other

14. islands. Now just like the flow of the (river) Gaṅgā, the promptness of exertion abides with the mahārāja. Moreover, (the gift of) clothes created joy for the worthy Śakticura, while the addition of friends to the guards of the forces of śrī mahārā

15. ja|created the confusion of the enemies. (Thus) the world-conqueror, Pāduka śrī mahārāja returned from the field of battle to make the world conformable to the four *varṇas* (and) the four *āśramas*.| (Thus) in the first place was revitalised all the sacred religious systems.|

16. Pāduka śrī mahārāja considered stone[12] (and) gold as (of) equal (value) as long as the attempt of protecting the world was his aim. In consequence of being favoured by| Pāduka śrī mahārāja, the sacred royal command of

17. the copper plate has to be taken care of by the *karāmān* of Baru, all together. Without being opposed by the *Hon. nāyaka-s* and the *pratyaya-s*, (they) received Airthāni for the most distant future. Futher, the future

18. Kings must indeed leave off the place of Baru that has been sorted under Airthāni. Only the *karāmān* of Baru have the sole authority of possessing free-hold of Baru including (its) delights and troubles, great and small, in connexion with its

19. freedom. This freedom may not be violated by being brought under the Hon. three (viz.) the *pangkur*, the *tawan*, the *tirip* and all sorts of "people who live on royal income:" *wuluwu*| *lu-s*,[13] great and small, having at their head, the *miśra paramiśra*,[14]

20. *pangurang*,[15] *kring*,[16] *paḍĕm*,[17] *maṇimpiki*,[18] *paranakan*,[19]

12 Read 'loṣṭra' in the text. 13 Artisans in employment of the king.

14 In *VG.*, VII, p. 24 Kern translated this word as 'great and petty usurers'. Stutterheim plausibly suggests that the terms may signify 'chiefs'. See *TBG.*, 65, p. 246.

15 Kern translated this word by 'Mendicant friar' in *VG.*, VII, p. 47. Stutterheim suggests that the term signifies 'tuhān' i.e. older, village-head.

16 A certain class of monks? See Kern, *VG.*, VII, p. 35.

17 Apparently a class of persons. For a detailed note see *TBG.*, 65, p. 247.

18 Cabinet-workers? 19 'One belonging to a mixed caste' (Kern).

limuz galuḥ,[20] *mangriñci,*[21] *manghuri parang, sungka, dhūra,*[22] *pangaruhan,*[23] *taji,*[24] *watu tajĕm,*[25] | *sukun,*[26] *halu warak,*[27] *rakasang,*[28] *ramanang,*[29] *pini-*

21. *nglai,*[30] *katanggaran,*[31] *tapahaji,*[32] *airhaji,*[33] *malandang*[34] *lĕca,*[35] *lablab,*[36] *pakalangkang,*[37] *kutak,*[38] *tangkil,*[39] *tṛpan,*[40] *salyut,*[41] *watu walaḥ,*[42] *pa* | *maṇikan,*[43] *sikpan,*[44] *rumban,*[45] *tirwan,*[46] *wilang thā-*

22. *ni,*[47] *wiji kawaḥ,*[48] *tĕngkĕs,*[49] *māwī,*[50] *manambingi,*[51] *tanghiran,*[52] *tuha dagang,*[53] *juru gosali,*[54] *mangrumbai,*[55]

20 Gold-smith. 21 An inspector?

22 For a detailed note see Berg, *Mid. Jav. Hist. Trad.*, pp. 19 ff.; *TBG.*, 65, pp. 254 ff. Probably a class of smiths.

23 A class of smiths. 24 Apparently a class of persons.

25 A grinder of stones.

26 A class of medical men who invoke the aid of gods to cure diseases by making offerings to them.

27 'Persons from the retinue of the king, rendering services as director of the orchestra, *wayang* and other entertainments'.

28 A certain class of persons. 29 Apparently a class of persons.

30 A class of persons. Musician? 31 A class of persons.

32 On this and the following term, see the note of Dr. Stutterheim in *TBG.*, 65, pp. 250-51. 33 See the preceding note.

34 The term signifies someone who institutes a dice-play or cock-scrapping and collects 10 p. c.

35 A certain class of persons. 36 A certain class of persons.

37 Head of the rice-granaries. 38 A certain class of persons.

39 A class of officers in the special service of the king.

40 A class of persons. Officers? 41 A class of musicians?

42 Corresponding to *watu walang* of other inscriptions?

43 Jewellers. 44 A class of officers.

45 Setters of jewels. 46 A class of officers.

47 We have elsewhere *wilang wanua*. Kern translated the term by 'Land-teller'. According to Stutterheim 'division (divider?) of grounds in the communal possession'.

48 'Pot-washers' (Kern, *VG.*, VII, p. 47); 'persons with the task of bathing women 40 days after their delivery' (*TBG.*, 65, pp. 257 ff).

49 A class of persons probably connected in some way with war-armour.

50 Workers of articles with bamboo? 51 Makers of ropes.

52 A class of persons. 53 Traders.

54 Elsewhere *tuha gusali*, Smiths. 55 Corresponding to Indian 'cūraṇa'?

mangĕuñjai,[56] *tuhānambi,*[57] *juru kli,*[58]| *juru hañjman,*[59] *juru juḍi,*[60] *juru jalir,*[61] *pabisar,*[62]

23. *panggulung,*[63] *pawungkunung,*[64] *miśra hino,*[65] *miśrānginangin,*[66] *wĕli tambang,*[67] *wĕli hapū,*[68] *wĕli pañjut,*[69] *wĕli wadung*[70] *palamak,*[71] *urutan,*[72] *dampulan,*[73] | *pakalungku,*[74] *karĕngrĕngan,*[75] *tĕpung kawung,*[76] *sungsung,*[77] *pangu-*

24. *rang pasukalas,*[78] *sipad wilut,*[79] *juku(ng),*[80] *pāninganginn*[81] *pamāwasya,*[82] *hopan,*[83] *paurangan,*[84] *sĕkar tahun,*[85]..... | *awur,*[86] *panigang blaḥ,*[87] *patatar*[88] *tampō si*

25. *rir*[89], *parājaphala,*[90] *pagarakapan,*[91] *pawdihan,*[92] *pamahat,*[93]

56 According to Juynboll, festoon-makers for *kris*.

57 Medical man or seeker of roots of medical plants?

58 Apparently a class of persons. 59 A class of persons.

60 Officers having control over houses instituting dice-games.

61 The head of prostitutes. 62 A class of persons.

63 A class of persons. 64 A class of persons.

65 An officer who brings (?) orders (of the king?). See *TBG.*, 65, p. 258.

66 It signifies buffoon. See *Ibid.*; *BKI.*, 1924, p. 284.

67 Dealers in ropes. 68 Dealers in lime.

69 Dealers in lights, luminaries etc.

70 Dealers in hatchets. 71 Tallow-chandler.

72 Apparently a class of people. 73 An attendant of horses.

74 Apparently a class of people. 75 A class of officers.

76 Copyists of palm-leaf Mss. *Vide* also *TBG.*, 65, p. 260.

77 Messenger.

78 An officer who receives money or fines in connection with border-lands or privileges etc. See *TBG.*, 65, pp. 260-61.

79 A sort of fine? See a detailed note in *TBG.*, 65, pp. 261-62.

80 A class of ships.

81 The same as *miśra anginangin*? See note 66 above.

82 The interpretation of this word by Kern (*VG.*, VII, p. 48) does not appear to be acceptable. It is not Sanskrit and may be connected with the Jav. *wasi* or *wadi* or *wĕsi*. See a detailed note by Dr. Stutterheim in *TBG.*, 65, pp. 263-64.

83 Many. Perhaps we have to think here of 'all sorts of'. Can this then be connected with the following words? See *Ibid.*, p. 261.

84 Persons expert in maintaining the dryness of a particular thing?

85 Annual tribute. 86 A certain class of people?

87 Tributes of three *blaḥ*: 1½ ḍĕpa? See *TBG.*, 65, p. 263.

88 Procurers of fruits for royal dishes? 89 Dealers of clothes.

90 Dealers of palm-wine.

manglāka,[91] *pasangani*[91], *patangkalan*[91], *widu*[92], *mangidung*[92], *watĕk i jro*[93], etc., all (these) may not at all force upon

26. the place of Baru. Only the *karāmān* of Baru up to its whole extent are the sole authority over all of its possessions, of great and small sorts. Further, the *rāmanta*-s of (Ba-)

27. ru can have two places (?) as business-markets where to regulate the sale of cotton goods, necklaces of precious metals, *camara*-fans of merchants, two classes (?) of red paints (?), | carrier-baskets (?), and different kinds of transactions in

28. wares, transactions in rice and—.[94] Further they can obtain rent(?)from goldsmiths, ironsmiths, brass-smiths. They can also possess the *ḍayang*[95], *huūjman*[95], *nawbi*[95], *jĕnggi*[95], *pujut*.[95] If

29. all such persons do not recognise (the authority of) all the *rāmanta*-s of Baru, to such as these good and bad things may happen, e.g., the *arĕca*-flower that bears no fruit[96], the pumpkin that creeps along the ground, death, corpse

Second face and left side

1. bedewed,[97] blood spilt on the ground,[97] sprinkled spittle | that one must swallow, headstrong-ness, rashness with hands, rashness in speech, uncovering of magically forged weapons, *amok*-making,

91 Dealers of lac-dye.

92 A class of singers. For literature on the subject see references in *TBG.*, 65, p. 263.

93 Royal slaves of the inner apartments.

94 The word *wwĕlu* is not known to me.

95 These are probably servants or slaves of various denominations. Over *huūjman*. See *TBG.*, 65, p. 253.

96 This and the following phrases form a stereotyped passage which already occurs in the *Gĕdangan*-inscription of 782 Śaka (See Kern, *VG.*, VII, p. 17 ff.). In his note on the relevant portions of the text, Kern remarked that the writer had something in mind which we do not understand with sufficient clearness. Though his remarks hold good even now, Dr. Stutterheim has recently thrown some light on this difficult passage. *Vide*, *TBG.*, 65, pp. 268 ff.

97 *Vide*, Jonker, *Een Oudjavaansch wetboek*, 1885, art. 66 and 67. The 'blood spilt' was gathered by mischievous persons and this formed a kind of poison; the ground thereunder was regarded as antidote to it. So 'blood spilt' was dreaded

2. molestation of women,[98] chasing (?), following (?), standing shoulder to shoulder (?),[99] all sorts of punishments, abuses, etc. The *karāmān* of Baru are the authority over the whole extent of the place.

3. In making use of this place the hermitage (in Baru) should be respected by the *rāmanta*-s of | Baru, the Rev. Huwan, the Rev. Ḍĕpur, the Rev. Kawyōlan, the Rev. | Roḥ. Now these have to be enforced by the *taṇḍa rakryān* of

4. Balān by publicly announcing from the way to go (the following, viz.,) the intruders, whether great or small, including the *parawadwā, haji wadwā, rakryān parajuru, hamba rakryān ryyā* | *wān, hamba rakryān rājaputra, (hamba rakryān) rājaputrī, (hamba)*

5. *rakryān strīhaji*, having at their head the *hamba rakryān mahā* | *mantri* and *hamba rakryān śrī parameśwarī*[100] up to *magalaḥ*,[101] *mamanaḥ*[102], *magaṇḍi*,[103] *ma* | *tĕngrān*[104], *makuda*,[105] *mahaliman*,[106] *makarapā*,[107]

6. *karungan*,[108] | *pawḍusan*,[109] *mahwan*,[110] *lambu*,[111] even as *jang*.[112] Also the *pādu paburaka*,[113] *kḍi*,[114] *walyan*,[114] *sambal*

by the Javanese people. See *Babad Tanah Jawi*, pp. 264-266, ed. Meinsma, quoted by Stutterheim in *TBG.*, 65, p. 271; f.n. 74.

98 This is Stutterheim's interpretation of the term. Kern offered a different meaning in his edition of the *Geḍangan*-inscription.

99 According to V.d. Tuuk, 'descendants (?)'.

100 Similar passages occur only in the records of the Kaḍiri-period. *Cf. OJO.*, LXVII, 11. 16-17 (1038 Śaka), LXVII, 11. 18-19 (1057 Śaka). See also *OV.*, 1928, pp. 106-108, inscr. no. 2, 11. A. 1-2.

101 Lancers.
102 Bowmen, archers.
103 Wielders of clubs.
104 Flag-carriers.
105 Cavalry-officers.
106 Elephant-riders.
107 Garnerer, gatherer of dry sticks or fuels.
108 Boar-keepers.
109 Goat-keepers.
110 The word is not known to me.
111 A kind of vessels.
112 Junks?
113 Apparently a class of persons.
114 For a note on these terms see *TBG.*, 65, pp. 264-65.

sumbul,[115] *hulun huji*,[116] *jĕnggi*,[117] *singgah*,[118] *mabṛṣi*,[119] *macu* | *luwulung*,[120] etc. All who likewise

7. take care of the inner regions may not have any doubt about what the place of Baru stands for: they may not take—[121] (and) all kinds of forbidden things from that place, (such as), *hampyal*,[122] *pring*,[122] *pĕtung*,[122] betel-nut, betel- leaf, trees, |

8. all kinds of fruits, earth-fruits, up to animals of various sizes. All these (persons) may not have any doubt about it (i. e., about the *śīla* of Baru). Similarly, others may not create troubles in.....| If there be anyone who does not bestow (any) care for the substance of the sacred

9. royal command (contained in) the copperplate which has (indeed) to be taken care of by the *karāmān* of Baru to the full extent of the place, by all the olders and the young, for troubles arising therefrom (i. e., from that negligence) and for all sorts scant courtesy | to the sacred royal command, he shall pay the fine of kā 4

10. mā su 10. The writer (of this record) is Manuwul. On account of this fact (i. e., this royal favour), the whole community of Baru offered different gifts. To the *rakryān kanuruhan* (they gave) | 1 set of cloths. The *rakryān hujung* (received) cloth 1 set; the *samgat laṇḍayan*

11. (received) 1 piece of cloth; the *rakryān jasun wungkal* (received) 1 piece of cloth; the *samgat laṇḍayan rarai* (received) 1 piece of cloth; the *rakryān paliñjwan* (received) 1 piece of cloth; the *samgat luwĕm rarai*[123] | (received) 1 piece of cloth; the *samgat pajabungah* (received) 1 piece of dark-coloured cloth;

115 Probably a class of native officers. See *Ibid.*, pp. 265-66.

116 Slaves coming to the king's possession out of misdeeds. See *Ibid.*, p. 266.

117 A class of slaves. For a note see Kern, *VG.*, VII, p. 30; Stutterheim, *Rāma-legenden und Rāma-reliefs in Indonesien*, I, p. 278.

118 A class of persons.

119 Also *Pabṛsi*. According to Kern (*VG.*, VII, p. 49), cushion-carriers of the king. That they were servants or slaves of the king is clear. See *TBG.*, *op. cit.*, p. 266.

120 Slaves engaged for falconry?

121 The word is not known to me.

122 Different kinds of bamboos.

12. Sirampu[123] of Paruhapa (received) 1 piece of *ragi* (cloth); the *samgat pamwātan* (received) *mā* 4; the *juru sāmya* of Kahuripan jati (received) mā 14; the *akurug* of the *tinghal: pinghai* (who is) grandfather[124] of Rājya (received) mā 1, | ku 1; the *juru* over horses: *nganggin* (received) mā 1, ku 1; above all, the *samgat*

13. *pārblyĕn* (received) 1 set of dark-cloured (cloth) ||o|| Each of the names of (the members of the) *karāmān* of Baru to the whole extent of the place, of all the olders and the young who received the favour of Pāduka śrī māhāraja (through) the sacred royal command (contained in) the copperplate, is (the following):

14-37. [This portion of the text contains the names of persons of the community of Baru. Among them we also notice the names of women called *nini* or *ibu* in Old-Javanese.]

38. So, all the (members of the) *karāmān* of Baru to the whole extent | of the place, the old and the young, all received the favour of Pāduka śrī māhāraja (through) the sacred royal command

39. (contained in) the copper plate.|| If there be any wicked person who does not pay any heed to the import regarding the free region of Baru, as the result of his deeds may he experience all kinds of five great sins

40. in this world and in the next; he may be attacked without finding (any) relief. Moreover, as long as he lives, from all sides (lit. left and right), the abhorrence of men shall | be his lot ||o||.

HIMANSU BHUSAN SARKAR

123 The transcription reads 'sira mpu'. It is doubtful if the recepient's name will be omitted in such a case. *Mpu* means Mr., Herr, etc. I think that both the words taken together form a personal name.

124 It is not clear if we have to do here with the title of an official or not.

The Language of the Vāddās

The *Vāddās* are believed to belong to the aboriginal population of Ceylon. Their present home is the eastern part of the Island between the central highlands and the sea. They are generally divided into three groups: (1) The *Rock-Vāddās* are the most primitive of them They live entirely on hunting and dwell in natural caves in the forests east of Batticaloa between Bibile and Maha-oya. (2) The *Village-Vāddās* are living in the frontier districts of the old Vāddā-country. They have some intermixture with Sinhalese blood and are a little more civilised than the Rock-Vāddās. They have learnt to build huts for dwelling in and roughly to cultivate the soil. (3) The *Coast-Vāddās* inhabit small villages along the eastern coast between Trincomalee and Batticaloa. They have intermarried with Tamils and adopted their language and partly their manners and customs.

But I shall not enter here into a discussion of the racial problems connected with the Vāddās. Queries of such a kind must be answered by ethnologists and anthropologists, not by a linguist, and by scholars who had opportunity of observing the life of those people intheir own country and of inquiring into their physical and psychical character. It may be sufficient, therefore, to refer to the standard works of T. and S. Sarasin, *Die Weddas von Ceylon und die sie umgebenden Völkerschaften*, Wiesbaden 1893; H. Parker, *Ancient Ceylon*, London 1909; and C. G. and Br. Z. Seligmann, *The Veddas*, Cambridge 1911, where also more literature may be found. I confine myself to the short notice that according to my opinion which, I think, is in general agreement with that of the Seligmanns, the unsophisticated Väddās represent, in fact, the remnant of aboriginal inhabitants of Ceylon. Their life as hunters is probably the same as led by their ancestors at the time of the arrival in Ceylon of the first Aryan immigrants about five centuries B.C. It is not certain, however, if they are identical with the *Yakkhā* mentioned in the *Mahāvaṃsa* as aboriginal population of the Island. For it is not impossible that people of different race and origin were living in Ceylon even at that early period (cf. A. M. Hocart, Yakshas and Vāddās, *Studia Indo-Iranica*, p. 3 sq.). At present the Vāddās denote by *yaku* the spirits of the deceased persons of their own race.

The Väddās speak now a *Sinhalese dialect of a peculiar character*. Very often races or tribes have adopted another language, that of their conquerors or that of those they have conquered. I shall now try to describe the character of the Väddā language in connection with similar dialects spoken in the Island. The linguistic material for the study of the Väddā language (abbrev. VL), as far as it is accessible to me, is contained in the following works:

(a) L. de Zoysa, Note on the Origin of the Veddas, with a few specimens of their songs and charms, *JRAS.*, Ceylon Br., VII, No. 24, 1881, p. 93 sq. (abbrev. Z).

(b) H. Nevill, The Vaedda Dialect, *The Taprobanian*, I, 1885, p. 13 sq.; and The Vaeddas of Ceylon, *ibid.*, II, 1887, p. 121 sq. (abbrev. N I, II).

(c) A. T. W. Marambe, *The Vedda Language*, Kandy 1893 (abbrev. M).

(d) H. Parker, *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 123 sq, (abbrev. P).

(e) C. G. and Br. Z. Seligmann *The Veddas*, through the whole work and especially pp. 380 sq., 423 sq. where in the Vocabulary, I suppose, the words collected by the Sarasins are included (abbrev. S).

(f) I collected myself some materials in 1896 (abbrev. G) from Bintenne-Väddās, show-Väddās according to the Seligmanns.

Wherever it seems advisable to distinguish the various groups of the Väddās I differentiate between (a) SV. (Southern Väddās, V.'s of Nilgala and Sita Vanniya); (b) NV. (Northern Väddās, V.'s of Bintenne and the degenerated groups near the Bibile-Batticaloa road); (c) EV. (Eastern Väddās, Coast-Väddās).

It is hardly possible to arrive at a fully satisfactory result concerning the Väddā language. The texts, we know, are chiefly songs, invocations (of the *yaku*) and charms. Such texts, however, are a very weak base for linguistic investigations. They are sometimes partly unintelligible to the reciter himself (cf. S. 289-90, 298, 301) and we know from other languages that verses of popular or nursery songs and the like often become so corrupt that they may consist of words and syllables and sounds without any sense. The two invocations (NV., S. 280-1) are given by the Seligmanns themselves with all reserve. Very often in such verses the pronunciation is influenced by the musical recitation: short vowels may be lengthened and long vowels shortened. I refer to rhymes like *vāṭigo-gācāpo-bendāpo* (S.311) or *gācāpo-naṭāpo-bedāpo* (Z.99). Our informers are also

inconsistent and perhaps sometimes inaccurate in their transliteration. The vowels *e* and *a* are often not distinguished: N I 30 has *kāriyā*, bear (spelt *kaeriyā*), but P. 125 *keriyā*; S. 293 *āṅga*, body, (spelt *aenga*), but S. 428 *enge*; S. 276 *pängiri-kola*, betel leaf, but S. 427, No. 19 *pengiri-k°*. The vowel *a*, apparently pronounced as indifferent vowel *ə* after the accentuated syllable, is frequently written *e*: *mangacenawa*, to go, S. 437, No. 88; *humbeta*, to this place, S. 429, No. 32, but *humbate* S. 431, No. 50. The cerebrals *ṭ*, *ḍ*, *ṇ* are not separated from *t*, *d*, *n*, nor the lingual *ḷ* from *l* in the vocabulary S. 424 sq. P. 126 spells *boṭā*, beast, S. 276 *boṭa*, but N I. 30 *botāh*. The word for 'fruit' is often spelt *gediya*, often *geḍiya* : that for 'elk, sambar,' S. 287 *gōna*, but S. 289 *gōṇā*.

In all these cases we can also assume that the distinction of these sounds has entirely disappeared in the VL and the informers in their transliteration arbitrarily follow the Sinhalese spelling, or that the single Vāddās themselves pronounced the sounds in a different manner.

In spite of all such difficulties the fact is indisputable that the *VL is a kind of colloquial Sinhalese*. P a r k e r (p. 123) says: "The Vaedi dialect is to a great extent the colloquial Sinhalese tongue, but is slightly changed in form and accent. Yet closely as it resembles the latter, these differences and the manner in which it is pronounced render it quite an unknown language to one who has not a special acquaintance with it."

The correctness of this statement is shown by the following conversational sentences which I quote from S. 388-9 and from my own collection. To the sentences quoted from S. I shall add in brackets a transliteration according to the system adopted by myself for the sake of uniformity. As to pronunciation we must keep in mind that the accent generally lies on the first syllable of the word and that the vowel *a* after the accent is = *ə* (i.e. indifferent vowel). In compounds each word has its own accent.

(1) *ham hanikete mangacapa*, go (come) quickly. S. 388 (*haṁ. hanikaṭa maṁ-gacapaṁ*) = Sinh. *hani-hanikaṭa vareu*.

(2) *heminkaṭa katā-kara-damāpaṁ*, speak slowly, G. = Sinh. *hemin* (or *hemihiṭa*) *kathā-karapan*.

(3) *me galreke maieme*, this axe belongs to me, S. 388 (*me gal-rākka mayē-ma*).

(4) *kankuna patagacala ginaucala pucakadala kavilanga*, having killed the sambar, having kindled a fire, having roasted and cut (it) he eats, S. 389 (*kan-kuṇā paṭa-gacalā, gina-ucalā, puca-kaḍa-lā kavilaña*).

(5) *me gaye kavilana geḍi koḍoyi*, there are no (eatable) fruits on this tree, G.=Sinh. *me gahe giḍi nāhā*.

(6) *maye ayi-rukulaṭa peneña, mayē kana-rukulaṭa aheña*, I see with my eyes, I hear with my ears, G.

(7) *keriyā malāliyen gacapuva-ma boṭa-damāpi*, the bear when killed with the bow fell down, G.

(8) *mama kāle mañ-gacalā gayi-mājē rā-mājē nidā damāpiñ*, having gone to the forest I slept on a tree during the night, G.

(9) *vāl-kobā-vālin mayē malāliya mando-karalā tibeña*, my bow is made of v.k.v. (wood), G.

(10) *balumaṇaṭa āna-damanṭa epā balumaña tā kavilayi*, do not beat the dog, the dog will bite you, G.

I also add two verses from a song of the Harabora-vāva Väddās in Bintenne :

Sorabora-vāvē sonda olu nelum ātī
mīvā nelannaṭa sonda sonda liyo etī

"In the Sorabora tank there are beautiful water-lilies and lotuses. Most beautiful women come to pluck them off."

Though some details, and chiefly the single expressions in these sentences require further explanation, we can say that on the whole their structure as well as the grammatical forms are Sinhalese. After this preliminary remark we can enter into the details of phonology, morphology and vocabulary by which the Sinhalese character of the VL is confirmed or by which the VL is distinguished from regular colloquial Sinhalese.

PHONOLOGY.

In *vocalism*, the alternation of *u* and *i* (*puda*, offering, M. 23 or *pida* M. 26 ; *kiri*, something good and precious, or *kuru-*, Z. 100) seems to prove the existence in VL of the intermediate sound ū. Adv. *nimba*, quickly, is probably connected with v. *numana*, to go ; *mini*, men, alternates with *minu* ; *peratu*, in front, S. 308 with *peraṭi*, S. 312 ; v. *pucana*, to cook, roast, is perhaps=Sinh. *pisanavā*. The vowel *e* alternates with *o* in *polaṅgi*, female viper, G. *pelaṅgi* M. 15 so that we may also suppose the existence of *ō*. The inaccuracy of the vowel pronunciation is shown by the fact that sometimes *ō*, *o* is spelt for *ā*, *a*. But the final diphthong in forms like *kiyālay*, having said, for *kiyālā*, or in *vey*, is, becomes, for *ve* Z. 101, 100 (also spelt *-ai*, *-ayi*, *-eyi*) represents an archaic pronunciation. The same occurs in mediæval Sinhalese inscriptions.

In the weakening and elision of *consonants* the VL goes farther than Sinhalese. Cf. *dayi*, tooth, side by side with *dat*, S. 448, No. 170=Sinh. *dat*; *gayi*, tree, in *gayi-geḍiya*, areca nut, for Sinh. *gas*; *gayi*, rock, in *gayi-gē* M. 14 for Sinh. *gal-gē*, cave. Also *iya*, head, *ayi*, eye, for Sinh. *isa*, *āsa*. Initial *b* alters with *v*, (*bandurā*, monkey, or *vandurā*); *m* with *v* (*mīmā*, buffalo, Z. 98, generally *mīvā*); final *n* with *m* (*andan*, form, *neḷun*, lotus, =Sinh. *andam*, *nelum* etc.). A peculiarity is the sound *c*, frequently alternating with *s*: *ica*, *isa*, head; *maca*, *masa*, meat or fish. Cf. *pucana*, *pusana* S. 276, to cook. In Z *c* is very often spelt for *s*, even in genuine Sinh. words: thus *conda*, good, for *sonda*, *honda*; *āca*, *āsa*, sky. =Sinh. *ahasa* etc.' The verb *gacana* in *maṅ-gacana*, to go, has nothing to do with Pāli *gacchati*, as I wrongly assumed in my *Sinhalese Grammar*, 1900, p. 89. It is =Sinh. *gasanavā*, Pāli *ghaṃsati* and the phrase means literally 'to rub the road.' The double *cc*, *jj* stands for *tiy*, *diy* (cf. Sinh. coll. *gejja*, small bell, for *geḍiya*) in words like *peccā* P. 126 for *petiyā*, the little one; *pojja*, for Sinh. *poḍiya*, small bit.

MORPHOLOGY

The *declension* is the same in the VL as in Sinhalese. All the Sinhalese forms are met with in our Väddā texts: Pl. forms (=stem) are *ās*, eyes; *is*, heads; *aṭu*, branches, S. 198,200; the Pl. in *val* occurs in *gini-pojjā-val*, stars, S 448; that in *-lā* in *lamā-lā*, boys M. 21[14]. Obl. cases pl. *nayin*, of snakes; *polaṅgun*, of vipers; *gal-gavarun*, of sambar deer, S. 198,283. The instr. sg. or abl. ends in *-en*, *-in*: *vāssen*, with rain; *kanden*, from the hill; the loc. sg. in *-e*: *baḍe*, in the womb, S. 194, *gaye* (=Sinh. *gahe*), on the tree, G. The case-affixes *-ṭa* (dat.), *-ge* (gen.), *-gen* (abl.) are used as in Sinh: *yaka -ṭa*, to the Yakā, S. 271, *petiyā-ge*, of the little one, N II. 124, *kaṭṭuva-gen*, from the mass, M. 26[23]. The sentence *me gayi ara gayi-ṭa lokuyi*, this tree is higher than that tree, G., exactly corresponds to Sinh. *me gaha ara gaha-ṭa vaḍā lokuyi*. The form *deyiyanne* is to be understood as voc. and compared with Sinh. forms like *pīyāneni* or **nani*, oh father. The charm

iri-deyiyanne okmā
sanda-deyiyanne okmā
pase-budunne okmā
siṭu okmā siṭu

must be translated

Oh sun-god buffalo,
Oh moon-god buffalo,

Oh solitary Buddha buffalo,
Stop, buffalo, stop.

The buffalo is addressed with a honorific title, as in another charm the elephant is addressed with *appā*, oh daddie.

It seems that the syntactical use of the cases is more loose than in Sinhalese. I refer to sentence No. 6 where dat. forms in *-ṭa* occur as instrumentals.

As to the *numerals* often stress has been laid on the fact that the Vāddās do not count to show the low stage of their intelligence. It is true, they have no practice in counting, but simply because they do not need it in their daily life. Sinhalese numerals frequently occur in the texts: *sat, hat* = 7, S. 287, 288; *hāṭa*, = 60 S. 285; *pansiya* = 500, S. 198; *dāsa* = 1,000, S. 287; *patul-deka*, the two feet, S. 317 etc. The *pronouns* are also the same as in Sinhalese. It is sufficient to quote the personal pronouns *maṅ*, I; *to*, thou = Sinh. *mamə, tə*; gen. *maye* = Sinh. *ma-gē*; pl. *api, topi*. C. obl. *apa, topa*. Demonstrative stems are *me, e, ara*; interr. *kavuda*, who, S. 316 etc.

In the *verbal inflection* there are more differences between the two languages. The colloquial Sinhalese forms of the *present tense* in *-anavā, -inavā, enavā* are not unknown (cf. S. 275, M 21[12]) but the *paradigm* (v. to eat) noted down by myself is

maṅ kavilaña	*api kavilaña*
topa ,,	*topi* ,,
e-ätto ,,	*e-ätto* ,,

Here the pron. of the 2nd and 3rd per. sg. would perhaps be more correctly *to, e-ättā* (this person). More archaic forms like *eyi*, he comes, S. 282; *ganiyi*, he takes, M. 279; *yanamo*, we go, N II, 126; *penemo*, we see, *ibid.* (Sinh. *penemu*) are not infrequent.

As to the *moods* the imperative ends in *-pan* (plu. *-pav*) or is the pure verbal stem: *kiyāpan, -pav*, say (Sinh. *idem*), but also *nāḍav*, make a sound, S. 297. The *infinitive* (see below) may also be used as imperative. Cf. also the negative imp. *damaṇṭa epā* (see above sentence 10), in Sinh. the same; but also *no-kiyā*, do not say S. 299. An interesting form is *siṭu* (or *ciṭu*,) stop, used in charms to prevent a dangerous beast from approaching. It is = Sinh. *siṭu* < **ciṭṭha*, Pāli *tiṭṭha*, which occurs in *Mahāvaṃsa*, 31.68 in the same association. The conditional mood is also not unknown in the VL: *danitot*, if you know, S. 299; *vāḍiyot*, if you come, S. 301 (= Sinh.).

The formation of the *preterite* is more complicated. Many forms in our texts agree with those of the Sinhalese language: *bālimi*, I looked, M. 25[21] = Sinh. *bālīmi* (v. *balanavā*); *dāka-gattem*, I have

seen, Z. 100, No. 4 (compd. v. *dāka-gannavā*), *divuvā*, he ran, N II. 125 (v. *duvanavā*); *vihiḍune*, is spread out, S. 287 (v. *vihiḍenavā*); *topi-t giyo-da*, did you also go, S. 311[25] (v. *yanavā*, part. *giyā*). The forms ending in *-pan* (*-pin*) must also be understood as shorter forms of the 1st sg. pres: *dāka-pin*, I saw, M. 21[14], 22[2] (compd. v. *dāka-piyanavā*); *-pin* stands for *-*pīm*, **-piyim* (Sinh. pret. *piyuvā*, *pivvā*). In the invocation S. 276 (II) I translate *depaṭullan ānō kālāpin*, I have offered rice, (not, take the rice). Cf. S. 277 (IV): *depaṭullan āno kālāṅṅā*, I am offering rice or I shall offer rice. But other forms can hardly be explained in a satisfactory way. Among my own collections there is, for example, the sentence *gayi-geḍiya bima-ṭa vāṭicca*, the fruit fell (from the tree) to the ground, (Sinh. *vāṭuṇā*) and I refer to *mākicci**, destroyed, S. 294 (Sinh. *mākuṇu*). But especially I mention the forms ending in *-ga*, *-go*; *nāgiga*, ascended, (spelt *negige* S. 388); *palaga*, fell down (**ge ibid.*); *inigo*, loosened M. 13 (v. *unanavā*); *vāṭigo*, fell; M. 18, Z. 98, S. 311[27]. Is here *g* perhaps a rough pronunciation of *y* ?

The *present participle* has the ending *-na* (*-āna*), or extended *-nna* (*-ānaka*): *duvana*, jumping, S. 279; *bonna*, drinking, S. 281; *yanna*, going (=Sinh.). The *preterite part. pass.* ends in *-pu*: *marāpu*, killed; *sarasāpu*, adorned (both=Sinh.); the termination *-pu* alternates with *-po* (*kiyāpo*, said, N II. 124) or *-pi* (*tanāpi*, made, formed, S. 279). The *infinitive* ends in *-na*, or extended *-nna*, or (dat.) *-ṇṭa* (often spelt *-ṇḍa*); *dena heki*, able to give, S. 287; *denna ōnā* or *denṭa ōnā*, ought to give, S. 278, 276 in conformity with Sinh. Cf. also *yana issaraṭa*, before going, S. 271; *kannaṭa*, to eat, Z. 102. In imperative meaning: *balanna*, look, S. 306; *denṭa*, give, S. 297 etc.

The formation of the *gerunds* also corresponds to that in Sinhalese. Forms of the ger. pres. are *tibamin*, while placing; *bomin*, while drinking; forms of the ger. pret. 1st conj. *gasā*, having struck, S. 271; 2nd conj. *hāra*, having dismissed, S. 290, *gena* (Sinh. *idem*, v* *gannavā*) having taken, N II. 125; 3rd conj. *nāgī*, having ascended, (*ibid*). The latter forms occur as first part of composite verbs, the second part being a verb of general meaning like *lanavā*, to put; *damanavā* (*idem*), *tibenavā*, to be placed; *gannavā*, to take, etc. One says *bānda-lanava*, *bānda-gannavā* for simple *bandinavā*, to bind: *āna-damanavā* for *aninavā*, to beat. Such formations are as frequent in VL as in Sinhalese, perhaps even more frequent. The v. *tibena* seems to be used to express the passive meaning (see sentence 9), as *yedenavā* in coll. Sinh. The imp. forms in *-pan*, the participles in *-pu* have such a composite character, and the gerunds pret. end in the

most cases in *-lā*; *nāgīla* N II. 125; *kiyālā*, S.201, *dīlā*, having given, S. 311[18], i.e., they are formed from the ground-verb composed with the gerund of *lanavā*.

VOCABULARY

We must say, therefore, that in phonology as well as in morphology the VL generally conforms with Sinhalese The chief difference is the *vocabulary*. I have collected more than 600 genuine Sinhalese words which occur in our VL-texts, besides some loan-words from Sanskrit, Pāli and Tamil. Nevertheless there are many words peculiar to VL. They consist for the most part in *periphrastic expressions*. Thus we meet many compounds with the words *pojja*, possibly =Sinh. *poḍiya*, little bit. However the meaning 'little bit' has changed to a more general one=thing, object. Such compounds are *aṅgili-pojja*, finger; *at-p°*, hand; *kanda-p°*, hill; *gini-p°*, fire; *diya-p°*, water; *bim-p°*, ground; *mal-p°*, flower; *le-p°*, blood, etc. even *ira-p°*, Sun; *handa-p°*, Moon. Another word used in such compounds is *rukula* (Sinh. stay, support). It occurs in words which denote parts of the body: *ayi-rukula*, eye; *kan-r°*, ear; *kaṭa-r°*, mouth. Finally I mention *daṇḍa*, stick, in *uguru-daṇḍa*, throat; *nāyi-d°*, nose; *kakula-d°*, leg. In all these compounds the first part is the Sinhalese denomination of the object and the second a word of general meaning, as if we say *summer-time* for simply *summer*, or in German *tigertier* (tiger-beast) for *tiger*.

Another group of periphrastic expressions has a *descriptive* character. I first quote names of animals like *uḍa-keḷinnā*, lit. playing on high, and *mūna-kuṇā*, lit. face-dirty for 'monkey'; *kan-kuṇā*, lit. ear-dirty for 'elk, sambar deer'; *hocca-dikkā*, lit. snout-long, or *hossa-ullā*, lit. snout-pointed for 'pig'; *māhi-keli*, lit. honey-girls for 'bees'; *hatara-pā-āttā*, lit. four-feet-owner for 'dog'. A name of the axis deer is *kabara-boṭā*, i.e. spotted animal, and I think that *kapuru-ballā*, leopard, P. 126, is incorrectly spelt for *kabara-b°*, i.e. spotted dog. The name of the sambar deer, *hulica*, S. 433 is probably *hul*=Sinh. *hula*, *ula*, Pāli *sūla*+*ica*, lit. pike-head; another name *ambera* (NV.) is certainly not=Sk. *Śambara*, but=*aṁ-bara*, horn-bearer. Other descriptive periphrases are *pāngiri-kola*, lit. sour-leaf for 'betel'; *kiri-daluva*, lit. milk-bud for 'cocoanut; *rat-geḍiya*, lit. red-fruit for 'banana', *de-paṭulan*, lit. having two pointed ends for 'rice'. Also *bol-pini*, lit. thick-dew for 'fog, mist'; *la-aṭe*, lit. heart-bone for 'breast' etc.

There remains a considerable number of words in the VL which

are of a quite different character. They are no compounds, and it is impossible to explain them as derived from an Aryan dialect. I believe they are, at least partly, *remnants of the aboriginal language* of the Vāddās. For some of them an Aryan etymology may perhaps be found in future time. It is remarkable that those peculiar words are chiefly names of animals which play an important part in the life of the Väddās. Such words are *okmā*, buffalo, (SV.) : *kadira*, bat, (SV.); *kanave*, a kind of bee, Z. 101 ; *kike* (small) lizard (SV.) ; *kāṭā*, dog, M. 14, 17 ; *keriyā* or *kāriyā*, bear, (general) ; *kokkā*, monkey, (SV.) ; *cappi* or *sappi*, bird, (general); *tingitiya*, viper, N ; *duse*, mouse-deer (SV.) ; *polacca*, leopard (SV.) ; *māgāl*, sambar deer, N,P. 126; *manyā*, buffalo, N,P. 125 (NV); *mārā-lu*, a kind of bird, kite, S. 278 (NV); *leṇḍi*, hare, M. 17, 23^{21}; *lembā* mouse-deer, N,P. 125, M. 17; *vadena*, buffalo (NV.); *velina*, owl, (SV). The word *molā*, elephant, N,P. 126 (SV) is perhaps of Sinhalese origin and connected with *mohola*, *mōla*=Pāli *musala*, pestle (for pounding rice), the elephant's legs being compared to such pestles: the elephant is the pounder. Among the SV.s there exists a word *mita* for 'leopard'. As *i* and *u* sometimes alternate, we can compare it with *bādi-mutā* of the jungle-language (see below). This is explained by A. M. Gunasekara (S. 453) as grandfather (Sinh. *muttā*) of the forest (Sinh. *bädda*).

Other words which seem to be of *non-Aryan origin* are *itiya*, name of an ancient weapon (SV); *kaḍāne*, thicket, Z. 98; *kukuru*, n. of a tree N. II. 125; *gāla*, forest, wilderness, N,P. 128 (the identification with Sinh. *gāla*, cattle-fold, would be justified if we assume an inversion of the meaning); *guvā*, word, speech, N,P. 132; *tutā*, son, and *tutī*, daughter, S. 64; *tekkiya*, axe, (NV); *puvala*, well, M. 15; *māru*, mushrooms, M. 16; *varadana* or *varadāne* M. 18^{16}, N. II 124 or *varadamanana* M. 17, 19^{12} f., hena cultivation. A word of Sinhalese origin is *rattā*, lit. the red one for 'fire' M. 16, 18^{14}. However the Sinhalese language itself contains many words which also occur in VL, but which have no Aryan appearance and cannot be etymologically derived from Old or Middle-Indian. It is not impossible that some of them belong to the aboriginal language and were borrowed from it by the Aryan immigrants. I mention words like *kola*, leaf (NV); *dola* in VL. pig (general), in Sinh. *doḷa*, offering to demons; *rerā*, wild duck, S. 311^{12}, or tree-names like *kobbā*, *palu*. I am also inclined to believe that *gala*, stone, rock, is such an old word. It occurs in the Väddā texts in many topographical names (*Monara-gala*, S. 303 *Urā-g°*, *Iriya-g°*, *Dāhesiyā-g°*, *Hērā-g°*,

Mārā-g°, *Kumbuhu-g°*, M. 23-5) and is certainly not=Sk. and Pāli *giri*. Perhaps the word *hena*, *sena*, *cena* is also the ancient name of the rough mode of agriculture by burning down the forest which was in use among the aboriginal tribes and imitated under similar conditions by the immigrant Aryan people.

We can hardly say the VL has preserved many ancient Aryan words from pre-Sinhalese times. We should be compelled to assume it, if we could approve the various etymologies of A.M. Gunasekara in the vocabulary S. 424 sq. But wherever the learned Mudaliyar tries to derive an obscure Väddā word from ancient Sanskrit without an intermediate Pāli and Sinhalese form his explanations are not in keeping with the rules of linguistic method. It is more advisable to abstain from the solution of a problem than to make random guesses. The words which I can quote are very few and by no means all indubitable. Thus *u*, water, in *u-kana*, to drink, N,P. 130, the same as *diya-kana* M. 15, may perhaps be derived from Sk. and Pāli *udaka* which however has disappeared in Sinhalese while the shorter form *daka* is preserved as *diya*. Remarkable is also *vanne* in *culaṅgak vanne*, wind is blowing, Z. 103, M 23[18-21]. We might suppose that the Root *vā* existed in Ceylon in Pre-Sinhalese time and was borrowed by the Väddās at an early period. In Sinhalese derivatives of the Root *vā* do not exist. Doubtful is also *rusa*, tree, S. 306. Its prototype would be a Middle-Indian **ruccha*. This would be a form of a North-Western Indian dialect, while in all the other Indo-Aryan vernaculars the word for 'tree' is derived from *rukkha*. Thus also Sinh. *ruka*. I think that such isolated examples will hardly allow us to draw from them conclusions of some bearing.

Before I summarize the results of my observations I must notice the fact that the various peculiar expressions are by no means arbitrarily used by the Väddās. Thus (cf. S. 382) among the unsophisticated Väddās of Sitala Vanniya the word *käriyā*, bear, might be used when the beast is at a distance i.e. in the daily conversation when the people are at home, dwelling in their caves. But they use *hatera* (*hatarā*), the enemy, (Sinh. *haturā*), if the animal is suspected to be near, i.e. when they are wandering or hunting in the forest. We must assume, therefore, a difference between the *daily speech* and the *jungle language*. But we hear (S. 386) also that peculiar expressions are confined to the invocations i.e. to the *ritual language*. The pig, *dola*, is spoken of as *hossa-dikkā*, lit. snout-long; the betel leaf, *pāṅgiri-kola*, as *nil-kola* (dark-leaf); the rice, *de-paṭulan* as *hudu-hamba*. The word *uḍa-keḷiannā* (see above), monkey, occurs at Sitala Vanniya only in invocations.

Now the character of the VL becomes manifest, I think. It was originally, and is now in charms, invocations &c, a conventional *secret language*. Other languages of similar kind exist in Ceylon, and it is in connection with them that the VL must be judged and understood. Such languages are (1) the dialect of the Roḍiyās (RL), low-caste or out-caste people who are living in separate hamlets chiefly in the NW. Province; (2) the *goyi-basa* (GB), the language of the threshing-floor, used by Sinhalese and Tamils throughout the Island during their agricultural work; (3) the *kālā-basa* (KB), the jungle language, spoken by hunters during their trips in the forest. The purpose of these languages is not quite the same. The RL is comparable to the German *gaunersprache*, (language of thieves). Distrusted and despised by the Sinhalese the Roḍiyās intend to conceal from them the ideas and plans they discuss in their conversation. The intention of the GB is to keep off the noxious influence of the ubiquitous malevolent spirits; the *yaku* are believed not to understand the expressions for implements and actions used in the GB so that they cannot disturb the work. By the KB the hunters wish to avoid a similar influence of the *yaku* and the encounter with dangerous beasts. Wild animals will approach if they hear their names, they keep out of the way if they do not hear it.

In the *Roḍiyā-language* (H. Nevill, The Taprobanian, II. 81 sq., 103 sq., W. Geiger, Stzb.d. B. Ak. d. W. 1897, p. 1 sq.) periphrastic words are as frequent as in the VL: for sky *bin-giri*, lit. earth mountain is used; for mountain *teri-boraluva*, lit. big stone; for adze, *matili-hāpakarana-nāḍuva*, lit. knife for cutting fire-wood. The word *aṅge* is added to many words in the same manner and with a similar general meaning as *pojja* in the VL: *daluma-aṅge*, hearth, lit. fire-thing, *galakarana-aṅge*, gun, lit. noise-making-thing etc. There are also words in the RL. which appear to be of non-Aryan origin, as *bāssā*, dog; *lāddā*, bullock; *kuraḍiya*, head, etc., and perhaps even more archaic forms than in the VL. It is probable that the Roḍiyās like the Vāddās are not of Aryan race.

In the *Goyi-basa* (F. P. Lewis *JRAS.*, C.B. VIII, No. 29, 1884, p. 237) composite words are not so numerous as in RL and VL, but they are not entirely missing. Cf. *maha-bolā*, the great animal, for 'elephant'. Expressions of descriptive character are, for instance, *liyannavā*, the cutter, for 'sickle'; *suduvā*, the white one, for 'lime'. Sometimes the meaning is inverted as in *miriya*, sweetness, for 'salt' or the words have simply the character of nick-names: the house is spoken of as *kūḍuva*, nest. A few words of the GB also occur in the VL, as *pāṅgiri-kola*, betel leaf (see 17); *kalu-dāvā*, bear

&c. Non-Aryan words do not exist in the GB which appears to be of later origin.

The *Kālā-basa* (Parker, *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 123 sq.) is nearest to the VL. It is according to the common opinion invented by the Vāddās and by the Vanniyās, a small tribe of hunters who are living in the NW. Province. Like RL and GB and like VL it is Sinhalese in grammar and construction, but differs from it in the vocabulary. Periphrastic or descriptive expressions are *gas-gonā*, lit. tree-bullok, for the Vandura monkey; *kandan-panínnā*, lit. hill-jumper for the Rilava monkey; *bādi-mutā*, lit. grandfather of the forest (see above) and *sivu-pāvā*, lit. quadruped, for 'leopard'; *uyan-govuvā*, lit. garden-warder, for 'bear'; *kiri-pāra*, lit. milk-road, for 'track' (*kiri* here = *lē*, blood); *ādurā*, lit. master, for 'dog'; *kaluvā*, lit. the black one, for 'bear' &c. There are also many words of non-Aryan appearance in the KB. like *kekkā*, mouse-deer, *pollā*, sambar deer; *bora*, honey; *gembō*, fish; *tōḍu*, horn; also verbs like *tamananavā*, to walk; *manduranavā*, to tie. The word *galu*, noise, speech, is common to GB and KB. (Aryan words in archaic form are *sûrya*, Sun (Sk. *idem*); *himāla*, jungle (Sk. *himālaya*); *pahāsu venavā*, to come to please by a visit, (Pāli *phāsu*, pleasant). They may have been brought to the jungle people by bhikkhus who dwelt in a forest hermitage. Finally I mention some words which are identical with, or similar to, words of the VL, KB, GB, VL. *rattā*, fire, (see above); KB. *ittāyā* = VL. *iddāyā* N. porcupine; KB. *kaluvā* (see above) = VL *kalu-dāvā* N. bear; KB. *uhallā, us°* (the tall one) = VL. *gombara uhallā* HP 126 elephant; KB. *ambaruvā* = VL. *ambera* (see above), sambar deer; KB. *hatara-bāga-āttā* = VL. *hatarak-pā-āttā* (see above), dog; KB. *bubbara* = VL *pubbura* N. (cooked) rice.

I shall now sum up my opinion concerning the origin and evolution of the Vāddā language, ascertaining with satisfaction that in all the main points I believe to be in agreement with what the Seligmanns have said in their excellent work on the Vāddās, p. 387.

(a) The Vāddās were an aboriginal tribe, perhaps related to the most ancient tribes of Southern India. They were inhabitants of Ceylon before the first Aryan immigration and spoke a non-Aryan language. The last remnant of this language is a small number of words which survive up to the present day.

(b) The Vāddās used, even in that pre-Aryan period, a secret language when they were wandering or hunting in the wilderness, and this was afterwards imitated by the Sinhalese and Tamils.

(c) When the Vāddās came into contact with the Sinhalese they first adopted from them a number of Aryan words which they used in their secret language.

(d) By the lasting intercourse with the Sinhalese people the loan-words became more and more numerous, and the aboriginal language was gradually displaced by colloquial Sinhalese. Now the Vāddās had need of new words for their secret language, and this may have been the period when they invented the numerous periphrastic expressions.

(e) In connection with the general disappearance of the aboriginal language by the substitution of Sinhalese words the difference between the conversational and the secret (and ritual) language may often have changed, and the adopted words underwent the same phonetic alterations as in Sinhalese itself.

(f) This is the present state of the Vāddā language. The most unsophisticated Vāddās, we know, are those of Nilgala and Sita Vanniya, the Southern Vāddās. But also the sophisticated Village-Vāddās of Bintenne cling with tenacity to their old customs and to their language. There will live, I suppose, still a small number of wild Vāddās in the forests of innermost Bintenne, uninfluenced by Sinhalese civilisation. The Coast-Vāddās or Eastern Vāddās have lost much of their original character by continual intercourse with Tamils and given up their language. The unsophisticated Vāddās do mentally by no means stand on the lowest stage of humanity. They are proud people, and the Sinhalese look on them with respect and acknowledge them as the original owners of the country by ascribing them the rank of the highest caste.

WILH. GEIGER



Copper Celt



Copper Celt

Pre-historic Copper Celt

The locale where the copper celt (now in the Indian Museum) was found and the circumstances that led to its discovery are as follows:—

Kushaya is a small village in the District of Monghyr, subdivision Jamoooee, in Behar.

This celt was ploughed up by a villager near Chatakorum Mine in Kushaya, a grating of his plough share attracting his attention. Chatakorum mine is about thirteen miles south of Jhajha Station, E. I. R.

It was unearthed from a depth of about 3 feet below the surface of the ground near the mine. The mine showed traces of previous working for mica and the modern line of work is a continuation along the old track.

As the character of the find and its importance were not realized, Mr. Ganendra Nath Chatterjee, geologist and owner of the Sakuntala and other mica mines requested me to examine it.

The copper celt is in fairly excellent preservation. It is of the lunettee type, and is oval in shape. The round cutting edge is larger than a semi-circle. The rounded face is broader than the butt end and both ends of the blunt edge at the butt have their corners slightly turned upwards.

The curved blunt edge at the butt is perhaps the incipient stage of a fully formed sharp edge at the butt of a double edged celt found at Mohenjo-daro (See *Mohenjo-daro*, vol. III, Pl. CXXX, no. 35, the edges at top and bottom, both rounded), and might have been intended to be used for cutting when sharpened, especially when the other rounded edge became blunt and worn out by continued use for a long time (See *Ibid.*, Pl. CXXXIX, 1; pl. CXXXVIII, 1).

The celt is heavy and its edge is thick, blunt and worn out. It does not appear to have been sharp enough to be used as a cutting instrument. But the sharp edge might have become almost blunt by use, and it is not easy to conjecture as to the purpose for which it was

utilized. It might have been used as a battle-axe, or a hammer-axe to break stones in the mine.

The peculiarity of its type will be evident from the accompanying plates. One surface of the celt is perfectly flat and the other slightly convex and rounded off. The surfaces are rough and seemed to have been corroded, worn and weathered, as it must have exposed to the action of the earthy and sandy deposits and atmospheric changes for a long time. It is thick at the middle, but gradually thins off at the cutting edge where it is about half the thickness at the middle. The convex surface has a small flat medial area, plane and smooth and here perhaps a part of an original feature is seen. It is shouldered, the sides are hammered into two semi-circular curved recesses, which would be admirably adapted to the application of a handle of wood or a split bamboo stick, secured by a ligature, or hafted otherwise. Thus it would form a rude but a very effective axe or a hammer.

In Sir John Evans' *Ancient Stone Implements*, we have a representation of a neolithic implement, a polished celt with part of its original wooden handle still attached, found in a peat-bog in Cumberland. In *A Guide to the Antiquities of the Bronze Age in the British Museum*, p. 27, fig. 4 we find representation of a "Handle of celt, with the method of hafting, Hallein, Salzberg, Austria".

I cleaned the surface by rubbing and washing as it was smeared with mud, found the metal bright beneath, and this accounts for the reddish shining areas seen on it. The celt seems to have been cast, in a mould first and then finished with the hammer.

It would be a vain endeavour to offer any conjecture as to the age of the celt, but it may be assumed that it is very old.

The measurements of the specimen are as follows:—

Maximum length (from the middle of the convex round edge to the mid-point of the curved butt end).	**= 6⅜ inches**
Maximum breadth	**= 5⅛ inches**
Breadth of the butt end	**= 4 inches**

Breadth at the curved recesses	= 3 inches
Breadth at the beginning of shoulders	= 5 inches
Breadth at one niche below the top	= 4 inches
Weight	= 3lbs 14oz.

If we make allowance for wear and tear, the original weight might be conjectured to have been roughly four pounds.

Copper implements have been found all over Northern India from Hooghly to Cawnpur. The Cawnpur district seems to have been very rich in the manufacture of copper implements. The flat copper celts are obviously copies of Neolithic patterns in stone.

The shouldered type of copper celt had also its prototype in stone e.g. the *two shouldered stone implements from Assam* presented to the Indian Museum by Lord Curzon (Das Gupta, *JASB.*, IX, p. 291); the *Grooved Stone Hammers from Assam* (J. C. Brown. *JASB.*, X, p. 107) and the prevailing type of Naga Hill Celts which are slightly shouldered (*A Naga Hill Celt*, J. H. Hutton, *JASB.*, XXII, p. 133).

Some of the blade axes of Mohenjo-daro, like some of the Gungeria celts have an incipient shoulder (Pl. CXXXVIII, 3 & 6; pl. CXXXIX, 3 & 4). The shoulder of the Bijnor (*Ind. Ant.*, 1905, p. 236 pl. I, 7, 14; *Prehistoric Antiquities in the Indian Museum*, p. x.) and some of the Gungeria and Midnapur celts are more pronounced. This feature is also found in Hungary, Western Europe in both the Copper and Bronze ages (Petrie, *Tools and Weapons*, pl. I, figs. 26-28).

V. Smith gives us a list of recorded prehistoric finds of copper implements in a tabular form in 14 sites in Northern India (*Ind. Ant.*, 1905, pp. 234-5). C. G. Brown has added 4 more sites to the list. I refer my reader to this list of Copper Age antiquities in Northern India in page 9 of his *Catalogue of Prehistoric Antiquities in the Indian Museum*. Anderson's *Catalogue and Handbook of the Archæological Collection*, 1883, contains many illustrations. From these and other sources I have attempted a list of these antiquities brought up to date.

The celt under discussion is like some of the celts illustrated in plate X in the aforesaid Brown's *Catalogue*.

No. 2. The copper celt from the Midnapur District.

No. 7. The copper celt from Gungeria, C.P.

It is difficult to tell whether this implement is indigenous or imported. But its similarity with the Midnapur and some of the Gungeria celts proves it to be of local manufacture.

The well known Gungeria hoard of implements of pure copper (*Proc. A.S.B.*, 1870) proved that manufacture of such implements was carried upon on an extensive scale and they were in common use. Flat celts of several types are found in this hoard. In the list compiled by Foot, 12 types are noted. In Mohenjo-daro the blade-axes or celts (Pls., CXXXVIII and CXXXIX) which were usually of copper, more rarely of bronze, were of two types—one long and narrow, the other short and broad. They are widely distributed in the North and Near East and stone prototypes of both are common in Northern and Central India. The long bar-celts which are found later on in the Jumna-Ganges Valley are absent there. Copper arrow-heads have been found but not the spear heads and swords. In plate CXXXIX five copper and bronze celts have been illustrated. The fine copper axe (L. 383; L. 238, illustrated in Pl. CXXXIX, 5) and razor also of copper (in plate CXXXII) and a thick copper slab, part of a blade axe (Pl. CXXXIX 9) have been found. Our specimen with crescentic cutting edge is not unlike certain celts from Mohenjo-daro, but the type is too common and widely diffused to warrant us to draw any conclusion from it.

Copper was used in ancient times in the manufacture of common artefacts, namely, weapons of war or of the chase,—axe heads of celts, spears, daggers, lance-heads, arrows; implements, razors, sickles, needles, ladles, fish-hooks; and domestic utensils, vases, caskets, wires, rods, plates, coins, tablets and cheap ornaments such as bangles, finger rings, earrings, girdles, figurines, amulets etc.

In the *Rgveda*, *ayas* (Latin *aes*) next to gold is the metal most often referred to. *Ayas* often stands as a generic name to mean simply 'metal', though in later works it signifies iron as a rule. The mention of dark and red *ayas* in the *Atharvaveda* indicates a distinction between iron and copper or bronze. The surgical instruments of the Hindus are recommended generally to be made of iron; but Suśruta allows other suitable materials when iron of good quality is not available.

Pure copper was also used as a material of instruments and vessels and instruments of copper are frequently mentioned in the medical

books of the Hindus. A copper probe for applying antimony to the eye has been found in excavations of Bijnor and another in the Bihar excavations. Cakradatta advises us to use a copper probe for the application of *lekhana* collyrium; and Suśruta mentions a copper needle in the operation for reclination of cataract (*Surgical Instruments of the Hindus*, vol. I, p. 61).

Copper is not mentioned in the *Rgveda*, but it is referred to in the later Vedic ages, the age of the *Brahmanas*. The non-Aryans in Northern India used copper implements after the neolithic period. There are archæological evidences of the existence of cultivation and developments of a flourishing copper industry from pre-historic times in India. V. Smith is of opinion that in Northern India a Copper age intervened between the Stone and the Iron age, but in Southern India Iron age followed Stone age and that there appears to have been no Bronze age in India. Only seven specimen of pre-historic bronze implements have been recorded.

But bronze ornaments such as bangles, necklaces etc., strainers, sieves, bowls, jars, cups and other domestic articles have been found. Later on bronze was used in casting statues for religious purposes. Bronze is not mentioned in the Vedas.

Copper took the place of stone in the manufacture of articles noted above, but stone implements continued to be in use and neolithic celts were found both at Taxila, and at Bhīta, in ruins of the Greeks, Parthians and early Gupta periods. There is conclusive proof that Neolithic implements were in use in India until mediæval times (Marshall). Our knowledge of prehistoric culture in the valley of Jumna and Ganges and the adjacent countries is very scanty. It seems, however, doubtful if it could have been far behind the highly complex and the advanced civilization brought to light in the Punjab and Sind where both copper and bronze vessels have been found side by side. It is rather premature to assert that there was no Bronze age in India. The artefacts of the Stone and Copper ages found on the surface of the ground prove that this part must have passed through the Stone and Metal ages, and judging from the implements and weapons, so far discovered, it must have been on a par with the Indus valley culture discovered at Mohenjo-daro. Extension of the Indus civilization west-

ward and eastward has been proved. In fact, the discovery of copper implements of superior workmanship in the excavations at Mohenjo-daro proves the greater antiquity of the prehistoric specimens found in Jumna-Ganges valley.

Thus the assertion that India had no Bronze age requires modification in the light of recent researches in prehistoric antiquities. In the excavations at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa it has been clearly proved that the people were acquainted with bronze at a very early period. "Bronze objects discovered at Mohenjo-daro comprise utensils, tools and weapons, statues and jewellery etc." It is obvious that their makers were quite familiar with the property of bronze, that enabled it to be forged at a temperature just below redness. The chemical composition of the bronze objects leaves no doubt that the use of tin from 4·5-13 per cent is not accidental, but was added intentionally to produce an alloy suitable for cutting tools and such other purposes (*Mohenjo-daro*, vol. II, p. 481). We find simultaneous use of copper and bronze in Mohenjo-daro before 3,000 B.C. Copper was no doubt more abundant than bronze but various objects of bronze have been discovered. Copper was not replaced by bronze, for tin was rare. One of the reasons for the use of copper for utensils might have been due to copper being considered a sacred metal as evidenced by the early utensils of copper in Central India. Bronze was used for tools, razors, jewellery or ornamental vessels.

APPENDIX

I

List of Copper Age Antiquities in Northern India

Locality	Finds	References
1. Rajpur, Bijnor Dist. U.P.	9 flat celts, 1 long bar celt, 6 spears or harpoonheads. (Lucknow Provincial Museum, 1896).	*IA.*, 1915, 236. Pl. 1.
2. Mathura, on the Jumna.	1 Celt.	Cunningham, *ASR.*, III, p. 16, Pl. II.; Prinsep quoted in *Proc. Soc. Ant.* Scotland, 1870.
3. Mainpuri, between Ganges & Jumna.	2 flat celts, 1 barbed harpoon-head, 1 set of rings (Indian Museum).	*Proc. ASB.*, 1868, pp. 251-2, 262; Anderson, *Catalogue*, II, 403; *IA.*, 1905, 236.

Locality	Finds	References
4. Farrukhabad, Fategarh on the Ganges.	13 swords, symbolical objects.	*IA.*, 1905, 236. Pls. II and III; *As. Res.*, VII, 1832; Anderson, *Cat.*, II., 405.
5. Niorai, Itawa Dist.	1 barbed spear or lance-head, 1 sword (Copenhagen Museum).	*Proc. Soc. Ant.*, Scotland, 1870, pp. 293, 300; *ibid.*, 1874, pp. 690. 694, referring to *Rep. of Roy. Soc. N. Antiquaries*, Copenhagen, 1838-39. Anderson, *Cat.*, II., 396; Read, *Guide to Antiquities of the Bronze Age*, p. 68.
6. Bithur on the Ganges.	2 celts, 1 lance or harpoon-head (Calcutta & Lucknow Museums).	*As. Res.*, XIV., 1832, 1822 App. 3, 3; Anderson, *Cat.*, II, 395; *IA.*, 1905, Pl. IV. p. 236.
7. Parior, near Bithur, District Unao.	spear and harpoon-heads from bed of the Ganges (Temples of Someśvara Mahādeva).	Führer, *Monum. Antiq. N. W. P. & Oudh*, pp. 168, 172.
8. Kosam, Allahabad District.	1 small narrow flat celt (British Museum).	Not published.
9. Tamajuri, Midnapur District, Bengal.	1 shouldered flat celt (Indian Museum).	Anderson, *Cat.*, II., 485, *IA.*, 1915, p. 236, Pl. II, 6.
10. Karharhari, Hazaribagh District, Pachamba. S. D., Behar.	2 pieces of smelted copper and 3 unfinished celts of Midnapur type.	Anderson, *Cat.*, II., 392, 395; *Proc. A.S.B.*, 1871, p. 231.
11. Baragunda, Hazaribagh Dist., Behar.	1 axe-head, 1 large armlet (Foote Collection Madras), other implements not traced.	Dr. Saise.
12. Bhagotoro, Karachi Dist., Sind.	1 copper celt.	Lost. Medlicott & Blanford, *Geology of India*, vol. I, p. 443.
13. Kohistan Hill and Tank near Gwador, Baluchistan.	arrowheads and a silver bracelet (Indian Museum).	*Proc. A.S.B.*, 1877, p. 158; Anderson, *Cat.*, II, 438-462.
14. Gungeria, Balaghat Dist., C.P.	This hoard contained 424 hammered copper implements, 102 thin silver plates, flat celts of different types, flat celts, bar celts etc. (British Museum, Indian Museum, National Museums, Dublin and Edinburgh).	*Proc. A.S.B.*, Plates 1870 p. 131, Pl. II. Anderson, *Cat.*, II. 414-25; Read, *Guide to Antiquity of Bronze Age*, p. 67, fig. 42, Pl. VII, erroneously alluded in *IA.*, IV, 302.

Locality	Finds	References
15. Shalozan, Kurram, N. W. Frontier Provinces.	1 flat celt with two projecting lugs, 1913 (Peshwar Museum).	
16. Saguna, Palamau, Behar.	1 primitive flat celt, 1910.	Sir E. Gait in 1914 gave it to C. J. Brown for examination.
17. Bithur, Cawnpur District.	3 hatchets (Temple of Bāvā Gudardas Uttamdas), 1 hatchet (Radha Krishna temple).	Hiranand Sastri, *JASB.*, 1915, XI, pp. 1-5.
Parior.	2 hatchets.	
Bithur.	1 spear-head, 2 hatchets, 1 sword, 2 harpoon-heads.	Pundit Sastri, 14 specimens (13 celts and 1 spear-head), see *IA.*, 1907, p. 53.
18. Behar & Orissa, Manbhum.	27 axe-heads.	Campbell, *JBORS.*, 1916, pp. 85-6.
Palamau.	1 celt.	C. J. Brown, *JBORS.*, 1915, pp. 125-6.
Ranchi.	21 axes.	Described by C. J. Brown, *Ibid.*, p. 127.
19. Mayurbhañj State, Bhagra Pir.	3 double edged battle axes.	Ramsay, *Ibid.*, 1916, p. 366.

Description of Copper & Bronze Vessels

Discovered in Mohenjo-daro

Pl. CXLI.

No. 1.	(C. 100-1).	See also Pl. CXL.	6	Bronze vessel.	
2.	,,	,,	,,	20	Bronze jar.
3.	(C 95)	,,	,,	7	Copper vessel.
4.	(C 1979)	,,	,,	14	Several Copper implements Pl. CXXXV, 2; CXXXVI, 1 & 4; CXXXIX, 11.
5.	(E 9044)	,,	,,		Copper censer.
6.	(E 2045)	,,	,,	12	Bronze vessel.
7.	(HR. 5627)	,,	,,		Copper vessel shaped like mussel-shell
	(HR. 3941)	,,	,,		Copper vessel shaped like mussel-shell
8.	(HR. 5725)	,,	,,		Copper handle.
9.	(E 188)	,,	,,	8	Bronze vase.
10.	(C 100-1)	,,	,,	13	Bronze bowl.
11.	(C 1978)	,,	,,	14	See Pl. CXLI.
12.	(E 2044)	,,	,,	9 & 18	Copper vessels (contain lead. Bronze gold & silver ornaments).

13. (HR. 4212a) ,, ,, Bronze vase.

Pl. CXLII.
Cast Bronze—

No. 1. (E 2044) see also Pl. CXL, 4 Dish & cover of cast bronze.
2. ,, ,, ,, 5 ,, ,, ,,
3.
4. (E 190) ,, ,, 19 Copper vessel.
5. (C 1978) ,, ,, 17 Bronze bowl.
6. (E 190) ,, ,, 16 Bronze flask.
7. (E 2044) ,, ,, Copper jar cover.
8. (,,) ,, ,, Bronze cover.
9. (No. ?) ,, ,, Clay crucible with slag.
10. (Dk 1621) ,, ,, 10 Copper pan.

Pl. CXL.
11. (C 1978) ,, ,, Copper pan.
12. (E 189) ,, ,, Copper bowl.

Blade axes

2 types. 1. Long & narrow — more common—Like blade axes from Susa.

2. Short & broad shouldered — better preserved—Like axes in Copper Age of Europe.

Type 1. **Long & narrow Axes** (Pls. CXXXVIII & CXXXIX).

Pl. CXXXIX.

No. 1. (V.S. 1450). See also Pl. CXXXVIII, 1. — Copper edges at both top & bottom. Bottom edge rounded.
5. (L. 383) — Copper. Butt square with sharp edge.
7. (HR. 4212) — Portion of a long blade axe Bronze.
8. (,, ,,) — ,, Edge straight.
10. (C 1978) — Part of bronze blade-axe.

Pl. CXXXVIII.
7. (HR. 6056) — Copper blade axe, sides & butt square; wide butt.

Non-illustrated specimen C. 1978 — Bronze blade.

Type 2. **Short & broad Axes** (Pls. CXXXVIII & CXXXIX).

No. 2 (V.S. 1450) See also Pl. CXXXVIII, 5. — Copper. Edge blunt, rounded.
3. (,, ,,) — Copper.
4. (V.S. 1450) See also Pl. CXXXVIII, 5. — Copper Blades.

6. (H.R. 4212) Part of bronze blade.
9. (V.S. 3185) A broken copper casting.

Pl. CXXXVIII.

2. (V.S. 1458) Copper.
6. (HR. 4212) Copper, rounded blade.

Specimen not illustrated V.S. 1450 Copper, incipient shoulder.
C. 1978 Copper, distinct shoulder.
H.R. 4212 A Bronze blade.
C 1978 Copper blades.

Saws (Pls. CXXXVIII, 6 & 7; CXXXVIII, 4 & 8).

1. Shell-cutting saw (C 100-1)
(Pls. CXXXVIII 7; CXXXVII, 8) Bronze.
2. Fragment of a saw
(Pls. CXXXVII 6; CXXXVII, 4) Bronze.

Fish-hooks (Pl. CXLIII, 24 & 25).

24. (DK. 4140) Bronze.
25. (HR. 3312) Bronze.

Spear & Lance-heads (Pls. CXXXV & CXXXVI).

These are of unsubstantial make.

Pl. CXXXVI

No. 1. Copper (C 1978)
2. ,, (HR. 3832)
3 ,, (HR. 5799)
4. ,, (C 1978)
5. ,, (HR. 5415)
6. ,, (Edgedyang) (HR. 2742)
7. ,, ,, (HR. 4458)
8. ,, ,, (SD. 1062)
9. ,, ,, (H.R. 2872)
10. ,, ,, (DK. 1240)
11. ,, Non-illustrated (SD. 2007)

Arrow-heads.

1. (D.M. 61) Copper.

Knives and Dagger (Pls. CXXXV & CXXXVII).

Pl. CXXXVII.

No. 1. (HR. 4212a) See also Pl. CXXXV. 5 Copper knife.
2. (HR. 5562) ,, CXXXV. 3 ,, ,,
3. (HR. 4057) ,, ,, 6 ,, ,,
Leather-Cutter
4. (HR. 4212a) ,, ,, 9 Bronze piece.

Chisels (Pls. CXXXV & CXXXVII).

3. Types. Chisels of bronze, razors other than those of copper.

Metal rods (Pl. CXLIII).

No. 30.		Copper rod.
32.		,, ,,
34.		,, ,,
35.		Bronze ,,

Finger rings (CXLIII).

Copper & Bronze rings.
Copper & Bronze wires.

Ear-ring (CXLIII, 11).

Bronze wire.

Razors (Pls. CXXXVII, and CXXXVIII).

Two kinds:—

1. (V.S. 13054),	Pl. CXXXVIII,	11	Bronze razor, fine curved edge.
2. (L 238),	Pl. ,,	12	Curved edge, tang rectangular.
	Pl. ,,	5	

Sickle-shapped blade (Pl. CXXXVIII, 10).

1. Part of a sickle-blade (V.S. 1602) Copper.

Awls and Reamers (CXXXV, CXLII, CXLIII).

Pl. CXLII.
No. 14. See also Pl. CXXXV, 7. Copper reamer.

Pl. CXLIII.

31. Awls.	Copper-antimony alloy.
33. ,,	,, ,,
37. ,,	Copper.

Needles (Pls. CXXXII and CXLIII).

Pl. CXLIII. 20, 21, 30 } Copper.
CXXXII, 2, 1, 5 }

Bracelets (CXLIV).

Bracelets Copper.

Miscellaneous objects.

Copper jar-handle, copper hull, animals, bird, tube, casting. Bronze piping, dancing girl, girdle, spacer, beads. Bronze and Copper chains.

Pre-historic Bronze Implements.

V. Smith has recorded the following specimens to be pre-historic bronze implements.

1. One flat celt found at Jubbalpore (N. lat. 23° 10'; E. long 80° 1'). 1869. Analysed but lost. Shape like Gungeria celt

2. One bronze sword,—purchased by Sir Walter Elliot. Site.—Doab between Jumna and Ganges. National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh. No. Bs. 634.

3. Spear-head in the British Museum. 1837. Site.—Itawah. Not analysed.

4. Norham harpoon,—found when fishing in the Tweed near Norham castle. Indian Museum. Like the Itawah specimen. Cophenhagen Museum.

5. A harpoon-head. Sir Walter Elliot. National Museum of Antiquities, No. 635.

6. A harpoon-head.—Sir A. Cunnigham presented it to National Museum, Dublin.

The celt of Rivett-Carnac, 1889, was presented to the A.S.B. Found at Hardoi, District Oudh, by Colonel Montague Proctor.

GIRINDRA NATH MUKHERJEE*

* We have to announce with a heavy heart the departure of another contributor of ours from this world. He sent us this article some time ago but has not lived to revise his proofs. He has made valuable contributions to Indology by his researches relating to the surgical instruments of the Hindus.—EDITOR.

Two Short Remarks on Ancient Indian History

The following short remarks, which do not, of course, lay claim to any special value, have mainly arisen out of notes jotted down during repeated perusal of certain parts of the *Cambridge History of India* (henceforth abbreviated as *CHI.*), vol. I. The only reason for publishing them is that they may present some slight points of interest to other scholars interested in the Ancient History of India.

I. *Alexander's altars at the Hyphasis*

Several classical authors[1] tell us that Alexander, when he had finally decided upon his forced retreat from the Hyphasis (Beās), divided his army into twelve brigades and bade them to build twelve giant altars meant to proclaim to posterity the stopping point of his triumphal progress. The number of these structures is agreed upon by the three authors mentioned above while other classical writers simply speak of 'altars'. Curtius tells us that they were constructed from squared stone while Diodorus calculates their height to have been fifty cubits. This seems an obvious exaggeration, and Arrian, being a more circumspicious writer, simply tells us that they were of the height of the loftiest battlement towers though somewhat broader.

Of these magnificent buildings no trace has so far been unearthed. Nor do modern authorities seem to be at one where to look for them. Thus Masson[2] tried to locate them on the bank of the Gharra to the south of the confluence of the Beās and the Sutlej. And Droysen[3], although rather undecided in his opinion, seems to look upon such a suggestion as being fairly credible. No tangible results were reached even by such remarkable scholars as General Cunningham[4] and Lassen[5] who seem

1 Cp. e.g. Arrian, *Anab.* V, 29, 1 ff.; Curtius, IX, 3, 19; Diodorus, XVII, 95. Other authorities will be quoted a little later on.

2 *JASB.*, VI, 60.

3 *Geschichte Alexanders des Grossen*, p. 423 n. 76.

4 *Ancient Geography*, p. 217.

5 *Indische Altertumskunde*, II², 173 f. with n. 1.

to have in a way given up the hope of correctly localising Alexander's altars. At a somewhat later time Hoey[6] meant to have found the place that would best fit the classical inscriptions; he points to a place called Kasūr (Kussoor) situated at lat. 30°9′, long. 74°30′, about 33 miles due west of the present confluence of the rivers Beās and Sutlej and not far from Lahore. However, his argumentation is singularly ineffective; and as there is not sufficient proof for the contention that the modern Kasūr is situated on the land which at the time of Alexander formed the bank of the Beās, Hoey's suggestion does not tally with the classical authorities and may be safely left aside. Finally the late Mr. Vincent Smith[7] contended that the remnants of the altars provided there were any left—should be looked for near the hills within the districts of Gurdāspur, Hoshyārpur, or Kāngra.[8] As, however, no reasons are given for this rather singular suggestion we cannot, I am afraid, take it seriously into account, even though it has been propounded by one of the greatest authorities on Indian History.[9] The *CHI.*, I, 373 leaves the question of localising the altars entirely open.

On one point, however, the modern authors seem to agree, viz. that the altars were situated on the western (right) bank of the Hyphasis (Beās). This is assumed on the strength of an *argumentum ex silentio;* the ancient historians—Arrian above all—tell us nothing about Alexander having crossed the river. Notwithstanding this, the elder Pliny,[10] who undoubtedly had access to old and trustworthy sources most of which are now not available, most emphatically assures us that the altars were constructed on the eastern (left) bank of the Beās:

6 *JRAS.*, 1906, pp. 1000 f.

7 *Early History of India*[3], pp. 76 f. with notes; *Oxford History of India*, p. 64.

8 Vigne, *A Personal Narrative of a Visit to Ghuzni, Kabul and Afghanistan* (1843), p. 11 seems to have held similar views. His work is unfortunately not available to me.

9 In the *Early History*[3], p. 511 Smith refers to a communication from Mr. H. L. Shuttleworth (1914), according to which the situation of the altars ought provisionally to be sought for between Indama in the Kāngra and Misthal in the Gurdāspur Districts. It is not known to me whether Mr. Shuttleworth did ever carry his investigations further. At any rate I can see no reason whatsoever for thinking that the altars were situated thus far to the North.

10 *Nat. Hist.*, VI, 21, 62.

(Hyphasis).....qui fuit Alexandri itinerum terminus, exsuperato tamen amne arisque in adversa ripa dicatis. Epistolae quoque regis ipsius consentiant his. It is indeed difficult to understand how such a clear statement, in corroboration of which even Alexander's own letters are quoted, can be simply put aside in favour of theories which lack even the shade of a foundation.

There is still another classical author, though belonging to a later date, who endorses the statement of Pliny, though he has evidently not used his Natural History as a source. This author is Philostratus, the author or rather the editor of the Biography of that puzzling personality Apollonius of Tyana.[11] When Apollonius and his faithful companion, Damis of Nineveh, had left Taxila and were continuing their journey eastwards, they by and by reached the Hyphasis. The description, taken from L. II, ch. 43, may be quoted in full here:

Potamón dè hudraōtēn huperbántes kaí pleiō éthnē ameipsantes egénonto prὸs tὸ Huphásidi, stádia dè apéchontes toútou triákonta bōmoìs te enétuchon hoîs epegégrapto PATRI AMMŌNI KAI ERAKLEI ADELPHŌI KAI ATHENAI PRONOIAI KAI DII OLUMPIŌI KAI SAMOTHRAIXI KABEIROIS KAI INDŌI ĒLIŌI KAI DELPHŌI APOLLŌNI, phasí dè kai stélēn anakeîsthai chalkên hē epigegráphthai ALEXANDROS ENTAGTHA/ESTĒ toùs, mὲn dē bōmoùs Alexándrou hēgōmetha tὸ tês heautoû archês térma timōntos, tὴn dè stélēn toùs metrá tὸn Húphasin Indoùs anatheînai dokômoi lamprunoménous epi tὸ Aléxandron mê proeltheîn prósō.

This means: "Having crossed the river Hydraotes and passed by several tribes, they reached the Hyphasis; and thirty stades away from this (river) they came upon altars on which was inscribed: "To Father Ammon and Heracles his brother, and to Athene Pronoia and to the Olympian Zeus and to the Samothracian Cabeiri, and to the Indian Sun

11 It has been a widespread opinion amongst classical scholars to look upon the work of Philostratus as being more or less fanciful or even as being a literary fraud. In a paper that will appear in a few week's time, I have tried to prove that as far as the first part of the *Indicus Travels* (I, 18—II, 43) is concerned this is simply misjudging the case.

(god) and to the Delphian Apollo." And they tell us that there was also a brass column on which was written: "Alexander stopped at this point." The altars were no doubt those of Alexander who thus honoured the limit of his empire; but I fancy the Indians beyond the Hyphasis erected the column, priding themselves upon the fact that Alexander did not advance further.[12]

Of the modern authorities quoted above only the late Mr. Vincent Smith has made use of this passage though he misunderstood it, concluding from Philostratus that the altars were on the western side of the Hyphasis. The sense is quite clear; having passed the river in question and advanced some way to the East of it the voyagers came upon the altars together with a brass column erected by the Indians living on the further i.e. the eastern bank of the Hyphasis. This also explains the hitherto rather obscure passage in Plutarch:[13]

edrúsato dè bōmoùs theôn, hoùs méchri nûn hoi Praisiōn basileîs diabaínontes sébontai kai thoousin Heltēnikàs thusías.

I.e. "he also built altars of the gods, which even now the kings of the Easterners worship when intending to cross (the river)[14] and sacrifice according to the Greek rite."

If there were any remnants of these famous altars left—which may, of course, be highly doubtful—they should, according to my humble opinion, be sought for some distance to the East of the river Beās and by no means as far towards the North, as has been suggested by Smith and others. If we are to trust Philostratus—and I can see no valid reason for not doing it—they were still there when Apollonius visited India, i.e. in 40 A.D. What were the special sources used by Plutarch, I am by no means able to make out; however, they may have

12 Conybeare's translation (*Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, p. 229) with a few minor alterations.

13 *Alexander*, ch. 62.

14 Thus diabainontes (and not diabántes which would prove that the altars were situated on the western bank of the river). Diabainontes, although a present participle, may be used in a future tense, cp. Brugmann *Grundriss*, 2nd ed. II, 3, 727 f.

belonged to an older period as the Praisiōn basileīs may mean the Maurya kings—such at least seems to be the opinion of modern scholars.

That Alexander should have erected his altars on the Eastern and not on the Western bank of the Hyphasis seems fairly well explainable. Whether Candragupta ever visited or saw the world-conqueror may be gravely open to doubt though it is asserted by more than one writer of antiquity.[15] Anyhow, Alexander was certainly informed, to a certain degree at least, of the doings and the resources of the Nanda king of Eastern India. That he was hated and despised by large parties of his subjects may have been known to the rājās of the North-West, also perhaps that revolutionary conspirations were afoot within his realm. By erecting his altars within the territory of his would-be enemy, the Great King of India proper, Alexander may have intended to make it clear that although at that very moment he had to abstain from further conquests—"the omens not being favourable"—he in a way laid claim to the overlordship also of the Easternmost parts of the oikoumenē.

II. Sophagasēnos : *Subhagasena*

Polybius,[16] speaking of the triumphant progress of Antiochus III (the Great) through the upper provinces of the realm of his ancestors, tells us that huperbalōn dè tòn Kaúkason, kaì katábas eis tèn Indikèn tḕn te philián aneneōsato prὸs tὸn Sophagasēnon tὸn basiléa tῶn Indῶn (having crossed the Caucasus[17] and descended into India he (Antiochus) renewed the friendship with Sophagasēnos, the king of the Indians). The next paragraph lets us know that the Indian monarch delivered to Antiochus a certain number of elephants and recognised him as overlord by consenting to pay him a substantial tribute. A certain Androsthenes of Cyzicus was left behind to take care of the treasure, and the Great King himself hurried back westwards by the way of Arachosia (Afghānistān), Drangiana (Seistān), and Carmania (Kermān).

15 Cp. Plutarch, *Alexander*, ch. 62 etc.

16 *Reliquiæ*, XI, 34, 11.

17 The Caucasus here, of course, means the Hindūkūsh.

The name Sophagasēnos is otherwise unknown but there is no doubt at all that it corresponds to Sanskrit *Subhagasena*. This identification, however, has not been made by M. Sylvain Lévi or some other modern scholar, as I have seen stated somewhere; on the contrary it is more than a century old, the credit belonging to A. W. von Schlegel,[18] who stated his case with great lucidity. On the other hand, Lassen[19] is responsible for the wholly hypothetical statement that Subhagasena is in reality only a title used by Jaloka, the son of Aśoka, whom the *Rājatarangiṇī*, I, 107 ff. mentions as king of Kashmir. Professor F. W. Thomas[20] again points out that according to Tāranātha[21] Vīrasena is mentioned as the grandson of Kuṇāla, the son of Aśoka, and as being the ruler of Gandhāra,[22] and that judging by his name Subhagasena must have belonged to the same line of kings. Thus when Antiochus III is said to have "renewed the friendship" (tēn ti philian aneneōskoto) with Sophagasēnos this would simply mean that he renewed the alliance once uniting Seleucus I Nicator, his own great-great-grandfather, with Candragupta, whose ancestral relations to Sophagasēnos are unfortunately quite obscure.[23]

It has, however, not been remarked—except in a short note by the present author[24]—that a passage in the *Mahābhārata* may possibly be of some help in fixing the identity of Subhagasena. In the Bombay

18 Cp. *Indische Bibliothek*, I (1823), pp. 248 f.; II (1824-1826), p. 301.

19 *Ind. Alterthumskunde*, II², pp. 284 f.

20 *CHI.*, I, p. 512.

21 *History of Buddhism*, transl. by Schiefner, pp. 48 ff.

22 In the *Divyāvadāna*, XXXIX, (ed. Cowell & Neil) p. 433, the great-grandson of Kuṇāla again is called Vṛṣasena.

23 Supposing that the traditional dates (as rendered in the *CHI.*, with which cp., however, *BSOS.*, VI, pp. 319 f.) were correct, Candragupta would have died about 298 B.C., Bindusāra about 274 B.C., and Aśoka about 237 B.C. Whether Kuṇāla did ever reign by himself or was only his father's deputy within the N. W. Provinces is uncertain; Samprati may have been the immediate successor of Aśoka, but we have no means for calculating the dates of his reign. Anyhow, if the theory propounded by Professor Thomas be correct, Sophagasēnos may have been his grandson (or even his son, as he was reigning some thirty years after the death of Aśoka).

24 *BSOS.*, VI, p. 304 n. 1.

edition, VII, 157, 24 b (cp. Calcutta ed., VII, 6944-6945) mention is made of the brothers of Śakuni, himself a prince of Gandhāra; and amongst them one is undoubtedly called Subhaga, which may well stand for Subhagasena just as *Bhīma* is used instead of *Bhīmasena* etc. Like Śakuni this Su-bhaga must have been a son of the Gandhāra king Subala and a brother-in-law of Dhṛtarāṣṭra. Whether this Subala again was identical with the Gandhāra king *Nagnajit* (*Naggaī*),[25] famous alike in Brahmin, Buddhist and Jaina lore,[26] as seems perhaps indicated by the verse *MBh.*, I, 57, 93 (Poona edition, = I, 2439 C.) I cannot well decide. Owing to chronological reasons this order, however, seem fairly improbable.

For *Nagnajit* is mentioned already in *Ait.Br.*, VII, 34 and in *ŚBr.*, VIII, 1, 4, 10. And whatever be the exact dates of these scriptures they can by no means belong to a period like the 3rd century B.C., but must, of course, be several hundred years older. If then Subhaga, prince of Gandhāra, has got anything to do with that Subhagasena (*Sophagasēnos*), who flourished c. 206 B.C., he could not possibly have been the son of Nagnajit. His father may really have been called Subala, though such a name is not known to the dynastic lists; and it may even be possible that *Nagnajit* was the family name or dynastic title of the Gandhāra kings—much as with the Buddhists the king of Benares was always known as *Brahmadatta*—so that Subala may for that reason alone have become known as *Nagnajit*.

Whether Subhaga of the Great Epic has got anything to do with the Subhagasena of Polybius cannot be made out with any degree of certainty, though such a probability is indicated by the connection of both with the Gandhāra kingdom. As, however, the Great War of the *Mahābhārata* cannot be referred to as late a period as the time of Antiochus III (223-187 B.C.) there may be here as elsewhere a considerable amount of confusion of chronological facts and it may be that

25 According to *Jātaka* 408 (ed. Fausböll, III, p. 377) he resided in Taxila. The Gandhāras apparently are known as *Nāgnajitāḥ* in *MBh.*, VIII, 4040 (this, and not *Nāgnajitāḥ*, being the correct reading).

26 Cp. the present writer in *Paccekabuddhageschichten* (1908), pp. 35 ff. 121 ff.; *ZDMG.*, LXVI, 38 ff.

the passage mentioning Subhaga, prince of Gandhāra, and making him a brother of Śakuni and Gāndhārī may be an insertion belonging to a much later date than the main part of the Epic. What cannot, however, be wholly ignored is that Indian and classical tradition alike know of a certain prince of Gandhāra, Subhaga(sena) by name.

JARL CHARPENTIER*

* It is with deep regret that we have to announce the untimely death of the great Indologist, the writer of this paper, who after sending his paper to us has not lived to revise the proofs. We wish to publish an Obituary Notice of the departed soul and would request his friends and admirers to send us materials for the Notice. EDITOR.

Humayun's Succession to the Throne

(*December 1530*)

Babur died on December 26, 1530.[1] He had already nominated Humayun as his successor, put him on the throne in the presence of all his nobles, himself watching the proceedings from his sick-bed. What is more significant is that, ten months before, when he had gone to subdue Kālinjar, he inscribed his name as Muhammad Humayun, Pādshah-i-Ghāzi and dated it as *Rajab* 936 A.H. Thus there could be no doubt that Babur meant him to be his successor[2] and all people looked upon him as such.

It is recorded that Humayun ascended the throne on December 30,[3] so that between the death of the last king and the succession of the new, there was an interval of three or four days. The delay was very unusual. The practice generally was to proclaim the successor at once, especially if he was present at the bedside of the dying king or available in the neighbourhood.[4] Though Humayun was present in Agra, nominated as the successor and looked upon as an heir-apparent yet to what causes was due this delay? Attempt has been made in this paper to offer some explanation for it.

The chief minister of the State, Sultan Sayyid Hakim Khwaja Nizamuddin Ali Muhammad Khalifa, was, next to Babur, the most important person in the empire. By long service, good administration and arrangement of campaigns and battles, he

1 Most writers give this date, 5th *Jumādul-awwal*. *Akbar-nāmā* (henceforth abbreviated as A.N.) and *Maasir-i-Rahimi* (abbreviated as M-i-R) put it one day later.

2 For further proof, see Gul-badan Begam's *Humayun-nāmā* (henceforth abbreviated as G. H. N.) fol. 15b. & 17a. There Babur is reported making the speech, 'I desire the kingdom for him and not for the others, because he has not his equal in distinction.'

3 9th *Jumādul-awwal* 937 A.H.

4 Some such practice prompted Sher Shah's nobles proclaim Islām Shah as king, instead of his elder brother, Adil Khan.

had made himself indispensable to the king.[5] He possessed the quadruple ranks of Amir, Vakil, Sultan and Khalifa. He bore the three family titles of Sayyid, Khwaja and Birlas Turk, all signifying high lineage. He was also well-connected; his younger brother, Junaid Birlas was married to Shahr-Bānu, one of Babur's sisters; his daughter, Gul-rukh Begam was married to Shah Husain Arghun of Sindh while his son, Muhibb Ali married Shah Husain's step-daughter Nāhīd.[6] The Khalifa's prestige and honour may be judged from the fact that when he and his wife, Sultanam, visited Gulbadan Begam,[7] the latter stood up to receive him. The minister invited her to dinner, made a present of 6000 *Shahrukhis* and five horses, while his wife gave 3000 *Shahrukhis* and three horses. After the battle of Khānwah he received the title of معتمد الدولـه الخاقانی مقرب الحضرت السلطانی "the intimate with the Hazrat Sultan and the prop of the Khāqān's empire."

Unfortunately for Humayun, he at first did not agree to place the prince on the throne, inspite of his avowal by the dying king's bedside. His nominee was Sayyid Mehdi Khwaja, Babur's brother-in-law, the husband of Khān-zādā Begam. This would explain the delay.

The Khalifa must have very strong reasons for the rejection of the prince, as he was gravely risking the stability of the empire. The Mughals were settled in India only for five years and their hold on the outlying parts was weak and uncertain; a change of dynasty, at such a time, might spell disaster. But probably the minister felt convinced of the prince's worthlessness. There were other reasons also. His plunder of the Delhi treasures, on his way to Badakhshān (1527)[8] was, to the Khalifa, an unpardonable offence; it being aggravated by the knowledge that only recently, on two occasions, i.e. after the battles of Panipat and Khānwah, he had been lavishly

5 See *Babur-nāmā* (henceforth abbreviated as B.N.) 564-5 & 568 for his ability re. arrangement and organisation e.g. in the battle of Khānwah.

6 G. H. N., p. 37. Nāhīd was Qasim Kokah's daughter. Her mother, Haji Begam, had married Shah Husain Arghūn. *Ain-i-Akbarī* (henceforth abbreviated as A-i-A.) by Blochmann, p. 420 gives Muhibb Ali's career.

7 Then a child of 6 years.

8 B. N. 583.

rewarded.[9] Then again, probably, being unaware that Humayun had left Badakhshān with the king's permission, he accused the prince of desertion of his post. Also, as the king's deputy,[10] he disliked the enormous influence that the Shia queen, Māham Begam exercised on Babur.[11] The Irani-Turani rivalry, a common feature in later Mughal history, is seen in a mild form here.[12] Other Turki nobles might have supported him in his dislike for the queen. Taking all these reasons together, the Khalifa must have satisfied his political conscience that in rejecting him he was furthering the interests of the state.

But the Khalifa went one step further. He rejected not only the eldest son but all the other sons as candidates for the throne.[13] Kāmrān, the next brother, was Humayun's younger by 6 years, Askari by 8 and Hindāl by 10; so that excepting the eldest, the other princes were in their teens. Could it not have been possible that one of the younger three, placed on the throne, under his tutelage, had maintained the enlightened policy of his father? The Khalifa, older to Babur in age, and his associate for the last 35 years[14] and, of course, in all the Indian campaigns, must have appreciated him as none else could; and yet he thought of denying this illustrious family of the eminence which

9 B. N., pp. 522, 579.

10 *Vakil*. Badauni has وکیل و وزیر مطلق

11 As indicated by her being placed in charge of Hindal, son of Dildar Begam, another wife of Babur and sitting on the throne with him. In Humayun's reign also she exercised enormous influence. She was a relation of the illustrious Sultan Husain Bai-qara and descendant of Ahmed Jām Zinda-pīl. See *Asmā-i-Sulih*.

12 Rivalry between Bairam Khan and Māham Anaga in Akbar's reign, is only a repetition of this earlier phase.

13 See *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari* (Nawal Kishore Press edition), p. 193. The relevant sentences are: امیر نظام الدین خلیفه که مدار کارخانه سلطنت بر او بود از شاهزاده جوان بخت همایون میرزا بواسطه بعضی امور که در معاملات دنیا واقع میشود بیم و هراس داشت بسلطنت ایشان راضی نمی شد و مرگاه بسلطنت پسر بزرگ راضی نباشد به پسران خورد کے راضی خواهد بود

14 His name first occurs in B. N. in the year 1494-5 A.D.

it deserved. Should we conclude that his dislike was wholly personal and that it outweighed all his appreciation of the enlightened outlook of the Baburids?

His nominee was Sayyid Muhammad Mehdi Khwaja Termizi, husband of Khān'zādā Begam, Babur's sister, who was older to the king by five years. He had a distinguished lineage, a long record of service, belonged to the religious house of Termiz, and was probably related to Māham Begam, Babur's queen. As far back as A.D. 1510-11, he had acted as Babur's Diwan-begi and gone to Bukhara with 10,000 men and in the Indian campaigns was always with his master. On the battle-fields of Panipat and Khānwah, he commanded the left wing while Humayun led the right. Immediately after the first battle, he was placed in charge of the party sent to occupy Delhi, just as Humayun was sent to Agra. It is thus clear that he was a distinguished nobleman who had reached his present distinction by at least 20 years of meritorious service.

As husband to Khān-zādā, he was again an eminent personage. Both Khān-zādā and Māham Begam exercised influence in the palace and on Babur as well as on his kingdom. Being the elder, the sister's influence was more than that of the queen. Mehdi Khwaja, as husband to one and relation of the other, exercised control over their actions, selfish or otherwise.

Hence Mehdi Khwaja was an excellent selection. By lineage, service, experience and connection with Babur's family, he was fit to sit on the Mughal throne. Belonging to a religious order, he was expected to bring about as successful results as had been achieved by Shah Ismail and Shah Tehmasp in Persia; and his long association with the liberal Babur might be a guarantee for the continuation of the enlightened system of the Mughal Government.

The story of supersession of Humayun by Mehdi Khwaja, as given by *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*[15] may now be briefly narrated. The author of the work obtained the facts from his father, Muhammad Muqīm Haravi, an eye-witness to most of the particulars. The Khalifa passed over Humayun (and the other brothers), inspite of Babur's open nomination of him for

15 Corroborated by Abul Fazl also.

the succession, and chose Mehdi Khwaja, the king's brother-in-law, as his candidate. The king had not yet expired, but the bright prospects turned the Khwaja's head, and he assumed haughty airs. Once when Muhammad Muqīm[16] was present in the Khwaja's camp, the minister called on him, but had not stayed long when a command for attendance came from the king. The Khwaja accompanied him to the door, and when he was out of hearing, forgetting the presence of Muqīm, soliloquized thus, 'God willing, my first act (as king) would be to flay you and the other traitors.'[17] With the utterance of these words, he recollected the presence of another person, turned round, and saw Muqīm just behind him waiting to pass out. The Khwaja pulled him by the ear and cried out, 'O Tajik,[18] it is the red tongue that gives the green head to the wind,'[19] meaning, that if he be wise, he would not wag his tongue, or he would suffer death. On obtaining his leave, he straightway went to the minister, related all that had occurred and ended thus, 'If inspite of there being a prince like Humayun or his able and courageous brothers, you turn your eyes from loyalty and desire to place an unknown family on the throne, what other results could be expected but these.' The minister's eyes were now opened, and he realised his danger, sent for Humayun, and gave orders to Mehdi Khwaja to retire to his house, where no one was to visit him. He was also forbidden admittance to the king's durbar. When the king expired, his death was kept a secret, and further deliberations took place on the question of succession. They were cut short by an Indian nobleman named Araish Khan who pointed out the dangers of the throne remaining vacant. Humayun ascended the throne on December 30, 1530.

16 His official rank was Diwan-i-buyutāt, and he acted as the librarian to the royal library.

17 The text is انشاء الله اول ترا پوست کنم عنقریب انشاء الله پوست نمک حرامان کشیده خواهد شد

18 A term of abuse. Originally, a freed slave, who set up a tiller of ground.

19 The text is ای تاجیک زبان سرخ سرسبز میدهد بر باد A proverb.

This is the story in brief, as told by Nizamuddin Ahmed, the author of the *Tabaqāt*, and a trusted warrior, as well as a Bakhshi of Akbar's reign. He is a person of remarkable restraint and has been commended by all historians, contemporary or otherwise. Also the source of the story is unimpeachable as his father had suffered from the Khwaja's rudeness and must have remembered the full details. As the whole intrigue went against Humayun, it was only Akbar and Abul Fazl's love for truth that allowed it a place in the official narrative, viz. *Akbar-nāmā*.

Mrs. Beveridge is not fully satisfied with the details. First, she considers Nizamuddin as a late author, being born 20 years after Babur's death and relating the story some 60 years after its occurrence. Secondly, it is incredible to her that Khalifa alone should be planning the removal of four princes, pass over all the Timurids, and favour one who was neither the one nor the other. Mehdi Khwaja did not belong to any ruling dynasty, nor was he personally illustrious. A wise and experienced minister would not make the mistake of proposing him for the throne. Thirdly, even the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* is not accurate in its description of the Khwaja. The appellations of '*dāmād*' and '*jawān*'[20] are inapplicable to him.

At the same time, she does not reject the whole description. What she suggests is, that the author, either deliberately or unconsciously, suppresses the name of Khalifa's original candidate, and that Mehdi Khwaja is an after-thought, who had nothing to do with the actual intrigue. She discovers the actual pretender in Muhammad Zemān Mirza, Babur's eldest son-in-law. To her, all the three objections, mentioned above, would disappear, if applied to Muhammad Zemān. He was a Timurid, next to the four sons, closely allied to Babur, also young in age, being 35 years old. His wife, Māsūma Sultan Begam, was a Timurid by double descent, and hence useful in adding to her husband's rank or dignity. The authoress grants him the sovereign status after the Ghāgra campaign (April, 1529), on the evidence of

20 *Vide Supra.*

Babur's own statement.[21] In honouring the Mirza thus, the king's intentions were to leave the son-in-law in charge of Hindustan, and himself to move on to Kabul, or to other territories further north, i.e., more important parts of his empire. Māham Begam's knowledge of her husband's wishes led her to recall Humayun to Agra; and his arrival there led Babur to drop, for the present, the north-west campaign as well as the installation of Zeman Mirza as the Viceroy of Hindustan. Humayun's illness, Babur's sacrifice, and his declaration of succession in favour of the prince, all following one another, in quick succession, put a stop to the consideration of the '*dāmād*' as a claimant to the throne. It is only Nizamuddin's erring imagination that invented the name of Mehdi Khwaja, gave him the attributes of a bully, and made his own father suffer.

This is, in brief, Mrs. Beveridge's arguments in favour of Babur's son-in-law. Her scholarly presentation make it an instructive, if not convincing, reading. Our difficulty in accepting her suggestion that Muhammad Zemān Mirza should be read instead of Mehdi Khwaja, arises from the following considerations:—

(*a*) No contemporary chronicler suggests the name of Muhammad Zemān Mirza. On what authority, then, could a modern writer propose the substitution?

(*b*) Why strain the meaning of the word, '*dāmād*' to such an extreme as to demand the substitution of a new name for the existing one? The word '*dāmād*' is comprehensive enough to include several marital relations, e.g., son-in-law, brother-in-law, father-in-law; the true connotation being, as *Bahār-i-ajam* indicates, husband as opposed to wife. It would be unscholarly to confine it to the restricted sense, in which it is used in modern Urdu as prevalent in India. There are two writers who explicitly mention Khalifa's nominee's exact relationship with Babur. Gul-badan Begam, the king's daughter, calls him '*yazna*' or brother-in-law, and Khwand-amir, in his work, *Habīb-us-*

21 B. N. 662. The words are, 'He was presented with a royal head-to-foot (*Sarapa*), a sword, and a belt, a tipuchaq horse and an umbrella.' The quotation indicates bestowal of distinguished rank, but no sovereign power. When Khurram was given the title of Shah-Jehan by his father, he had hardly any sovereign power.

Sigar, mentions that he was married to Babur's elder sister, Khān-zādā Begam. Both of them name the person as Mehdi Khwaja.

(*c*) Similarly, we need not be too dogmatic as to who would be honoured with the appellation of '*jawān*'. Age may not always have every thing to do with it. It is possible that a man of 30 be denied the application of the word, whereas another person of 50 or more be found eminently suitable for it. It is health, active habits, and general outlook of life that really matter, so it could well be applied to Mehdi Khwaja though he might be slightly beyond fifty.

(*d*) She emphasises the need of a Timurid for the throne of Delhi. Mehdi Khwaja was not, while Muhammad Zemān Mirza was a descendant of Timur. If this be the chief criterion, then, leaving aside prince Humayun, for whom Khalifa had a personal dislike, there was quite a large number of them available. First of all, there were Kamran and his two younger brothers. They were too young to have borne any prominent part in the current politics; and Khalifa might be supposed to entertain no hostile views concerning them. Then there were Muhammad Sultan Mirza and his children, who all were Timurids by double descent. What was more, they were closely related to Sultan Husain Bai-qara and his brother. There were others also, e.g., (i) Muhammad Sulaiman and his son Ibrahim Mirza, (ii) Yadgar Nāsir Mirza, Babur's nephew, (iii) Mirza Sayyidi Ahmed, his son, Sultan Ahmed and grandson, Abdul Baqi and (iv) Kichik Mirza.[22] Then there was the numerous progeny of Sultan Husain Bai-qara himself. Thus, if a Timurid was desired, there was no dearth of candidates, to choose from. Among them, Muhammad Sultan Mirza was undoubtedly the most elderly and experienced, had taken prominent part in all the principal battles fought in India and was doubly descended from Timur.[23] If a substitution is to be suggested, why not prefer this more seasoned and experienced relation, to Muhammad Zemān Mirza?

But this whole discussion appears puerile and is more or less a con-

22 See B. N. Index.

23 After the battle of Khānwah, he was given the title, برادرم ولایت پناه کامگار منظور انظار عنایت حضرت آفریدگار See *Tazkirat-ul-ulema*.

jecture. We have similarly dropped out a discussion of her statements against Humayun's heedlessness, or Mehdi Khwaja's disloyalty to Babur. Suffice it for us to say, that we accept Nizamuddin's statement in full. We may summarise our reasons:

(*a*) He is a straightforward writer whose veracity is generally held to be above doubt or reproach. The incident is well-authenticated, being related by a responsible official of the state, who may be credited with the virtue of an accurate statement.

(*b*) Mehdi Khwaja is proposed by the Khalifa, because (1) he wanted to have nothing to do with the Baburids or Timurids; he desired the accession of one who would work with him in close association for the welfare of the state; (2) the Khwaja was a Sayyid, belonging to a religious order esteemed by the Muslim world,[24] and was a noted nobleman with distinguished service to his credit.[25]

(*c*) Mehdi Khwaja was a friend to Khalifa and would counteract Māham Begam's enormous influence in the palace either by himself or through his wife, Khān-zādā Begam.

The Khalifa had the best of intentions in proposing the change and had not calculated on the vain conceit that would turn his nominee's head. He realised, in time, his foolishness and at once rectified his mistake by supporting Humayun.

Very little is known of the later history of Khalifa, or Mehdi Khwaja. It is believed that the former continued to be the minister, and found his fears of receiving rough treatment at Humayun's hands to be groundless. His younger brother, Junaid Birlas, was for a time governor of Jaunpur and other provinces.[26] The Khalifa died in Humayun's reign, and his wife remained a member of the royal household; and after Humayun's exile, made a pilgrimage to Mecca. His sons, Muhibb Ali Khan[27] and Khālid Beg[28] flourished in Humayun's reign.

24 Safavi kings of Persia belonged to another religious order of this kind.

25 The title bestowed on him after the battle of Khānwah reads as جاء نقارت دستگاه رفعت پناه افتخار آل طه و یسین عالی (H.R.T.B.).

His name in official documents was to precede that of Muhammad Sultan Mirza.

26 B. N. 544. Erskine: *Humayun*, pp. 10, 122, 131.

27 *A-i-A.* (Blochmann), 420.

28 G. H. N., 159.

Mehdi Khwaja, too, continued to live, and as Khān-zādā's husband remained a member of the royal family. Seven years later, his sister, Sultānam was married to Hindal Mirza, when the Khwaja made large presents, described by Gul-badan Begam in detail.[29] It is believed that he died in Kabul and was, after an interval, followed by his wife. Both of them lie buried close to Babur.

It is a pleasant relief to find that neither of the two personages, concerned in the intrigue against the prince, suffered in any way, and that their wives and relations were treated with genuine kindness and affection by him.

S. K. Banerji

കേരളസാഹിത്യ അക്കാദമി

29 G. H. N., 126-7.

Events Leading up to the Battle of Panipat, 1761

[A faithful translation of the latter portion of Kashiraj's Persian account of the last battle of Panipat was published in the *IHQ.*, for June 1934, pp. 258-273. Here follows an earlier part of that work, describing the events leading up to the battle, from the Bhau's capture of Kunjpura (17 Oct. 1760) to the morning of the battle (14 January, 1761), forming pp. 11-22 of my ms. J.S.]

At this time the rainy season approached its end. The fort of Kunjpura was a strong place on the bank of the river Jamunā, and about 20 to 30 thousand Afghans and other [troops] lived there. Sadashiv Rao Bhau planned to advance there, capture it, and thereafter cross the Jamunā and settle accounts with the Abdali Shah. So, he marched out of Shahjahanabad, reached Kunjpura and sent ten or fifteen thousand good soldiers to assault it. There was a [severe] fight; [12] the Bhau by tiger-like charges and manly exertions captured the fort in a twinkle of the eye and entered the city (*ābādi*). He seized Dalil Khan,[1] the *sardār* of the place, and all the *sardārs* of the Abdali Shāh who were there, placed them in confinement and took much booty. The news [of these things] daily reached the Durrāni Shah; he wished to send aid to Kunjpura, but the raging stream of the Jamunā intervened.

Then the rainy season ended, the day of *Dasahara* (19th Oct. 1760) arrived. One day before it, the Durrani Shah ordered that all the army should get ready and present itself, as he would hold a review. The day after the Dasahara, he took his seat on a hillock and took a muster of the army: Twenty four *dastas* (regiments) of his troops,—each *dasta* consisting of 1,200 men,—were counted. The following are the details of the *sardārs*:—the Grand Wazir Shāh Wali Khān, Jahān Khan, Shāh Pasand Khan, Nasīr Khan Baluch, Barkhurdār Khan, Wazirullah Khan, Qizilbāshi, Murād Khan a Persian Mughal,—these were the high and renowned *sardārs*. Besides them there were many others, great and small.

1 Nejābat Khan Ruhela, the chief of Kunjpura, died of his wounds after the capture of the fort. His son Dilir Khan escaped and lived to recover Kunjpura when the Marathas were invested at Panipat.

The total contingents of the *sardārs* numbered 24 *dastas*, out of which six *dastas* were *qūlar* that is slaves, who used to encamp on all four sides of the Shāh's tent at a distance of half a *kos*. Between the tent of the Shāh and its environs (*gird-i-ān*) the entire army alighted. The Shāh's personal war material (*sāmān-i-khās*) consisted of 2,000 camels carrying swivels (*zamburak*) on the back of each of which two swivel gunners sat, forty pieces of artillery and some *shutar-nāls* (wall-pieces mounted on camels). Under Nawāb Shujā'-ud-daulah were 2,000 cavalry, 2,000 infantry and 20 guns, large and small; under Najib-ud-daulah 6,000 cavalry and 20,000 Ruhela infantry were counted; he had plenty of war *material*. Under Dundi Khan and Hafiz Rahmat Khan were 15,000 Ruhela foot and 3 to 4 thousand horse, with a few guns. Under Ahmad Khan Bangash, all told, were 2,000 horse and foot, all being servants (*shāgird-pesha*) and a few pieces of artillery. The total strength of this army was counted as 40,000 horse and 40,000 foot,—out of which 30,000 cavalry and 10,000 infantry composed of tiger-cubs of Kābul and 2,000 swivel-carrying camels belonged to the Shāh himself. [13] [These numbers] I have ascertained from the officers of the [Shāh's] departments at his Court and entered them here; and to this number of men were rations (*surzāt*) issued by the Shāh's Government. But the irregular attendants (*tabinān*) cannot be counted, because each [regular] Durrāni trooper was accompained by two or even four irregulars. The horses and armour [of the irregulars] were like those of the Durrānis; because the men were well-built and tall and their horses were *vilāyati* (Turkish) and extremely hardy in bearing the hardships of galloping and raiding. In every battle, first the Durrāni regulars gave battle, and after their attack the irregulars, and the latter completed the enemy's ruin by plundering. But the fighting troops borne on the muster-rolls were of the number given above.

After witnessing the muster of his army, the Shāh ordered that every man must get his kit ready as he would march the day after the next (*pas fardā*).

The Bhāu's doings: On hearing the report of the muster-taking on our side, the Bhāu, after the capture of Kunjpura, made a little halt and held a review of his own troops. The Maratha *sardārs* were as follows:—

Ibrāhim Khān Gārdi with 2,000 cavalry and 9,000 Gārdi infantry armed with flintlocks and 40 pieces of cannon. Household cavalry (*pāgāh-i-khās hazurāt*), six thousand, Malhār Rao Holkar 5,000 horse, Jankoji Sindhia 10,000 horse, Dāmāji Gaikwād, 3,000 horse, Jaswant Rāo Puār 2,000 horse, Shamsher Bahādur 3,000 horse, Pilāji Jādav's son 3,000 horse, Rājah Vital Shivdev 3,000 horse, Balwant Rao [Méhéndélé], the cousin-brother[2] of the Bhāu, who was the latter's adviser in all affairs, 7,000 horse of the royal cavalry (*risāla-i-khās*), Vishwās Rāo 5,000 horse, Antāji Mānakeshwar 2,000 horse. How can I recount the miscellaneous other bands? All told there were 55,000 fighting cavalry and 15,000 infantry, as well as the Gārdis of Ibrahim Khan's brigade, 200 pieces of artillery, camels loaded with rocket tripods, and *shutar-nāls* in large numbers [on the Bhāu's side]. In addition to them there were 15 to 20 thousand *Chor-ghoris* and *Hol-sawārs* employed in plundering. There were 2 or 3 thousand horse with the envoys of the Rajput princes like the Kachhwa and Rathor &c. Over and above these, Nāro Shankar with five or six [14] thousand horse had been left in Delhi for holding the fort and guarding the city. Such was the armed strength of Sadāshiv Rāo Bhāu who had brought away the entire Deccan with himself. The Durrāni Shāh encamped at Shāhdara, opposite Delhi on the Dasahara day [19 Oct. 1760]. Next day,—which was the 9th of Rabi'-ul-āwwal [should be 10 Rabi]—after eating his meal, he took horse alone and gave the order to march, bidding [his men] to bring up the servants, camp and baggage behind him. He himself, in the course of that night arrived on the bank of the Jamunā at the ferry of Bāghpat,—from which place Delhi is 18 *kachchi kos*,—and halted there. Next day, having pitched a *qizilbāshi* (red) tent on the edge of the river, he searched for a ford over it. Many of the men who drove their horses into the river were

2 The Bhāu could not have married Balwant Rao's sister, because Balwant Rao's father's mother and the Bhau's father's father were full brother and sister. Hence the statement made in Browne's translation that Balwant was the Bhau's brother-in-law is incorrect. This error, I imagine, originated in some such corruption of the Persian MS in the course of copying:—

برادر تذاری My ms. reads clearly — برادر زن — برادر ان — برادر اعیان
paternal uncle's son.

drowned. For two days the Shah strictly stinted his food and drink [*i.e.*, fasted] and then drawing plans (*naqshhā navishta*) threw them into the river. On the third day suddenly (*ekdek*) a ford was found. The plan was like this:

Gharq-āb: har ke intarf uftād, gharq shawwad.

Gharq-āb: har kas ke asp mi-āndākht gharq shawwad.

—(i.e., the deep water on the two sides of the fordable passage was lined with sticks).

On 25th October the crossing of the army began. When about half the troops had crossed over, the Shāh himself crossed, and in two days the entire army was transported to the other bank. Owing to the hurry and the crowd, thousands of men were drowned in the river.

On the 27th the Shah began his march from the bank of the river for meeting the enemy. From the other side Sadāshiv Rāo Bhāu also turned back for fighting. On the 28th at three quarters of the day, the Maratha vanguard was sighted near Sarāi Sumbhālka. From our side a force advanced to encounter them, a battle was fought, and there were two to three thousand casualties, killed and wounded, in the two armies taken together,—but more on the Maratha side and less on the Durrāni. [15] In the evening the Marathas retreated, and the Shāh's detachment returned to their place of camping.

Next day (29th October) the Shāh marched onward. In the same way every day there was skirmishing between the two sides, and the Marathas fell back fighting, till Pānipat was reached. Sadāshiv Rāo Bhāu included the city of Pānipat in his camp, and around the encampment he dug a trench 20 yards (*zira'*) in width and deeper than the height of an elephant, raised a rampart (*sangar*) round it, and mounted guns at places. Three or four *kos* from the Maratha entrenchment, the Abdāli Shāh's camp was pitched. After every day's march it was customary for the Shāh to form an entrenchment round his camp and fix in front of the trenches an abattis of *Dhāk*[3] and other trees of any kind that was available. As he was now going to make a long halt here, the entrenchment was made somewhat stronger.

3 In Bengal called *Polās*, with bright red flowers. I have found them most numerous round the city of Panipat.

The Shāh's camp adjoined on its left hand the camp of Nawāb Shujā'-ud-daulah Bahādur; on the left of the Nawāb was the camp of Najib-ud-daulah Bahādur; on the right hand of the Shāh's tents was the halting place of Hāfiz Rahmat Khan, Dundi Khan and Ahmad Khan of Farrukhābād. The extent of the plain occupied by the camp was nearly three and a half *kos* [in length].

Govind Pandit had the entire districts of Kotā, Karrā [=Manikpur], Etāwah, Shukohābād etc. and the country of Doāb-Antarved, as well as, on the further side of the Jamunā, the mahals of Kālpi etc. up to Sāgar, in his charge. Sadāshiv Rāo Bhāu had before this written to Govind Pandit urging him most strongly to arrive in the rear of the Abdāli Shāh with his own contingent and whatever other troops could be collected, and stop his supply of grain and other provisions. So, Govind Pandit, in accordance with these letters, arrived with ten to twelve thousand horse near Delhi, and encamped in the district of Mirat, stopping the passage of provisions, and [in consequence of it] such scarcity raged in the camps of the Shāh and others that a *seer* of coarse flour could not be procured even for two rupees. Two days passed in this state of things, and for this reason all the troops were distressed and [16] they came to the Shāhānshāh and said that they would all be destroyed without any battle, so that he ought, first of all, to arrange for their food supply.

At this the Shāh appointed 'Atāi Khān, the son of Ashraf-ul-wazrā's paternal uncle, with his own squadron, which was 2,000 in number, to make a forced march all the night, cut off the head of Govind Pandit and bring it, without halting anywhere. The Khan started as ordered. In addition to his own squadron, about ten housand *tabinān* (irregulars) accompanied him from desire for loot. Traversing more than forty *kos* in the course of the night, he fell suddenly like lightning on the troops of Govind Pandit at dawn. These were off their guard, and at the arrival of their blood-thirsty enemies, lost heart, felt unable to resist, and began to flee away. Govind Pandit himself took to flight and mounted on a Turki horse. But as he was an old man and inexpert in riding, he fell down from his horse in terror of the Durrāni troopers. As he was not dressed in the manner of a chieftain, the Durrānis cut his head off. Thereafter it became known that this man was Govind Pandit, the com-

murder of that army. They plundered the entire force. On the fourth day Atāi Khan arrived in the Shāh's presence and presented the head of Govind Pandit. The Shāh extolled him and granted him a robe of honour. From this event, the path for the coming of provisions was reopened and grain became cheap in the [Afghan] camp.

On hearing of this event, Sadāshiv Rāo Bhāu became depressed and knew that fortune was unfriendly to him; from all sides nothing but news of defeat and flight reached his ears. However, as he was a high-spirited and brave general, he did not at all mind it, but prepared himself for his task more than ever before.

At this time there occurred this fresh incident. The Bhāu had sent 2,000 cavalry to Nāro Shankar at Delhi for secretly bringing away treasure. These men were bringing bags of Rs. 2,000 loaded on each rider's horse. At night they lost their way, arrived near the Shāh's camp, and mistaking it for their own, every one began to shout to his own men. Thus the Shāh's soldiers came to know that they were Marathas, and taking the alarm plundered and slew all of them. [17] By divine dispensation such occurrences happened daily. The Shāh, setting up a *qizilbashi* tent one *kos* in front of his camp, used to go there before the [morning] prayer, perform his *namāz*, and turn to the transaction of business. From the first day two divisions were told off for patrolling, (*chapāwali*), one on the right and the other on the left, one of these being under Shāh Pasand Khan at the head of 4,000 horse, and the other under another general. For engagement in the battle field the generals were appointed by turns (*chauki ba-chauki*). The Shah himself mounted on his horse and with his son Timur Shah and only 40 or 50 horsemen, tying his bow and quiver to his back, after offering his [morning] prayers, first went round his own camp, then round the encampments of Shujā', Najib, Hāfiz Rahmat, Dundi Khan, Ahmad Khan Bangash and others, then looked at all sides of the plain of battle, and circled round the entire Maratha camp from a distance, and at last after midday returned to the *qizilbashi* tent. On some days he took his meal here, on other days in his harem. This was his regular custom; every day he rode 50 *kos* in person.

Five thousand horsemen were appointed to stand ready and armed every night, one *kos* in front of the camp and behind the battle field.

For patrolling round the camp another force was told off, [who] used to say to all the people, "Do you sleep at ease; we are awake." In this manner was watch kept every day. As the Shāh's command was like that of God and Destiny, what individual had the power to deviate from it? Every day at dawn the troops rode out with the guns, and an exchange of artillery fire took place; in the evening they returned to their camps. Fighting of this type took place for two months and twentytwo days, and every day hundreds and even thousands of Maratha heads were severed and brought in. During this period three severe battles were fought.

First, on 22nd Rabi'-us-sāni.[4] The grand Wazir Shāh Wali Khan was standing on patrol duty on the left side. At the end of the day he issued as on a pleasure excursion and looked at a *bāoli* (large well, with steps leading down to the water) which was situated south of the habitations of Panipat. [18] There was only a small escort with him. The Marathas knew him for a general, and fell upon him in one body of ten to fifteen thousand men. Shāh Wali Khan was hard pressed; the news of it reached the [Afghan] camp; Shujā'ud-daulah, Najib-ud-daulah and the Shāh's troops hastened to his aid, and a great battle was fought. In the course of three or four *gharis*, three to four thousand men were killed and wounded on the two sides taken together. Owing to the superiority of their numbers the Marathas were at first victorious, but when reinforcements reached the Wazir, the sun set and darkness overspread the earth, the Marathas retired. Then the Shāhi troops falling on their rear drove them up to their encampment and slew a large number.

The second battle was on 18th Jamadi-ul-awwal.[5] The men of Najib-ud-daulah's trenches had made a sally. At the end of the day, Balwant Rao [Méhéndélé], the cousin-brother of the Bhāu, fell on them with his men and fought like a Rustam. The Bhāu's troops dispersed, and he [i.e., Balwant Rāo] himself with fifty horsemen, without abandoning the battle field fell back step by step. Just then reinforcements reached him from all sides, and up to one *prahar* after night-fall an obstinate fight raged. [Ibrahim] Khalil-ur-Rahmān, the paternal uncle

4 Should be 12th Rabi'=21 Nov. 1760.

5 Should be 28th Rabi'-us-sāni=7th Dec. 1760.

of Najib-ud-daulah, fell after heroic exertions. More than two or three thousand of Najib's soldiers were slain or wounded. In the last charge, Balwant Rao was providentially shot dead with a *zamburak* ball. Thereafter, the troops on both sides retreated. The third battle was of the same kind.

Every day it was the custom for the troops to take horse and fight with artillery etc., from the morning to the first *prahar* of the night. The Hindustāni generals, becoming fatigued, repeatedly begged the Shāh, "How long can daily fighting of this sort be waged? Let what is to happen, happen. We ought to deliver an assault one day." The Shāh gave only this reply, "This is a matter of fighting. You don't understand it. You have full power in other matters, but leave to me only the business of fighting. It is not a thing to be hurried through, you will see how I conclude this affair. When I have the advantage I shall do what ought to be done."

As on one side all the [Afghan] army and on the two flanks the two raiding bodies of 4,000 each stood ready day and night, and at the back [19] [of the Marathas] was the country of others, no provisions of grain reached the Maratha camp from any direction whatever, and they were reduced to extremities through want of grain and fodder. One day towards the close of the night, about 20,000 men, nay more, issued from the Bhau's camp for the purpose of bringing in grass and firewood. There happened to be a jungle of *Dhāk* trees, and Shāh Pasand Khan himself with 5,000 troopers was waiting in it in the course of his night patrolling. When he discerned a vast crowd of the Maratha camp-followers, he reflected a little, and when they arrived close, he with his 5,000 men encircled the entire party and put them to the sword at pleasure. As it was night, not a man from the Maratha side came to their rescue. After sunrise,, the matter was reported to the Durrāni Shah, who rode out with all his nobles and gazed at the scene, and the entire camp went to see it; a huge hill was formed by piling up the heads and corpses, the number of which it was beyond the power of imagination to count.

After this incident, trembling and alarm seized the army of the Bhāu, and he himself lost his spirit and abandoned his firmness. One Ganesh Pándit was living in Shujā'-ud-daulah's camp as news-reporter

on behalf of the Bhāu; but as he had no entree to the Nawāb's presence, he used always to make his representations and receive replies through my mediation. Through the connection thus established, the Bhāu used often to write letters in his own hand and send them to me by his valet. Their purport was: "In any way that you can, bring the Nawab Sahib over to my interests, and in co-operation with the Grand Wazir settle terms of peace. In case you conclude this business and save me, I shall confer many favours on you. Whatever Shujā'-ud-daulah may desire, I shall agree to." He sent for the Nawāb Sāhib the imprint of his palm dipped in saffron, with oaths and agreement, a white Deccani headdress with a scarf (*sarpech*) set with diamonds,—for the purpose of an exchange of turbans [between them, as a mark of brotherhood]. I too spoke [in support of the Bhāu]. Often the Nawāb Sāhib sent me to the Grand Wazir to further these negotiations. I succeeded very well in inclining the Wazir's mind in favour of peace, and he made a proposal to that effect to the Shāh. The Shāh replied, "I have no [20] concern with these affairs. I have come to this country solely for God's sake, to help my fellow-clansmen and the Muslim community. The business of war is in my hands; in all other matters the chiefs of this country are free to do what they like."

In short, all the *sardārs*, such as Hāfiz Rahmat Khan, Dundi Khan, and Ahmad Khan Bangash in one breath agreed to make peace. The Shāh and the Grand Wazir and other chiefs said that if Najib agreed to the peace they also were all willing. So, one day at midnight Shujā'-ud-daulah sent me, along with Rājah Parsidh Rāy, to Najib-ud-daulah, in order to mollify him and bring him over to the side of peace. As ordered, I went. He was seated alone in his private room. I unfolded the entire business, its pros and cons. Najib-ud-daulah replied, "Nawāb Sāhib is my master's son, and I regard him as my master. But he is a tender youth, and is not attending to his true interests well. In this business [of the Maratha proposal for peace] there is deception pure and simple. When the enemy finds himself weaker, what humility and entreaty will he not make? Particularly in worldly matters, in his hour of need he is ready to make every promise and oath. But an oath is not a chain that would remain [as a control] on his neck; it is a mere word. The enemy who deserves such a beating from your hand, will, if released,

feel no compunction in seeking vengeance again at a suitable time. At present one can well say that the whole of the Deccan is assembled here. When will such an opportunity come to us again? By one attack we can sweep away this thorn of Hindustān from our midst. Let the Nawāb Sāhib wait a few days, and I shall present myself before him and submit my views to him. I am agreeable to any policy that will please him." In this way the conversation was held, and then I came away and reported to the Nawāb Sāhib all the facts in detail, saying that Najib's mind was not at all inclined towards making peace and would never be.

After I had left [his tent], Najib at once took horse, went to the Shāh and reported the whole affair, saying, "All the other groups are agreed on the point that peace should be made, but I do not consider it advisable, because these [Marathas] are the thorns of Hindustān. If peace is made [21], all this realm of Hindustān belongs to the Shāh, thereafter let him do what he likes. I am a soldier, and in the event of these men becoming predominant I can form a compromise with this tribe also."

The Shāh replied, "You have spoken aright. I accept your representation in this matter, and shall not agree to any other man's advice. Shujā' is a tender youth without enough experience of the world. Besides, the Marathas are jackal-natured and their sudden penitence is not acceptable. I have from the first day made you [my minister] plenipotentiary. Do what you deem proper; it is the duty of kings to listen to the counsel of every man, but I shall do nothing without your advice."

The day after this, Najib came to Shujā's tent and up to midnight they talked in various ways, but the discussion did not come to a conclusion.

Meantime, the soldiers of Sadāshiv Rāo Bhāu were so distressed by lack of food that they plundered the houses of the people of Pānipat and took away all the grain [they could find]. But how could that quantity feed the *lakhs* of men in their camp? All the generals and soldiers of the camp in concert came to the Bhāu and said, "For the last two days not one grain of corn has been found by any of us. Even for two rupees we cannot buy one *seer* of grain. A thing that is totally wanting, whence can we procure it, no matter at what price? Why should we die

in this disgraceful manner? We ought to confront the enemy and exert ourselves. Then let what is destined happen." The Bhāu replied, "I hold the same purpose too. I shall not oppose what you all agree to."

Up to midnight this discussion went on, and a battle was decided upon; they agreed that next day two *gharis* before dawn they should march upon the enemy, placing their artillery in front. All the men in concert swore the oath [to do their best] and took up packets of (*pān bīrā*) betel leaf from the audience hall, according to the Deccani custom.

Immediately afterwards Sadāshiv Rāo wrote a few lines in his own hand to me to this effect: "The water has now risen above the level of the head. If anything is possible, do it now, or else give me a frank refusal, as no time remains for writing and discussion." He sent this letter with his personal valet (*khawās*) Bālak Rām, [22] from whose hand the Bhāu always used to take his betel leaf. When about three hours of the night still remained, this man arrived. I was then in the presence of the Nawāb Sāhib. On learning [of his arrival] I went out, read the letter, and reported its purport to the Nawāb Sāhib, and brought the valet to his presence. He narrated the state of things. At this time our spies brought the intelligence that the enemy had got ready for battle, and all their troops had armed themselves, sent their artillery in front, and were riding up behind the guns.

Only four *gharis* of night now remained. The Nawāb Sāhib, immediately on hearing this, rode out to the door of the Shāh's tent and told the eunuch superintendent [of his harem] to awake His Majesty at once, as he had an urgent matter to report. The Shāh on hearing of it promptly came out of the harem and asked what the matter was. The Nawāb Sāhīb replied, "It is not a time for speaking and hearing. Let your Majesty take horse and order the entire army to get ready [for battle]." So the Shāh, in that very dress of broad cloth which he was then wearing,—both coat and cap of the same red (aloe) colour,—mounted a horse of the watch patrol, advanced half a *kos* from the camp, took his stand, and gave the order for the troops to arm. He asked, "Whence has this news reached you?" The Nawāb Sāhīb replied, "This news had reached my clerk and has been verified." The Shāh asked where that clerk was and summoned him; so that a camel rider was sent to fetch me. I went, bowed, and stood behind the Nawāb Sāhib. The Shāh asked,

"What is the news?" I replied, "The enemy have ridden out; very soon will the battle begin." Just then some Durrāni cavalrymen, arriving with their horses loaded [with plunder], reported to the Shāh, "We were out on raid; the Marathas have fled away, and we have brought away these articles as spoils from their camp. The Shāh glanced at me and asked, "What are these men saying?" I replied, "The ball and [polo-] field are close at hand. There will be no delay. The truth or falsehood [of my report] will of itself become manifest."

[Here begins the portion printed in *IHQ.*, 1934, pages 258 *et seq.*]

JADUNATH SARKAR

MISCELLANY

A new Light on Chuṇḍā

The name of Chuṇḍā, the founder of the Chuṇḍawāt section[1] of the Sisodiya Rajputs, has been immortalised by Colonel Tod in his monumental work, the *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*.[2] Chuṇḍā's chief claim to honour is his noble self-sacrifice; for, according to tradition, like the great hero Bhīṣma of ancient India, he unhesitatingly renounced his claim to the throne of Mewar, in favour of his younger step-brother Mokal, so that his father might satisfy his desire. In the following pages we shall try to find out how far the traditional account is substantiated by the materials at our disposal.

These materials may be divided into two classes. First, there is the version preserved in the *Annals of Mewar* which is distinctly biassed in favour of Chuṇḍā, whom it has magnified into a sort of a national hero and as such contains exaggeration which cannot be relied upon. Moreover Tod's classic work was finished about 1827 A.D. It is admitted that in the course of four hundred years, which lapsed between Chuṇḍā's time and the completion of Tod's work, the account had undergone substantial changes. Secondly we have another version, contained in a manuscript commonly known as *Muhanote Nensi's Khyat*[3] of the middle of the seventeenth century. This work furnishes us with information which is much earlier than that of Tod, and so deserves special attention. But it should be remembered that both the versions require to be critically examined before any opinion can be hazarded.

For a proper understanding of Chuṇḍā's life-history a review of the political situation of Western India in the first quarter of the 15th century, is necessary. The provinces of Guzrat and Malwa had just thrown off their allegiance to Delhi, owing to the weakened state of the central power due to the invasion of Timur, in 1399 A.D., and had asserted their independence. In Rajputana,

1 The late Mr. R. C. Dutta inaccurately spells it as Chandāwāt. The original Rājasthān Record mentions it as Chuṇḍāwāt, meaning the son of Chuṇḍā.

2 Readers may also compare *Rajputjibansandhyā* by R. C. Dutta.

3 Compare *J.A.S.B.*, 1909, vol. V, p. 178, foot-note.

I had access to a copy of the above manuscript in possession of Professor Subimal Chandra Datta of the Calcutta University.

Mewar which had recovered her liberty under Rāṇā Hammir, (*c.* 1315—1379), continued her progress, under his able successors—Rāṇā Khetra Siṃha (*c.* 1379.—1406) and Rāṇā Lakha (*c.* 1406-1419).

In Marwar, the Rathors, under their leader Rāv Chuṇḍā (*c.* 1391—1421) were slowly but steadily rising into power but had not gained sufficient importance yet. This shrewd chieftain realised the necessity of establishing an alliance with his neighbour, the Rāṇā of Mewar and, as it often happens in cases of dynastic friendship, this took the form of a matrimonial alliance. Chuṇḍā had a daughter, Haṃsavāi, whom her father desired to give in marriage to the heir to the throne of Chitor. The name of this prince was also Chuṇḍā.[4] The traditional account of this incident is as follows[5]:—

One day, as old Rāṇā Lakha was holding his court, messengers arrived from Mandor with a cocoanut[6] to affiance Rāv Chuṇḍā's daughter Haṃsavāi to Prince Chuṇḍā. The latter was absent from the scene at that time, and in the words of Colonel Tod, "The Messenger of Hymen was courteously received by Lakha who observed that Chunda would soon return and take the gage; 'for', added he, drawing his moustachios, 'I don't suppose you send such playthings to an old grey-beard like me'." The prince appeared at this juncture, and on hearing everything, refused to accept the cocoanut for himself, and requested the Rathor messengers to offer the hand of the princess to his father instead. But Raṇamalla, brother of Haṃsavāi, who happened to be at the head of the embassy, was unwilling to give his sister to Rāṇā Lakha, as the issue of their union would have no claim to the throne of Mewar. Chuṇḍā solved this problem at once, by renouncing his claims to the throne of Mewar. The marriage was thereupon celebrated with due pomp and grandeur. "Mokalji was the issue of the union, and had attained the age of five when the Rāṇā resolved to signalise his finale by a raid against the enemies of their faith,

4 Since the name of the Rathor ruler was Chuṇḍā and that of the Mewar Prince the same, we shall henceforth designate the Rathor Chief as Rāy Chuṇḍā, while the Sisodiya Prince simply Chuṇḍā.

5 Vide Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, edited by Crooke, vol. I, vii, pp. 329-23.

6 This was a peculiar custom that prevailed in Rajputana. The sending of the cocoanut was indicative of offering the bride. No sensible Rajput could refuse it as its refusal was regarded as an act of cowardice.

and to expel the barbarian from the holy land of Gaya..... Ere, however, the Rāṇā of Chitore journeyed to this bourne, he was desirous to leave his throne, unexposed to civil strife. The subject of succession had never been renewed; but discussing with Chonda his warlike pilgrimage[7] to Gaya, from which he might not return, he sounded him by asking what estates should be settled on Mokal. 'The throne of Chitor' was the honest reply; and to set suspicion at rest, he desired that the ceremony of installation should be performed previous to Lakha's departure. Chonda was the first to pay homage and swear obedience and fidelity to his future severeign," his younger step-brother Mokal.

An analysis of the above account makes it clear that Chuṇḍā's chief title to fame lies in renouncing his claims to the highly prized throne of Mewar in favour of his younger brother. One important question arises here, namely, was this renunciation made by Chuṇḍā of his own accord? The traditional account maintains that it was so. But there are certain elements in the story which would prove that it was not so. First of all, we have to remember that Chuṇḍā was not the only son of his father by his first wife. *Muhanote Nensi* informs us that Rāṇā Lakha had as many as nine children—Chuṇḍā Rāghavadeva, Dungar, Ajja, Dulha, Gajasiṃha, Luna, Mokal and Bagsiṃha; most probably this is the correct order. The first seven by his first wife, and the remaining two by his second wife, Hansavāi. That some

7 Among the many inconsistencies and inaccuracies of the traditional account (see Crooke's edition of Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol. 1, pp. 323-324), this warlike expedition of Rāṇā Lakha is the most glaring. He freed the pilgrims from the taxes imposed upon them by the Sultan of Jaunpur by offering sums of money to the Sultan and not by war. The Ekalingaji Inscription of Saṃvat 1485 (i.e. 1429 A.D.) confirms this view. See the Bhavnagar Inscriptions, 38th Śloka, which runs thus:—

नीतिप्रीतिभुजार्जितानि बहुशो रत्नानि दत्त्वादरं दायंदायममायया व्यतनुत
ध्वस्तान्तरायां गयाम् ।
तीर्थानां करमाकलय्य विधिनान्यत्रापि युंक्ते धनं प्रोद्यद्भावनिबद्धतीर्थसरसि
जाप्रदयशोऽम्भोरुहः ॥ १८॥

"He whose lotus-like fame is known in tanks built with large stones, freed Gaya from difficulties by frequently paying many jewels without any show, acquired by him, the lover of good morals. In the same way he uses his wealth in relieving other places of pilgrimage also from impost."

of Chunḍā's uterine brothers were older than Mokal is admitted even in the traditional story; for, how else could Chunḍā, at the time of his departure to Malwa, ask his own brother Rāghavadeva to look after the safety(?) of his young step-brother Mokal ?

Admitting then, that Chunḍā abdicated his rights, according to all rules of hereditary succession, the throne should belong to those who stood between Chunḍā and Mokal, viz., Rāghavadeva.

From the orthodox point of view, it is possible to maintain that Chunḍā renounced his claims in favour of his step-brother Mokal ; and the claims of his uterine brothers were set aside. Now the question arises, whether the presumptive heir can renounce his claims in favour of any person he likes? There is no doubt that none could force Chunḍā to exercise his right to rule if he decided not to do so. But if it is maintained that he could renounce his claims in favour of his own nominee, it is tantamount to maintain that the throne of Mewar was a personal effect. This is a problem which has some constitutional importance.

In our view of the case, the throne was never looked upon in Mewar, not in any Rajput state, as a personal property that could be given away at will by the occupier or heir. We have definite instances of Sardars of the state, deposing incompetent rulers and replacing them by such princes in the royal family in whom they had confidence.[8] This precludes the ruling prince or his heir from looking upon the crown as a personal property. Moreover, *Muhanote Nensi* distinctly, and the traditional account of Tod tacitly, state that Chunḍā's renunciation was made before, and apparently with the approval of, the council of Mewar Sardars. It is thus clear that Chunḍā could not have renounced his claims in favour of his younger step-brother Mokal, even if he had wanted to. In that case, the claims would have immediately passed to his younger brothers who were older than Mokal. And yet we find that all of them are passed over in preference to the younger

8 For an idea of the constitutional position of the ruler in mediæval Rajput history, compare the article of Prof. Subimal Chandra Datta, "Conception of Sovereignty in mediæval Rajput States," *Cal. Review*, April, 1925. It should however be borne in mind that if any comparison is to be drawn, the mediæval Rajput state-system, should be compared with the political system of the Anglo-Norman times in England. We must not think that the Rajput states possessed such constitutional ideas which prevail in modern times.

step-brother. It would thus appear that if any credit for renunciation is to be given to Chuṇḍā, such credit must be shared by his younger uterine brothers as well.

In reality, however, such wholesale renunciation of claims are hardly met with in a matter-of-fact world. Thus it could be safely deduced, that what actually took place was that not only Chuṇḍā but all his uterine brothers, who stood between the throne of Mewar and Mokal, were pushed aside. We must look upon the renunciation as being forced upon Chuṇḍā and his brothers, rather than self-administered.

Turning to the other question, namely, how it was possible for the Rāṇā to get his wishes accepted by the council of Rajput Sardars, we may mention that the king, if he was strong, could and did exert a great influence on the Sardars just like the Tudor kings of England. The power of the council of Sardars was undefined not unlike that of the 'Witenagemot'. It would compel a weak king to yield to it, but at the hands of a strong king it proved to be submissive and tractable. So it will not be far from truth to assume that Lakha obtained the consent of his nobles to make Mokal his successor to the throne, more through personal influence.

We thus find that Chuṇḍā does not deserve the great honour which has been bestowed upon him by tradition. His so-called self-abnegation is nothing but a renunciation forced upon him by his voluptuous father, with the so-called consent of his Sardars. An examination of the latter part of Chuṇḍā's life also reveals in the same way the fact that even here, imagination and exaggeration have taken a large part in building a posthumous celebrity.

Sailaja Kinkar Rai

Historical Information in the Prākṛta-Paiṅgalam

Prākṛta-Paiṅgalam is a work on Prākṛta metrical science. It is a compilation from several treatises, and it seems to have been completed in the early years of the fourteenth century A.D.[1] There is a large number of verses in the book, referring to some historical incidents, the object of which is to illustrate some rules of Prākṛta metre. Some of them glorify the political achievements of some kings whose names have not been mentioned, some again narrate the war-like activities of the Kalacuri Karṇa, Hammīra, and the king of Kāśī. A verse mentions the Sāhī, and the Turuṣkas. So far as I know, these verses have not hitherto been noticed in any book or article on Indian history. Hence it may be worth while to examine their historical importance for our future guidance.

Verses, referring to the Kalacuri Karṇa, do not, as a matter of fact, add anything to our existing knowledge.[2]

As regards the King of Kāśī the *Prākṛta-Paiṅgalam* tells us:—

"The minister Vidyādhara narrates—when the king of Kāśī marches, *Vaṅga* shivers in fear, *Kaliṅga* flies away, *Telaṅga* departs without battle, the impudent *Mahārāṣṭra* sticks to its limit, *Saurāṣṭra* in terror falls on feet, *Campāraṇa* trembling jumps from the mountain, and in its attempt to rise up loses its life."[3]

1 *Prākṛta-Paiṅgalam*, Bibliotheca Indica Sanskrit Series, edited by Chandra Mohan Ghosh, 1900. All the verses quoted below are from this edition.

2 (a) जहा, चल गुज्जर कुंजर तेज्जि महीं तुअ बब्बर जीवण अज्जु णहीं ।
जइ कुप्पिअ कण्ण णरेंद वरा रण्ण को हरि को हर बज्जहरा ॥१३०॥ P. 448

(b) जहा, हणु उज्जर गुज्जर राअ दलं दल दलिअ चलिअ मरहट्ठ बलं ।
बल मोलिअ मालव राअ कुला, कुल उज्जल कलचुलि कण्ण फुला ॥१८५॥ P. 296

(c) जहा, जे गंजिअ गोलाहिवइराउ उद्दंड ओड्ड जसु भअ पलाउ ।
गुरुविक्कम विक्कम जिणिअ जुज्झ ताकण्ण परक्कम कोह बुज्झा ॥१२६॥ P. 219

3 जहा, भयभंजिअ बंगा भंगु कलिंगा तेलंगा रणमुक्कि चले,
मरहट्ठा धिट्ठा लग्गिअ कट्ठा सोरट्ठा भय पाअ पले ।
चंपारण कंपा पव्वअ झंपा ओत्था ओत्थी जीव हरे
कासीसर राणा किअउ पआणा विव्वाहर भण्ण मंतिवरे ॥१४५॥ p. 244

"When the king of Kāśī, who performed excellence, and who obtained renown, marches; *Nepāla* is conquered, *Bhoṭa* being distressed moves off, *Cīna* bereft of vanity breaks down, *Lohāvara* falls weeping, *Oḍra* takes resort to the middle world, *Mālava*-rāja's forces are crushed down, and *Telaṅga* flies away."[4]

"*Oh Gauḍa*! restrain your herd of elephants, turn your array of foot-soldiers from the battle. What is elephant, what is foot-soldier, and what are heroes before the tip of the arrow of the king of Kāśī."[5]

Summarising the above three verses it is found that the king of Kāśī fought with (a) Vaṅga (East Bengal), (b) Kaliṅga (Ganjam and Vizagapatam Districts), (c) Telaṅga (Warangal), (d) Mahārāṣṭra (Bombay Presidency south of the Narmadā), (e) Saurāṣṭra (Kathiawar), (f) Campāraṇa (to the west of Mithilā), (g) Nepāla (Nepal), (h) Bhoṭa (Tibet), (i) Cīna (China), (j) Lohāvara (Lahore),[6] (k) Oḍra (Orissa), (l) Mālava (Malwa), (m) Gauḍa (North Bengal).

In the mediæval period before the final conquest of the Moslems Kāśī was ruled in succession by the Pratihāras of Kanauj, Kalacuris of Tripuri, and by the Gāhaḍavālas. Of these three dynasties Gāhaḍavālas were only designated in early records as the king of Kāśī or Benares.[7] Hence there can hardly be any doubt that the king of Kāśī, referred to in the *Prākṛta-Paiṅgalam*, was a prince of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty. There were six kings, viz., Candradeva, Madanapāla, Govindacandra, Vijayacandra, Jayacandra, and Hariścandra in that dynasty. Govindacandra only is known from the Gāhaḍavāla records to have fought with the Gauḍas[8] who were at that time ruled

4 जे किंचिअ धाला जिणु खिवाला भोट्टंता पिट्टंत चले
भंजाविअ चीणा दप्पहि हीणा लोहावल हाकंद पले ।
ओड्डा उड्डाविअ किती पाविअ मोलिअ मालव राअ बले
तेलंगा भग्गिअ पुणविण लग्गिअ कासीराआ जअण चले ॥१६८॥ p. 318

5 जहा, रे गीव थक्कंति ते हत्थि जूहाइ पक्खहि जुज्झंतु पाइक्क बूहाइ ।
कासीस राआ सरासार अग्गेण की हत्थि की पत्ति की वीर बग्गेण ॥१३२॥ p. 450

6 Sachau's *Alberuni*, vol. I, p. 208.

7 Elliot, vol. II, pp. 250 ff. 8 *IA.*, vol. XVIII, p. 16.

by Rāmapāla. Govindacandra had an officer named Vidyādhara,[9] who held the post of the minister under his feudatory the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Madanapāla. Hence, of all the Gāhaḍavāla kings Govindacandra has the better claim to be identified with the king of Kāśī, referred to in the *Prākṛta-Paiṅgalam*. Govindacandra held sway over the large part of Magadha. It was during the reign of Govindacandra that the Cālukya Someśvara III (A.D. 1126-1139), king of the Deccan and Mahārāṣṭra, fought with the king of Magadha i.e., Govindacandra.[10] Hence the informations of the *Prākṛta-Paiṅgalam* that the king of Kāśī, whom I am inclined to identify with Govindacandra, fought with the king of Mahārāṣṭra is to be accepted as a genuine fact. The analyses made below will show that it is not beyond the range of possibility that Govindacandra fought with the kings of most of the countries, mentioned in the *Prākṛta-Paiṅgalam*, as adversaries of the king of Kāśī.

Govindacandra's contemporary king of Vaṅga was Vijayasena. Vijayasena overthrew the Pāla king of Gauḍa, vanquished Nānya and others, and marched against the king of the west. Madhainagar inscription of Lakṣmaṇasena, grandson of Vijayasena, states that Lakṣmaṇasena when a prince (*kumāra*) seized the fortune of the king of Gauḍa, defeated the kings of Kaliṅga and Kāśī.[11] As Vijayasena finally brought about the downfall of the Pāla kings of Gauḍa we have reasons to believe that Lakṣmaṇasena carried on the above conquests during the reign of the former. Hence the king of Kāśī with whom Lakṣmaṇasena fought was either Govindacandra or his successor Vijayacandra.

Anantavarman Coḍa Gaṅga (A.D. 1078-1147), king of Kaliṅga and Orissa marched up to the bank of the Ganges in course of a military expedition.[12] It is not unlikely that his northern progress was checked by Govindacandra.

Both Campāraṇa and the kingdom of Nepāla were contiguous to the kingdom of the Gāhaḍavālas. Nānyadeva (A.D. 1097-1147), king of

9 *IA.*, vol. XVII. pp. 61 ff.
10 *JBBRAS.*, vol. XI, p. 268.
11 *Inscriptions of Bengal*, vol. II, p. 114.
12 *JASB.*, vol. LXV, pp. 229 ff.; *EI.*, vol. XIII, pp. 150 ff.

Nepāla, fought with Vijayasena, and the king of Mālava. If Nānyadeva really invaded Mālava, he must have to force his way through the territory of Govindacandra.

Lohāvara or Lahore was at that time the capital of the Moslems in the Punjab. The Gāhaḍavāla records tell us that Govindacandra fought with the Moslems.[13]

The Paramāras of Mālava were the southern neighbours of the Gāhaḍavālas.

It is doubtful whether Govindacandra ever fought with the kings of Bhoṭa, Cīna, and Saurāṣṭra.

Thus it is not unlikely that Govindacandra not only fought with the king of Gauḍa, the Moslems of Lahore, and the Cālukya Someśvara III but also came into conflict with Vijayasena of Vaṅga, Anantavarman of Kaliṅga and Orissa, Nānyadeva of Mithilā and Nepāla, and the Paramāras of Mālava.

With reference to Hammīra the *Prākṛta-Paiṅgalam* narrates:—

"The hero Hammīra, placing his general Jajjala in front, and playing on the drum, marches,—the body of the *Mleccha* faints in *Delhi*. The hero Hammīra marches—the earth trembles due to the weight of his feet, the dust covers the chariot of the sun and thereby all the quarters and the sky becomes dark, *Khaṇasāṇa* is brought as hostage in that darkness, which covers the quarters and the sky, the enemies are crushed down, and the drum is beaten in *Delhi*."[14]

"Jajjala says—(equipped with) arms firmly, putting on armour in the hand, taking the order of the lord Hammīra, (I) enter into battle, wander soaring in the sky, cause to shake the mountain, cut down the

13 *IA.*, vol. XVIII, p. 16.

14 डोझा मारिअ डिल्लिमह मुच्छिअ मेच्छ सरीर ।
पुर जज्जझा मंतिवर चलिअ वीर हम्मीर ॥
चलिअ वीर हम्मीर पाअभर मेइणि कंपइ
दिग मग रुह अंधार धूलि सूरह रह झंपइ ।
दिग मग रुह अंधार आणु खुरसाणक ओझा
दरमरि दमसि विपक्ख मारअ डिल्लि मह डोझा ॥१४७॥ P. 249 ·

head of the enemies, push and shake the armour with armour, sever the head of the *Sulatāna* with a sword, burn in the fire of anger, in the service of Hammīra give up the body and go to heaven."[15]

"When Hammīra marches—*Malaya* and *Cola* kings, bereft of power, break down, *Gurjara* is tortured, *Māḷava* king deserting the herd of elephants hides himself in the Malaya hill, *Khurasāna* who traversed the sea, being mortified, falls into trance in the battle-field, the enemies are perplexed."[16]

"Oh beautiful lady! set my feet free. Oh good faced! give me the sword in smiling face. Having slain the *Mleccha*, Hammīra will look to your face."[17]

"When Hammīra, in anger, marches with herds of elephants, the earth is molested with the weight of their feet, the sun gets covered with the dust of the chariot, the back of the tortoise having sunk down the crest of the Meru mountain trembles, the son of the *Mleccha* faints crying."[18]

15 पिंधउ दिढ सण्णाह बाह उप्पर पक्खर दइ
बंधु समदि रण धसउ सामि हम्मीर बअण लइ ।
उड्डल णहपह भमउ खग्ग रिउ सीसहि डारउ
पक्खर पक्खर ठेल्लि पेल्लि पब्बअ अ प्फालउ ॥
हम्मीर कज्जु जअल भणइ कोहाणल मुह मह जलउ ।
सुलताण सीस करवाल दइ तेज्जि कलेबर दिअ चलउ ॥१०६॥ P. 180

16 भंजिअ मलअ चोल वइ णिवलिअ गंजिअ गुज्जरा
मालव राअ मलअगिरि लुक्किअ परिहरि कुंजरा ।
खुरासाण खुहिअ रण मह मुहिअ लंघिअ साअरा
हम्मीर चलिअ हारव पलिअ रिउगणह काअरा ॥१२१॥ P. 255

17 मुंचहि सुंदरि पाअं अप्पहि हसिउण्ण सुमुहि खग्गं मे ।
कप्पिअ मेच्छ सरीरं पेच्छइ बअणाइ तुमइ धुअ हम्मीरो ॥७१॥ p. 127
cf. V. 204, p. 327.

18 पअभर दरमइ धरणि तरणि रह धुक्किअ झंपअ
कमठ पिट्ठ टरपरिअ मेरु मंदर सिर कंपिअ ।
कोह चलिअ हमीर बीर गअजूह संजुत्ते
किअउ चह हाकंद मुच्चि मेच्छहके पुत्ते ॥६२॥ p. 157

Hammīra, mentioned in the above verses, is to be identified with the Cāhamāna Hammīra, king of Ranthambhor, who flourished in the latter part of the thirteenth century A.D. The *Hammīra-Mahākāvya* of Nyāyaratnasūri[19] reports that Hammīra had an able general named Jāja who fought bravely with the Moslems under Alauddīn Khiljī, the Sultan of Delhi. The Cāhamānas won some preliminary victories but later on both Jāja and Hammīra lost their lives in the battle. Jāja can very well be a contraction of Jajjala.

The report of the *Prākṛta-Paiṅgalam* that Hammīra defeated the Colas, Mālavas, and the Gurjaras can be corroborated by other early evidences. It is known from *Hammīra-Mahākāvya*, and Hammīra's inscription[20] that Hammīra defeated Bhoja II, king of Mālava, and conquered Vardhamānapura (modern Wadhwan, Kathiawar), Ābu, Gaḍhamaṇḍala, Kuntala, Kāñcī etc. Vardhamānapura and Ābu were within the kingdom of the Gurjaras.

The above study thus shows that the historical information contained in the *Prākṛta-Paiṅgalam* is in the main authentic. The verses[21] narrating the political achievements of some kings whose names are not mentioned have not been discussed as it will serve no useful purpose.

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19 *IA.*, vol. VIII, pp. 64 ff. 20 *EI.*, vol. XIX, p. 45.

21 (a) भंजिआ मालवा गंजिआ करणाला जिणिआ गुज्जरा लुंटिआ कुंजरा ।
बंगला भंगला ओड्डिआ मोड्डिआ मेच्छआ कोंपआ कित्तिआ थप्पिआ ॥१२८॥ p. 446

(b) भत्ति पत्ति पाअ भूमि कंपिआ टप्पु खुंदि लेह सूर झंपिआ ।
गोल राअ जिणि माण मोलिआ कामरूअ राअ बंदि छोलिआ ॥१११॥ p. 423

(c) जहि आसावरि देसा दिण्णइउ खुत्थिर डाहर रव्वा लिह्णउ ।
कालंजर जिणि कित्ती थप्पिअ धणुआ बलिअ धम्मक अप्पिअ ॥१२८॥ p. 222

(d) सहस मअमत्त गअ, लाख लख पक्खरिअ,
साहि दुइ साजि खेलंत गिंहू ।
कोप्पि पिअ जाहि तहि, थप्पि अम्हु विमल महि,
जिणइ साहि कोद तुअ तुलक हिंहू ॥१२७॥ p. 262

We propose to discuss this well-meant rendering made by Dr. Rawson of the *KU.*[1] almost exclusively in connection with the single verse IV, 1 which is as follows:

पराञ्चि खानि व्यतृणत् स्वयम्भूस्तस्मात् पराङ् पश्यति नान्तरात्मन्।
कश्चिद्धीरः प्रत्यगात्मानमैक्षदावृत्तचक्षुरमृतत्वमिच्छन्॥

We cite first the author's version and follow this by one of our own, thus—

(1) The Self-existent pierced the senses outward:
Therefore one looks without, not at the Inner-self.
Desiring immortality a certain sage
With eyes averted saw the Self-within.

(2) It is because the Self-subsistent bored the holes outwards
That one looks forth and not upon the inward-Essence:
(But) each contemplative, desiring immortality,
With eyes inverted sees (that) present-Es-sence.[2]

1 *THE KATHA UPANIṢAD; AN INTRODUCTORY STUDY IN THE HINDU DOCTRINE OF GOD AND OF HUMAN DESTINY.* By Joseph Nadin Rawson, Oxford University Press, London, and Association Press, Calcutta, 1934. pp. 241.

Abbreviations: *RV., Rig Veda Saṃhitā; VS., Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā; PB., Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa; JB., Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa; JUB., Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa; AA., Aitareya Āraṇyaka; BU., Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad; CU., Chāndogya Upaniṣad; MU., Maitri Upaniṣad; Kaus U., Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad; KU., Kaṭha Upaniṣad; Muṇḍ Up., Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad; BG., Bhagavad Gītā; TU., Taittirīya Upaniṣad.*

2 *Pratyagātman* might also be rendered "exemplified Essence," cf. *RV.*, III, 48, 3 where Indra in *purudha pratīkaḥ*, "multiply exemplified," and for *pratyañc* in the sense 'presented,' 'hitherward', etc., II, 10, 5 *śiśvatīḥ pratyañcam* (also X, 79, 5) corresponding to I, 97, 5 *viśvatomukhaḥ*, VI, 47, 18, *pratirūpaḥ* etc.

Essence (*ātman*) is that by which a thing is; name or form (*nāma*), that by which it is *what* it is; aspect, phenomenon (*rūpa*) that by which we perceive it *as* it is.

The *ātman*, literally 'spirant,' considered (1) as despirated is "That One" who *ānīt avātaṃ*, *RV.*, X, 129, 2, the *puruṣaḥ*.....*aprāṇaḥ* of *Muṇḍ. Up.*, II, 1, 2, the *aliṅga Puruṣa* of *KU.*, VI, 8, and Death who wills *ātmanvī syām* in *BU.*, I, 2, 1, the state of despiration (*nirāśa*) being in Buddhism similarly *anatta*, (2) as actually spirant is the Breath of Life, *prāṇa* (Hebrew *ruaḥ*, Arabic *rūḥ*, Chinese *ch'i*, Greek *pneuma*, Latin *spiritus*, English ghost), and (3) as the Begotten

To dispose of a minor point first, *kaścid* in the third line cannot mean 'a certain', but rather 'any' or 'every', cf. *kaścana* in *KU.*, VI, 9: "By the eye's intrinsic faculty no one ever sees This", and *ibid.*, VI, 18: "So may any other comprehensor of the immanent-Essence", where *anyaḥ* is similarly indefinite; hence there is not a specific reference to Naciketas. In any case, a contrast is drawn between the profane and extroverted and the contemplative or introverted consciousness: the kingdom of Heaven is within you, and therefore is not seen by those whose attention is concentrated upon the objects of experience, considered as they are in themselves. As Śaṅkarācārya resumes, "It is not possible for the same man to be intent upon external objects and to have vision of the present-Essence." This general significance of the verse has been grasped by most translators, and it is only when we proceed to further exegesis that misunderstandings arise, as with Professor Rawson. These arise for the most part in the treatment of the expression *khāni vyatṛṇat* when the earlier usage and full content of these terms are ignored. In the first place it is misleading to render *khāni* merely by 'senses'; Hume's "openings (of the senses)" corresponding to Śaṅkara's *indriya-dvāra* is much to be preferred. Our own rendering is absolutely literal. *Khāni* is strictly speaking nothing but 'openings', 'spaces', or 'holes'; *kha* in the *Ṛgveda* being, as Monier-

is made manifest (*BU.*, 1, 5, 7. "The Father is *manas*, the Mother *vāc*, the Begotten *prāṇa*"). Expressed in Christian terms, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are consubstantial; but there is a distinction, inasmuch as in the Hindu formulation the three Persons of the Trinity are Father, Mother, and Begotten, and though the Spiritus or Essence is the link between them, it is not always referred to as a distinct Person or hypostasis.

For a discussion of the rendering of *ātman* by "Essence", see my "Two Vedantic Hymns of Adoration" to appear in the next issue of the *Bull. Sch. Or. Studies*. The Spiritus, or pneuma, the living God in all things, is precisely that basis of being or essence upon which their existence depends, and upon which all the accidents of existence are superimposed. In this living essence all things participate (root *bhaj*—the original meaning of *bhakta* being "participant"). As being the basis of existence, the word *ātman* naturally acquires also the secondary sense of "self"; but it was not therefore necessary to introduce for the original sense so awkward an expression as "Self". In such a phrase as *ātmānaṃ vibhajya* "dividing his essence" or "dividing himself", the two related meanings can hardly be distinguished.

Williams says rightly, usually the opening within the hub of a wheel, through which the axle passes. For a fuller analysis of the metaphysical significance of Vedic *kha* the reader is referred to my "*Kha* and other words for 'zero' in connection with the metaphysics of space", in the Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, vol. VII, pp. 487-498.[2a]

In the case of the Solar wheel that represents the universe (in its extension as space, in its revolution as time) it is the Sun that occupies the central place, all the spokes radiating from this source as rays of light; and the hub or nave thus thought of as the "hole in the sky" (*divaś-chidram*) and compared to the hole (*kha*) of a chariot or wain is "all covered over with rays", *JUB.*, I, 3. The Sun is moreover the "gateway of the worlds" (*loka-dvāra*, *CU.*, VIII, 6, 6), through which all things proceed from being into their existence, and through which they return to their source.[3] In the first direction it is the Sun's outraying, through this "hole in the sky", of its omniformal light (*jyotir viśvarūpam*, *VS.*, V, 35, *bhā-rūpa*, *MU.*, VI, 17 etc.) that reveals, that is, brings out of the uniform darkness of potentiality into the variegated light of day, or 'creates', all things in their kind (*viśvā rūpāṇi pratimuñcate*, *ṚV.*, V, 81, 2); the particular aspect (*rūpa*), colour (*varṇa*), or species (*jāti*) of each thing reflecting this or that part of the whole light according to the thing's own form (*nāma*) or individual nature (*svabhāva*).[4] In the reverse direction of movement, it is through the

2a The striking parallel in the *Tao Tê Ching*, Ch. II, may be noted here: "We put thirty spokes together, and call it a wheel; but it is on the space where there is nothing that the utility of the wheel depends." Cf. ṚV. II, 28, 5, *ṛdhyāma te varuṇa khasya ṛtasya*.

3 Precisely as in John, X, 9, "I am the door: by me if any man enter in, he shall be saved, and shall go in and out, and find pasture," cf. *pistis Sophia*, "shall have the power of exploring all the regions of the Inheritances of Light, etc." and *TU.*, III, 10, 5 "he goes up and down these worlds, eating what he desires, assuming what aspect he will," being now, as elsewhere expressed, a *kāmacārin*.

4 Cf. *PB.*, VIII, 5, 6 and *JB.*, I, 160 where all creatures (*paśūn*) are originally of one aspect (*ekarūpa*), and Prajāpati seeing or emanating them "in the *puṣkalu*" (probably = *puṣkara*, 'lotus') and distinguishing their colours (red, white, and black, probably = rājasik, sāttvik, tāmasik), or as Caland renders 'form' or 'beauty', becomes himself a 'shiner-out' (*subha*). *KU.*, V. 15, "His shining illuminates all

Sun that one "escapes altogether" (*atimucyate, JUB.*, I, 3), reaching the "world beyond the falcon" (*PB.*, III, 268), "there neither the sun, nor moon, nor any star shines, nor do the lightings flash"[5] (*KU.*, V, 15) but rather the "Light of lights whom the angels worship as life everlasting" (*jyotiṣām jyotir* etc., *BU.*, IV, 4, 16). There "the Person that is not-human" (*amānava puruṣa CU.*, V, 10, 2) "the Person despirated and de-mented" (*puruṣaḥ.....aprāṇo hyamānaḥ, MU.*, II, 1, 2), "draws the comprehensor onward by the pathway of the *devayāna* (through the *brahma-loka*, 'Heaven') unto Brahman" (*CU.*, *ibid.*).[6] "No man cometh to the Father but *through* Me"; but once the soul has broken through, it is no longer Agni in His guise of Universal man (*vaiśvānara, nṛttama*), no longer Agni as the "way-wise leader and unfaltering herdsman moving on the ways" (*vidvān pathaḥ pura eta,*

this" (*tasya bhāsā sarvam idaṃ vibhāti*) presents the converse formulation. What is to be understood here is the *avinābhāva* of the formal light and its reflections, Eckhart's "Before creatures were, God was not"and the converse; each being causal with respect to the other, cf. *BU.*, I, 2, 1 on the "sheen of shining" (*arkasya arkatva*), and Dante's *suo splendore.....risplendendo.*

5 St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, III, supp. q. 91, a. 1, "The state of glory is not under the sun."

6 The supra-solar *devayāna* (=*paramā gati* of *MU.*, VI, 30, and generally Viṣṇu's "third stride") corresponds to what is called in Mahāyāna Buddhism the "untaught way" (*aśaikṣa mārga*). Cf. Rūmi (XXXV in Nicholson, *Shams-i-Tabrīz*), "the last step.....to fare without feet."

Caution is needed in translation of the terms *amṛta, devayāna* and *abhaya pāram* or *paraṃ gati* or *pada*. The *devayāna* (=*amṛtatvāya gātu, ṚV.*, I, 72, 9 and the 'bridge' of *KU.*, III, 2) leads in the first place to Heaven, *svarga-loka*, the place of the fulfilment of all desires (*kāmasyāptim, KU.*, II, 11) and *amṛtatva* in this fearless realm is precisely 'aeviternity' in the sense of *Sum. Theol.*, I, q. 10, a. 5, or in Celtic mythology the " lasting life" of the "ever-living living ones." All that is implied by Heaven and aeviternity is expressly renounced by Naciketas, *KU.*, II, 11. On the other hand the same terms elsewhere are used with reference to the absolute eternity of the timeless (*akāla*) Brahman, and it is clearly this *ātyantika amṛtatva* that is to be understood in *KU.*, IV, 1 as the last end, and similarly this *abhaya pāram* in III, 2. Space does not permit a full discussion of *amṛtatva* here, but as regards *amṛtatva* as "aeviternity" see Hopkins in *JAOS.*, XXVI, 37, and for the distinction of the relative aeviternity and absolute eternity, Śaṅkarācārya on *CU.*, V, 10, 1 (available in English in the version of *CU.*, by Jha edited by Seshachari, Madras, 1899).

ṚV., V, 46, 1, *gopām anipadyamāna.....pathibhiś carantam*, I, 164, 31 etc.) no longer that Agni who as the Son (*kumāra*) has *brought* the wayfarer to and through the gateway of the worlds, but rather the Father Himself, or Agni as one with the Father (*yathā ekaḥ*, *KU.*, V, 9) and "abiding in His ground" (*kṣeti budhnaḥ*, *ṚV.*, III, 55, 7), which is the ground of the Divine Darkness (*tamasi kṣesi ṚV.*, X, 55, 5) that draws on the Comprehensor, now no longer in the human mode, to the point beyond all names, where the apparent distinction of the inward—and presented—Essence from the Supernal Essence is subsumed in the station of No-otherness and Sameness or Perfect Simplicity, the being of the (Mahā-) Puruṣa that is "beyond (the manifested) and the unmanifested, omnipresent and uncharacterised" (*KU.*, VI, 8), to that essential Person who is the same in Himself and in the Sun and in every hypostasis.[7]

In human workmanship, the hole (*kha*) in the chariot-wheel (or holes, *khāni*, when the twin wheels of Heaven and Earth, the wheels of the chariot of light, are considered in mutual relation) is prepared beforehand for the insertion of the axle-point (*āyi*) or points; but where cause and effect are one, that is in Him Who does not proceed from potentiality to act, the insertion of the axle-point (Dante's *il punto*

7 This *avyaktāt tu paraḥ puruṣaḥ*, "Person beyond the unmanifest," is the "Supreme Identity" of *vyaktāvyakta*, *sadasat*, *amṛta* and *mṛtyu*, "Whose likeness is of Life and also Death" (*yasya chāyā amṛta yasya mṛtyu*, *RV.*, X, 121, 2); which are not distinguished *ante principium*, *prāgutpatteḥ*, as in X, 129, 1-2, where *sat* and *asat*, *amṛta* and *mṛtyu*, day and night (=light and dark) are as yet undivided in That One. Then "in the beginning" *sat* is born from *asat* (X, 72, 2) and Death, Privation, takes on Essence (*BU.*, I, 2, 1, *ātmanvī syām;* having been in Himself *anātmya* as this expression is used in *TU.*, II, 7, cf. Buddhist *anatta*), cf. Eckhart, I, 381 "The Godhead is as void as though it were not", and I, 267, "The first formal assumption in Godhead is being...God"; Death and Non-being standing to Life and Being as Godhead to God.

This Supreme Identity is the last end envisaged by the *KU;* Yama's teaching is that to reach That, it is not enough to find Light and Life, but that the soul must also lose herself entirely in the Death and Darkness, cf. Eckhart I, 274, "the soul honours God most in being quit of God", I, 411, "No one can be buried and beatified in the Godhead who has not died to God", therefore, I, 368, "Plunge in, this is the drowning". The whole *KU.*, in other words, is the support for a *contemplatio in caligine*.

dello stelo al cui la prima rota ha dintorno) and the preparation of the place for it are one act. And this is the act of creation: to take the most literal parallels to our text, in *ṚV.*, II, 15, 3 Indra "with his *vajra* bores the holes" (*khāni atṛṇat*), and in IV, 28, 1, "lays bare the closed openings" (*apa avṛṇot apihitā khāni*) and so releases the Rivers of Life. In IV, 28, 5, *apihitāni aśnā* replaces the *apihitā khāni* of the first verse, for the Fountain of Life is thought as 'sealed' by a stone or stones, or what amounts to the same thing, the Waters are thought of as imprisoned within the Rock of Ages (*aśmany anante*, *ṚV.*, I, 130, 3; *adrim acyutam*, VI, 17, 5; cf. *śṛṇvantv āpaḥ.....adreḥ*, V, 41, 12, and hence the designation of the River of Life as Aśmanvatī in X, 53, 8 etc.). Alternatively it is the hidden Fire or Light or Sun that is released from the stony antenatal tomb (II, 12, 3, where Indra "effects the nativity of Agni in the rock"; VII, 6, 2, *bhānum adreḥ*); and the Rivers or Rays of Light are constantly referred to as stolen or hidden kine confined in a stony pen or stable (X, 139, 6, *apa avṛṇot duro aśma-vrajānām;* I, 162, 3 *bhinad adrim.....vidad gāḥ*). All kinds of verbs implying an act of destruction are employed to describe the breaking down of the enclosing rock (*adrim.....dṛḷham*, IV, 1, 14; *paridhim adrim*, IV, 18, 6), for example *bhinad* (cleft), *avṛścat* (broke), *atṛṇat* (bored), *crayat* (burst open), *hinvanti* (smote), *vi vavruḥ* (laid open), *dadṛvāṃsaḥ* (pulverising); and all this is to the end that the Light may shine, the Rivers flow, "that we may win the outlet (*kham*) of Varuṇa's Eternal Law", that is all that every creature desiring to proceed from potentiality to act considers good.[9] The breaking through is generally

8 *ṚV.*, I, 115, 1, "The Sun is the Essence of all that is concrete or transient"; *JUB.*, III, 2-3, "Yonder Sun' the Essence arisen from the sea (that is, having come into being), is the essence of the angels and of mortals"; *MU.*, VI, 1, "This Golden Puruṣa within the Sun, who from His golden realm eyes the earth, He it is that verily abiding in the lotus of the heart, there consumes food" (to consume food", or "find pasture" is the same as to exist in any mode; existence being a condition annexed to essence, although without modification *secundum rem*— "The unborn Essence is neither increased by right acts nor diminished by wrong", *BU.*, IV, 4, 22).

9 The outward life thus envisaged by the desirous (*prajā-kāmya* etc.) individual potentiality as 'Good', involves for the creature an experience of both good and evil; just as in Genesis, when Adam eats of the tree, the inevitable conse-

accomplished by Indra with his *vajra* (e.g. II, 15, 3 *vajreṇa khāni atṛṇat*); that is, exercising the temporal power (*kṣatra*) which he receives from Agni (X, 124, 4, "I leave the Father, my choice is Indra"), who places the *vajra* in his hands (X, 52, 5). Corresponding to this, and like the whole ritual a mimesis of "what was done in the beginning", is the symbolic piercing (*vyādhyanti*) of skin (*carma*) by a Kṣatriya in the Mahāvrata ceremony (*AA.*, V, 1, 5 and *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, XVII, 15). The skin that[9a] is pierced represents the sky conceived of as a veil, curtain, or rock-wall separating the interior and invisible from the exterior and visible operation;[10] and just as the piercing of the "hole in Heaven" (*divaśchidram*) opens a window through which the Great Person or Supernal Essence (*mahāpuruṣa, paramātman*) looks out into time and space (X, 114, 4, where as the Sun-bird "entering into Ocean, He views all this

quence is that of expulsion from Paradise into the outer world conditioned by pleasure and pain as opposites, "good and bad...a thing that has no place in real being" (Eckhart, 1, 207). It is after the name (*kha*) of the place of their origin that good and evil as actually known to the creature are called *su-kha* and *duḥ-kha;* which is just as if, with Genesis in mind, we spoke of pleasure and pain as sweet and bitter 'fruits' respectively.

9a Not merely as Keith suggests, a "rain" but also a "light" spell. "Spell" is, of course, an anthropologist's term for what should properly be called a "metaphysical rite".

10 The ritual imitates *RV.*, X, 68, 4 where Bṛhaspati "drove forth the cattle from the rock, cleft earth's skin as it were with water" (*uddhāraṇa aśmano gā bhūmyā udnêva vi tvacam bibhedа*). Here, of course, it must not be overlooked that *bhūmi*, like *pṛthivī*, *budhna*, rarely if ever refers specifically to the physical earth beneath our own feet, but denotes the ground or platform of being on any plane; *pṛthivī* (*du.*) is for example "Heaven and Earth", cf. Sāyaṇa on *RV.*, VI, 16, 13 "Earth (*bhūmi*) is the support of every world". The corresponding adjectives *bhāumya*, *pṛthivīya*, *budhnya*, are properly to be rendered by 'chthonic'.

The 'skin' in the present text is then the integument of the 'Rock' (*aśman*) within which the Light Rays and the Waters are imprisoned. *Udnêva* involves the simile of a spring or fountain bursting forth; the opening made in the Rock of Ages is that of the Fountain of Life, *utsa* or *avata*, sometimes *kavandha*, in *RV.*, *passim*, e.g. II, 24, 4 where Brahmaṇaspati opens the "well with mouth of stone, the fount of water" (*aśmāsyam avatam.....utsam udriṇam*).

The 'wall' corresponds to Eckhart's "boundary line between united and separated creatures" (1, 464) and to the Islamic 'murity' (*jidāriyya*), sometimes called the "dark curtain of the sky," (Nicholson, *Studies* etc., p. 25).

universe," *idaṃ viśvam bhuvanaṃ vi eti*)[11] so microcosmically the sense openings in the skin of the physical body of man are the outlooks, *Aussichtspunkte*, of the indwelling Person or inward-Essence (*AA.*, II, 6 and III, 2, 4).[12] Now even if we suppose that Śaṅkara deplored the creation of the world, the work of 'ignorance' (*avidyā*) in the same sense that, no doubt, Professor Rawson deplores the fall of man, although apart from the creation or fall neither individual would or could have come into being as such, still Śaṅkara, in paraphrasing *vyatṛṇat, hiṃsitavān hananaṃ kṛtavān ityarthaḥ*, could not possibly have intended, nor could any scripturally learned or traditionally indoctrinated Hindu have supposed, that what was meant was that "Parameśvara cursed, or injured, the senses." If Professor Rawson is able to cite in fact two modern Hindu writers who render *vyatṛṇat* by 'doomed' and 'damned' this only illustrates the fact that even a Hindu may, under present conditions, be affected by that intellectual myopia which generally speaking vitiates most of the results of "modern scholarship." Śaṅkara is simply repeating the words of the *Ṛgveda* when he says "smote and destroyed," and all that this means is that God made the blind potentialities to see; it is Professor Rawson himself who by imposing moralistic values on metaphysical formulations confuses the whole issue. If Professor Rawson should reply that *Ishāni* in *KU.*,

11 This divine procession, though from our point of view who are in "ignorance' it involves the taking on of mortality (*RV.*, I, 164, 32, *nirṛtim ā viveśa*) and subjection to inveteration (*PB.*, XXV, 17, 3, where Prajāpati is stupified by eld", *jīryyā māra*) and disintegration (*Prajāpatiḥ...vyaśraṅsata*, *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* etc., *passim*), is from the Comprehensor's point of view assumed in the Vedānta, an altogether joyful act, cf. *Siddhāntamuktāvalī*, "Which when it enters the Dark-world on its wings of enjoyment and satisfaction, quickens every world", the Vedānta maintaining also that this same beatific vision is accessible here and now to whatever contemplative will look "with inverted eyes."

12 The eye is often representative of all the senses, e.g. Śaṅkara in comment on *AA.*, II, 6. "Vision is the gate of sense (*indriya-dvāra*) that grasps all things in their diversity", while in comment on *KU.*, IV, 1 he says conversely that "He whose eyes, ears, etc. are averted from all things in their diversity is said to have 'inverted sight'." Cf. Rūmī, XXIII, in Nicholson's *Shams-i-Tabrīz*, "This eye and that lamp are two lights, when they came together, no one distinguished them".

IV, 1, is the immediate object of *vyatṛṇat*, we refer to *ṚV.*, IV, 28, 1 and 5 from which it is evident that the real object is *aśnā*, and point out that when according to a similar idiom, we speak of "breaking open a way" or "cutting a path," this does not mean a destruction of a hole or path but of whatever obstructs the hole or path: and secondly, in the light of *AA.*, II, 3, 3 *khāni sa ākāśo*, "The openings are the principial space, and *CU.*, VIII, 14 and VIII, 1, 1-4, where the *ākāśa* is identified with the Brahman, the Essence (*ātman*), as "the occasion of form and aspect" (*nāmarūpayor nirvahitā*), and "this principial-space (*ayam ākāśa*) within the hollow of the lotus of the heart is what above all else one should desire to understand, for it is the non-inveterable Essence that is not slain when the body is slain," one may well ask how or by whom these *khāni* could be damned or injured, for these 'holes' in which the inward-Essence stands at gaze are one with and continuous with Itself, it is God Himself that stands at gaze, and that is a part of His eternal act.[13] These 'holes' (all of the eleven *dvāra* of *KU.*, V, 1) are for the Comprehensor, like the *divaś-chidram*, doorways through which as *kāmacārin* he passes in and out at will.

The Sun is called the 'eye of Varuṇa', or Mitrāvaruṇau, or of these with Agni, or finally as in our *Upaniṣad*, V, 11, "the eye of all the world", and "sees all things at once" (*viśvam abhicaṣṭe*, *ṚV.*, I, 164, 44; *abhi viśvā bhuvanāni caṣṭe*, VII, 61, I etc.); and this seeing of all things at once is also their 'creation' or emanation, the raying of the omniformal light above referred to being as regards the things seen at once their cause and the means of their perception (V, 81, 2). And just as in Genesis, God sees that this whole world is "very good",

13 The Ruler of all things, whose abode is within this space in the heart, is not affected by the contingency that is mirrored in His sight, "He is not increased by right action nor diminished by wrong" (*BU.*, IV, 4. 22), "Just as the Sun, the eye of all the world, is not defiled by outward faults of vision" (*KU.*, V, 11), and that is to be understood according to the explanation of St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.* III, q. 94, a. 1 ad 2, "there may be deformity of the thing seen without imperfection of vision: because the images of things whereby the soul knows contraries are not themselves contrary", which if it applies to the souls of the blessed, must apply even more in the case of God, whose knowledge of evil is *sub specie boni*. cf. p. 6, note 2.

so "the Supernal Essence (*paramātman*) seeing the world picture painted by the Essence on the canvas of the Essence takes a great delight in it" (Śaṅkarācārya, *Svātmanirūpaṇa*, 95, echoed eight centuries later in the *Siddhāntamuktāvalī*, ed. Venis, p. 181, "I behold the world as if a picture, I see the Essence", *paśyāmi citram-iva...ātmānaṃ paśyāmi*).[14] It is, then, a fundamental error to assume that either Veda or Vedānta regards the world as a mistake; what is asserted is that in so far as its parts or principles are separately envisaged and not in their integrity *sub specie aeternitatis* as God sees them all together, the vision is a sorry one. The unenlightened man has knowledge of (*avidyā*) each thing independently and runs in vain pursuit of particular goods (*KU.*, IV, 14, *pṛthak paśyaṃs tān-eva anudhāvati*), for as Ulrich Engelberti expresses it, *ignorantia divisiva est errantium*.[15] But whoever looks in

14 The whole point of view is taken over in Buddhism, the Buddha, the "kinsman of the Sun" (*āditya-bandhu*) being the "eye in the world" (*cakkhuṃ loke, Dīgha Nikāya*, II, 158), cf. the 12th century inscription of Vipulaśrīmitra (*Ep. Ind.*, XXI, 97-101) verse 12, speaking of the "boundless station (*asīma pade*) from which the Victors (i.e. Buddhas) see the whole world (*paśyanti viśvam*) like a given object placed in the palm of the hand." And as regards this speculative knowledge (*ādarśa jñāna*) which God has of things, cf. Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, lib. xii, c. 29, *speculum eternum mentes se videntium ducit in cognitionem omnium creatorum et proprius quam aliquid;* as Chuang Tzŭ also expresses it, "The mind of the sage, being at rest, becomes the mirror of the universe". In *PB.*, VII, 8, 1, what Mitrāvaruṇau behold when the Spiritus stirs the Waters is "a fair thing" (*vāmam*) and this gives its name to the Vāmadevya Sāman with which may be compared Augustine's and other Christian conceptions of the universal harmony or song. All tradition has been in full agreement as to the perfection of the beatific vision of the world, in which the individual partakes when the mirror of the soul is cleaned, cf. *KU.*, VI, 5 *yathā 'darśe tathā' tmani*, and *Kauṣ. Up.*, IV, 2 *āditye mahat...ādarśe pratirūpaḥ*. That the beatific vision of the world is essentially aesthetic and disinterested is common to Augustine and Thomas; for the former, see Wikmann, *Beiträge zur Aesthetik Augustinus*, 1909, pp. 22 ff., and for the latter, *In II lib. Sent. dist.* q. 1, a. 1 "For if there were no minishing of any good in anything, all good things would be equal, and so the beauty of the universe, which is compounded in various degrees of excellence, would cease to be", cf. *Sum. Theol.*, III, q. 94, a. 5 c, "We delight in knowing evil things although the evil things themselves delight us not."

15 From Ulrich's *Summa de Bono*, see Sitz. k. Akad. Wiss., Ph-Kl., 1925, Heft 5, p. 81.

the eternal mirror—and that is the same thing as "with eyes inverted", or "thinking inversely" (*pratyak cetanā, Yoga Sūtra*, I, 29) or 'upstream' (*pratikūla* etc., *passim*), or with the *daivya cakṣus* and not the *māṃsa cakṣus*, cf. *Sum. Theol.*, I, p. 12, a. 3 "Likewise the words 'Now my eye seeth Thee' are to be understood of the mind's eye"—sees at once all things and God, as He sees Himself, and so far from losing anything, possesses all things in their incorruptible perfection. It is not the spectacle[16] but the profane vision, that of the unrelated sciences or humanism[17] for example, that the Vedānta calls an 'illusion' (*moha*). Professor Rawson throughout makes the usual error of confusing *moha* with *māyā*. *Māyā* is properly speaking the "means-whereby" the Great Magician (*māyin*) operates, viz., all the 'measure' (root *mā*, as in *nirmā*, 'to create') that belongs to the divine nature *svabhāva*, *prakṛti* etc.); and if that which is consequently *māyā-maya*, "natured by magic" (in Böhme's sense), viz. our environment, *natura naturata*, becomes the occasion of delusion, that is not the fault of the divine nature, but of him who is deluded. What Śaṅkara denies is the ultimate reality of things as they are known 'ignorantly' i.e. objectively, and as they are in themselves, not that of things "as they are in God"; and this point of view, which is no less than that of the Upaniṣad and of Śaṅkara, is equally proper to Christianity, cf. Augustine, *Confessionum*, XI, 4, *quo comparata nec pulchra sunt, nec bona sunt, nec sunt*, "compared with Whom they are neither fair, nor good, nor are at all."

The Solar and Divine or beatific vision of the world is impartial, whether we think of the Witness (*draṣṭṛ*) as without or within; cf. *ṚV.*, VII, 60, 2: "The Sun beholds both what is straight and what is crooked

16 As 'spectator', He is referred to in the Upaniṣads as *paridraṣṭṛ* etc. Cf. Jāmī (in Nicholson, *Mystics of Islam*, p. 80), "He was both the spectator and the spectacle", and Eckhart, 1, 148 "sport and players are the same", and the whole Indian conception of *līlā*.

17 It is often very difficult to tell whether Professor Rawson's point of view is that of a Christian or a rationalist. He is certainly not orthodox in his Confession of Patripassianism, p. 180; and seems to speak as a rationalist or pragmatist when he asks "what of the unselfish intentness of the scientist?" and remarks that "it was the verdict of Genesis, 'God beheld everything that he had made and behold it was very good', which prepared the way for modern science" (1), p. 149.

amongst mortals", II, 27, 3-4: "The solar angels within you see both wrong and right", and the *Upaniṣad*, V, 11: "Just as the Sun, the eye of the whole world, is never touched (*na lipyate*) by any outward fault of vision, so the one inward Essence in all beings is untouched by the world's grief (*loka-duḥkha*), being apart from it."[18] In the last passage, *loka-duḥkha* is literally 'Weltschmerz', and before discussing Professor Rawson's characteristically Patripassian resentment of the doctrine of divine impassibility, and in what sense God is or is not impassible, the import of *loka-duḥkha* must be considered; Professor Rawson's "human suffering", although included, representing but a fraction of the whole content of this expression. *Loka-duḥkha*, or as in *PB.*, VIII, 1, 9 and *JB.*, III, 72, *traiśoka*, "the pain of the triple universe", depends upon the separation of Heaven and Earth (and therewith that of the intervening world of extension, *antarīkṣa*, cf. Dante's *cima del mondo, mezza* and *infima parte*)[19] which is involved in the act of creation as envisaged by the creature, *avidyayā*, "in knowledge-of."[20] Such distinction and separation being the *sine qua non* of existence in any mode, suffering is universal, "the whole creation groaneth and travaileth together," or as in *BU.*, III, 5, all other than this omnipresent Essence is in pain" (*ātmā sarvântara-stham...ato'nyad artam*). It is a little difficult to understand how this Weltschmerz occasioned by division (*viyoga*), whether in its universal or in any particular aspect, could be thought of as adhering (*lip*) to God as He is in Himself, whose knowledge of all things is not objective but given in His knowledge of Himself, "I am that I am." It is not from His, but only from our point of view

18 Cf. Matthew, V, 45: "He makes His sun to shine alike upon the evil and the good"; *RV.*, I, 124, 6 (Uṣas); *RV.*, VII, 49, 4 (Varuṇa); *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, II, 112; "When the Sun rises, he shines impartially (*yadvat-sama*) on high and low".

19 *Paradiso*, XXIX, 31-36. Dante's *puro atto, potenza con atto*, and *potenza* correspond to *sattva, rajas*, and *tamas*.

20 "*Krama* (procession) is *dvitva*", *Taittirīya Prātiśākhya*, XXI, 16; the Vedic *skambha*, Gnostic *sthauros*, "pillars-apart" Heaven and Earth. "Die Liebesgeschichte des Himmels" (Siecke's expression) is fundamental to the cosmic myth, and the formal cause or pattern of all romance, whether "religious" or "profane". The separation of Heaven and Earth is typically the work of Indra, e.g. in *RV.*, VII, 28, 3.

as Wayfarers that there is a *viyoga* of Heaven and Earth, Essence and Nature, or seeker and object of desire on any level of experience.

On the other hand there is another, and only from the Wayfarer's point of view one more valid ("consoling"), according to which the Person of the Eternal Avatāra (Agni, Buddha, Christ)[21] suffers *loka-duḥkha*, enduring universally all that every individual suffers particularly. He is extended on the Cross or Tree of Life. He drinks the poison of existence (Śiva, as *viṣapa*); His suffering is as real as ours, but no more real, that is not real in Eternity or essentially. It is precisely in so far as we conceive His omnipresence (*vyāpakatva*) as a being present *here and there*, as if inhabiting indefinitely numerous local positions, that we crucify Him daily and churn the venom that burns His throat, thus repeating the first creative sacrifice by which the angels mentally divided Him (*RV.*, X, 90, 11, *vyadadhuḥ...vyakalpayan*); and in the same way it is for *us* to make Him whole (*saṃskṛ*) again, that is in our own eyes, who is in Himself and in Eternity altogether Simple and Same. If it is sometimes said that He sacrifices Himself willingly for our sake, as Yama in *RV.*, X, 13, 4, or as in *MU.*, VI, 26, "Sub-dividing his Essence, He fills these worlds" (*ātmānaṁ vibhajya*, etc.) or *KU.*, V. 12, that "He being One, makes Himself manifold", this does not mean by an actual division of Himself who is impartible; just as when Agni "does what must be done" (*RV.*, I, 165, 9, *kariṣyā kṛṇuhi;* VII, 9, 3, *vaktvāni vadāti;* VII, 20, 1, *cakriḥ...yat kariṣyan*, cf. *Saddharma Puṇḍarīka*, in ch. XV, *kartavyam karoti*) this is not *per necessitatem coactionis* but *infallibilitatis;* and just as we can say of any source of light, that it multiplies itself in a thousand reflections and is yet one in itself. This 'exemplary' relation of the one and many is the common property of all traditions; cf. for example, *RV.*, III, 54, 8, *viśvam ekam;* I, 31, 5 and IV, 28, 4, *ekāyus...viśvāyus*, *VS.*, V, 35; *jyotir viśva-rūpam*, and Bonaventura's *unum secundum rem sed tamen plures secundum rationem intelligendi sive dicendi.*

21 Yama, in *RV.*, is sometimes identified with Agni (I, 164, 46), sometimes Agni's dear friend (X, 21, 5) and priest (X, 52, 3). In either case Yama is the temporal, Agni the spiritual power; these powers being either united in the same person (cf. Indrāgni) or separately exercised.

We suffer precisely in the measure of our own imperfection, that is to the extent that we stand apart from things and consider them objectively and to the extent that we consider them historically; thus desiring things or fearing things thought of as distinct from us in space or time. But the Christian is enjoined to "become perfect even as your Father in Heaven is perfect"; and one of *His* perfections is that "He does not understand things according to an idea outside Himself" (*Sum. Theol.*, I, q. 15, a. 1 *ad* 1). God then knows only in a here and now, that is in eternity and *sub specie aeternitatis;* what can He hope for or what can He fear? And if He neither hopes nor fears, how can He be said to suffer? What the Vedānta asserts, is exactly the opposite of Patripassianism; not then that the Father, or the Son as one with the Father (as He *is* one, except in our estimation, *secundum rationem intelligendi sive dicendi*) suffers with our suffering, but that our imperfection and our suffering are both alike unreal, that we all *are* perfect even as our father in Heaven is perfect, and that all things actually partake of His delights.

To look with eyes 'inverted' or 'converted' is to realise this. It is merely quibbling to cite Plato, "uses the beauties of earth as steps, etc.", for this is precisely what is meant by seeing with inverted eyes, extroverted vision on the contrary is eyeing the beauties of earth with interest and curiosity according to their immediate values and running in vain pursuit of them. Sin is defined as any "departure from the order to the end" (*Sum. Theol.*, II-1, q. 21, a. 2 c). Will Professor Rawson maintain that the enjoyment of the beauties of earth is man's last end, and controvert the whole of Christian æsthetic, which maintains that God is infinitely more beautiful than any of His creatures can be in itself; or will he admit the truth of *KU.*, II, 11, that "he departs from the order to the end' (*hīyate arthāt*) who prefers what he most likes (*preyas*) to what is most beautiful (*śreyas*)"?

In like manner it would be possible to criticise almost any page of Professor Rawson's work, and to demonstrate either inadequate knowledge of the sources or imperfect understanding of the meanings of the texts, or both. Rather let us in conclusion compare the result with the end in view. From the Preface, p. viii, it appears that the purpose of the work is to promote "a truly original Indian development of Christian

theology" which, though it "must have its roots in the Christian scriptures and Christian experience..must also spring from knowledge of, and reverence for, all that is true in the religious thought and experience of India's past". The desirability of making Christians out of Hindus is evidently taken for granted, no less than the author's ability to say just what is or is not true in the religious thought and experience of India's past.

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY

An Umā-Maheśvara Sculpture from Benares

In a back number of this Journal (Vol. IX, p. 588) Dr. Dhirendra Chandra Ganguly has published a note together with a photograph on a new Gupta Sculpture found in Benares. I am not in a position to examine the sculpture in original, but from my study of the Mathura sculptures I think that it is no doubt a Mathura sculpture carved on a white-mottled red sandstone generally used for Mathura sculptures. It is known that many Mathura sculptures of the Kushan and Gupta periods have been discovered far away from Mathura, and this must be considered as one of the kind. In my article on 'Some Brahmanical Sculptures in the Mathura Museum' published in the *Journal of the U.P. Historical Society* (1932) I have noted a sculpture of Śiva-Pārvatī, with which this Benares sculpture of the same god bears considerable resemblance. The arrangement of hair of both Umā and Maheśvara closely resembles that in several images in the Mathura Museum. Dr. Ganguly is not right when he says that his sculpture does not belong to any of the two classes mentioned in the Purāṇas. In fact it belongs to the second class mentioned by him and represents the 'Umāliṅgana' variety with the amorous display of Umā and Maheśvara. The lower left hand of Maheśvara is not placed on the left shoulder of Umā as Dr. Ganguly is not right when he says that his sculpture does not belong to left hand of Maheśvara may be marked below the left breast of Umā. The right hand of Umā also embracing her husband is not visible in this sculpture as it is in the Mathura sculpture.

One important point which Dr. Ganguly has not noticed in this sculpture is that of the *Ūrdhvaliṅga* of Maheśvara which is also seen in

the Mathura sculpture noted above and in some more sculptures of Umā-Maheśvara preserved in the Mathura Museum. This is one more reason to suppose that the Benares sculpture originally came from Mathura.

In the Mathura sculpture Maheśvara has only two hands. The Benares sculpture having four hands of Maheśvara can therefore be assigned to a later period than that from Mathura. Umā in the Mathura sculpture holds a flower in her left hand. The object held by her in her left hand is not clearly seen in the present sculpture, but it may as well be a flower.

Although the Benares sculpture can be assigned to the Gupta period it is not a masterpiece of art as is supposed by Dr. Ganguly. Maheśvara's face really lacks the expression of joy, which Dr. Ganguly says 'knows no bound'. The lower right hand is out of proportion. Similarly the size of the bull is too small to fit in with other members in the sculpture, perhaps because it is a *vāhana* of Śiva. For such points the Benares sculpture exhibits ordinary workmanship and is far inferior to the Mathura sculpture.

D. B. DISKALKAR

Was Lokanātha a Karaṇa by Caste?

In an issue of this *Quarterly* (vol. IX, no. 1, pp. 70-76), Mr. Pramode Lal Paul contributes an article on Ādiśūra. A reference is made therein to the Tippera copper-plate grant of Lokanātha (of about 650 A.D.) where it is said 'Lokanātha himself (is described) as a Karaṇa by caste, which according to Manu, is a mixed one.' This remark is probably based on Dr. Radhagovinda Basak's interpretation of the passage about Lokanātha in the Tippera plate (*EI.*, vol. XI, pp. 301, 305). The verse (9) therein referring to Lokanātha is:

Ity=āpta-mantra-su-viniścita-kṛtya-vastuḥ
Śrī-Jīvadhāraṇa-nṛpa...../
Yasmai dadausvaviṣayaṃsaha sādhanena
Śrī-paṭṭa-prāpta-karaṇāya vihāya yuddham//

This verse may be translated as follows:

"To whom (i.e. to Lokanātha) the king Jīvadhāraṇa, who well decided on the advice of his trusted (ministers) what was to be done, handed over, after giving up (the idea of) fighting, his country together with his army, (to Lokanātha) who had obtained his office under a royal charter."

Dr. Basak translated the expression *Śrī-paṭṭa-prāpta-Karaṇāya* as 'gave away to that Karaṇa (Lokanātha), who obtained a royal charter.' The expression *Śrī-paṭṭa-prāpta-Karaṇāya* qualifies 'Yasmai' and is a Bahuvrīhi compound to be dissolved as 'Śrīpaṭṭena prāptam Karaṇam yena' (who acquired Karaṇa by royal charter). No one can acquire a caste by royal charter. Dr. Basak seems to take the expression as "prāptaḥ śrīpaṭṭaḥ yena saḥ śrīpaṭṭaprāptaḥ sa ca asau karaṇaś ca." This is grammatically wrong. We should then except 'prāptaśrīpaṭṭa.' Besides, to take the whole word as a Karmadhāraya makes it clumsy. Therefore the proper way of interpretation is to hold that the office (*karaṇa*) held by Lokanātha was obtained by him under royal charter. *Karaṇa* may be taken as an abbreviation of *adhikaraṇa*. It is well known that *karaṇa* means 'a document' (Manu, VIII. 51, 52, 154) and that *karaṇika* means 'an officer who has control of documents or accounts' (*vide* for *karaṇika EI.*, vol. VIII, p. 158; XII, p. 17; XX, p 40). Hemādri is described as 'samastakaraṇādhīśvara' and 'sarvaśrī-karaṇa-prabhu' in the *Caturvarga cintāmaṇi*.

The reading 'Śrīpaṭṭa-prāpta-karaṇāya' spoils the metre. Dr. Basak may see from the original plate whether it is possible to read 'Śrīpaṭṭa-vāpta-karaṇāya,' 'vāpta' being equal to 'avāpta' and 'a' being elided according to the Kārikā of Bhāguri *'vaṣṭi-Bhāguris=allopam=avāpyor=upasargayoḥ.'*

P. V. Kane

Baghel Rājā Vīrabhānu of Gahora or Bandho

Prof. Hara Datta Sarma in his article under the caption "The Subhāṣitahārāvalī of Śrī Hari Kavi and some poets enjoying the patronage of Muslim rulers," in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, September 1934, notices Bhānukar, a Sanskrit poet who lived in the sixteenth century A.C. The writer says, "He refers to a certain Hindu king Vīrabhānu in two of his verses, but it is difficult to identify this king." May I mention for Prof. Sarma's information that Vīrabhānu was the Baghel Rājā of Gahora or Bandho, now known as the Mahārājā of Rewa in Central India. Rājā Vīrabhānu's father was Vīrsingh who helped Rāṇā Saṅga of Chitore in the fight against Babar. Vīrabhānu ascended the Baghel throne in 1540 and was succeeded by his son Rājā Rām or Ramcandra, mentioned in *Ain-i-Akbari*. The Rewa Durbar possesses two valuable manuscripts of the 16th century: (1) *Vīrabhānudaya Kāvya* and (ii) *Vīrabhadra Campū*. This *Vīrabhānudaya Kāvya* has already been noticed by Dr. Hiranand Śāstrī in his *Memoirs of the Archæological Survey*, No. 21, The Baghel dynasty of Rewa, and in his "Further note on the Baghel Dynasty of Rewa" originally published in the *JBORS*.

Vīrabhānu helped Humayun in his retreat after his defeat by Sher Shah in Bengal. In the *History of Humayun*, p. 146 it is narrated that: "When his majesty reached the river's bank he stopped bewildered as to the crossing, and said "How to cross without boats?" Then came the Rājā (Bīrabhānu) with five or six of his horsemen and led him to a ford. For four or five days his people were without food or drink. At last the Rājā started a bazar so the people of the army lived some days in comfort and ease."

I have so far been unable to obtain any of the works of Bhānukar, or Dhārāvalī or Rasikajīvana.

JANAKI PRASADA

REVIEWS

THE DARKER SIDE OF DAWN, by Ananda K. Coomaraswamy Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, vol. 94, no. 1. April 17, 1935, 18 pages.

One of the most difficult problems in Indian art is the origin of symbols and iconographical motifs which cannot be explained by the more usual method of canonical texts, giving precise instructions and explanations. The Vedas, so important in the philosophy of India, as well as her literature, have been usually overlooked as a source for solving these problems.

In Dr. Coomaraswamy's remarkable study *The Darker Side of Dawn*, actually an exposition of the duality of deity particularly the solar deity Sūrya, or Agni and the feminine counterpart, Uṣas or Dawn, together with a statement of their metaphysical implications, there is presented an intelligible explanation of a number of iconographic problems hereto unexplained, problems whose answers author finds in Vedic and kindred literature.

The so called 'Serpent Queen' and its masculine counterpart in the Mathurā Museum, reproduced (*Ars. Asiatica*, XV, pl. xxxxix) is, as Dr. Coomaraswamy points out (p. 18, note 25) "rightly to be called those of Indra and Indrāṇī." 'Sarparājñī' or 'Serpent Queen' "is a designation of Vāc and Earth in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, IV, 6, 9, 16-17" ...and "serpent shouldered' (*pṛdāku-sāmu*) in Ṛgveda, VIII, 17, 5 is an epithet of Indra." The Bengali snake goddess, Manasā Devī may also, it is shown, be regarded as Earth and Indrāṇī, and is not a later importation into the Hindu pantheon.

An intelligible explanation is also offered by the author's thesis outlined below, for a very interesting Gandharan stone in the collection of the Brooklyn Museum, "The Buddha's Victory over the Serpent" recently published by this reviewer in *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*: The Pali texts refer to the snake as ahi-nāga.

There are a number of other iconographic problems especially in

the sculpture of the Mediæval period which this thesis offers a good explanation for but cannot be discussed here since it is not pertinent.

Dr. Coomaraswamy amply supported his thesis, the "duality of deity" by evidence quoted from the *Ṛgveda* and later classical literature. The implications extended also to the *dii minores*, associated with solar deities, such as the devīs as symbols of light, and asurīs, symbols of darkness, stated in their briefest form are first: The "Powers of Light" and the "Powers of Darkness" are the "same and only power" (p. 2) or, as presented in another form, "The serpents are the Suns." And "At the end of an Aeon, the powers of darkness are in turn victorious." Secondly, the description and identification of the form of the "deity in the darkness" as "theriomorphic," rather than as "human angelic," and as typically represented in the form of a "serpent or fiery dragon inhabiting a cave" and "guarding a treasure against all comes and above all restraining the Rivers of life from flowing."

The Vedic hymns, it is pointed out, are actually a celebration of this "Conquest of the serpents by the Powers of Light." A well known instance of this conflict in Buddhist mythology is illustrated by the Jaṭila shrine, where the Buddha seated in a cave, conquers the serpent by fighting fire with fire(*tejasā tejāni*) until the serpent is quelled and enters the alms bowl. The Brooklyn Museum has a good illustration of this subject referred to above.

The sources quoted confirming the "double aspect of deity," and showing that the "deity in the darkness" is "typically conceived as a brooding serpent" etc. are in the main, the *Ṛgveda*. Other sources for this concept are quoted from the *Upaniṣads*, the *Mahābhārata*, the *Bhagavad Gītā*, the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, the *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā*, and the *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*. The author also points out a parallel in Christian mythology for the battle between the "Powers of Darkness and Light" in the contest between St. George and the Dragon. One also might name St. Catherine slaying Vice, vice represented in the form of a semi-human monster with webbed feet and hands, upon whom St. Catherine places her foot, and whom she strikes with her spear. Many similar legends call themselves to mind.

The interest and value in these metaphysical implications and the 'ontological principles' namely the 'duality of Unity' and the 'Unity

of Duality, as the author states in the introduction, is that "it provides a logical explanation for certain typical forms of the creation myth that is common properly of all cultures." Western as well as eastern mythology and folk-lore and fairy tale have varying aspects of the 'World myth' and the solution given in the "Darker side of Dawn," "will offer a valuable means of recognizing and correlating the carrying forms."

Besides the "fragments of the story" in the miracle of Buddha, Moses, Christ and other World Teachers, the author finds that 'fragments' may also be recognized in the "hero of the fairy tale who carries off the imprisoned daughter of a giant or magician." The stories also of the mermaids, "who fall in love with mortals acquire a soul and feet in place of their scaly tails", all show relationships to the serpent myths and the "transformations of the Power in the Darkness."

One of the other remarkable things about this study is the amount of 'new light' it offers. The material however is so condensed in its present form, we believe the new contributions can be summarized best in topical headings. Because of the very nature of the material it will be necessary to follow the author's text closely. The more pertinent quotations from the *Ṛgveda* and other classical literature supporting the thesis will be given under each heading.

1. *The angels (devāḥ) are 'transformations' or 'Sacrificial conversions' of the Titans (asuras) and serpents, (sarpāḥ.).* The evidence assembled for this conception is found in a resumé of the *Ṛgveda*, given in the *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*, XXV, 15: "Where the serpents, by means of a sacrificial session, are enabled to cast their inveterated skins (*hitvā jīrṇān tvacam*) and to glide forward (*ati-srp*) changing their forms, and thus "the serpants are Ādityas" (*sarpyā vā ādityāḥ*).

2. *The Identification of Agni with the Serpent Budhnya.* The quoted passage from the *Ṛgveda*, IV, 1, 11, states that Agni is "footless and headless hiding both his ends (*apād aśīrṣo guhamāno antā*), and as Dr. Coomaraswamy points out, Agni is "clearly thought of as a coiled snake" and "that in the same way, the Sun is originally 'footless' but given feet by Varuṇa that he may proceed (*apade padā prati dhātave*, 1, 24, 8). The main thesis however concerns itself with the duality of deity in the feminine principle as symbolized in Dawn (*uṣas*) with its

corresponding evidence Dawn, having the same 'dark implications' as Sūrya, Agni, etc. This may be conveniently summarized under five topical headings:

1. *The Victory of the forces of light symbolized in Dawn (uṣas) 'triumphing' over her sister 'Night', or the Dual aspect of Dawn.* The evidence cited in the *Ṛgveda*, 1, 113, 1-3 states: "When she hath conceived for Savitṛ's quickening, "Sister to mightier sister yields the womb". It is an instance, as Dr. Coomaraswamy states of the "Devī replacing the Asurī": and in the nativity of Mahāvīra it is reflected in the transference from a Brāhmaṇa to Kṣatriya womb.

2. *Sister Dawns (Uṣasā) or Night and Day as Mothers and Brides of the Sun, Agni.* As mother, the *Ṛgveda*, V, 1, 4, is cited. "When Night and Day, the author states, (Uṣasā, the "sister dawns") have carried him, Agni is born, "full strong and white, in the beginning of days."

As brides of the Sun or Agni, the *Ṛgveda*, 1, 123, 10 is cited: "Where Dawn is desired by the Sun to be his maiden (*yoṣā*) and in IV, 5, 13, "where the Dawns are called consorts (*patnīḥ*) of the immortal Sun, (*Uṣasā.....Sūryā-patnī*)." Other like passages are cited which the reader may tabulate for himself.

It is further pointed out by Dr. Coomaraswamy that Dawn (*Uṣas*) may be identified with Sūrya, and also her sister Dawns. The evidence cited is from the *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā*, 111, 10, "where Night (*rātrī*) and Dawn (*Uṣas*) or Day (*ahas*) are Indra's consorts (*Indravatī*), Indra representing the Sun.

3. *The Identity of 'Uṣas' with Night as well as Day*, is clearly denoted' (p. 5) in the above passage and this duality the author states "renders intelligible certain neglected passages of the *Ṛgveda* in which Dawn is referred to as a sinister power."

4. *The Identity of "Dawn ab intra, in the Night, as Night and especially at the end of Night's course* first *as of 'theriomorphic', therefore Serpent form, and secondly "at the end of night's course as "human-angelic"*, showing that the same transformation concept applies to the feminine as well as to the masculine principle (pp. 6-7).

The *Ṛgveda*, 1, 152, 3 is quoted as evidence, regarding the transformation to 'human angelic' form, which by its context implies that

that form had been theriomorphic before the 'procession' of Uṣas. "The footless maid proceeds as first of footed things" (*apād eti prathamā padvatīnām*). "That is as much as to say", the author concludes, "that she who had been a 'serpent' now assumes an angelic human form." Other passages are cited to support the thesis.

(b) To others points are brought forward as evidence showing how strong was this conception. The first is the recognition by Dr. Coomaraswamy of "Dawn in her 'angelic form' in the story of Apālū 'whose name', he states 'means unprotected' i.e. "husbandless and free woman." There is a marriage, it will be recalled, of Apālā and Indra, Apālā of course being identified with the Dawn, where "Indra represents the Sun." The author states that "the legend of Indra's drawing Apālā through the three apertures *kha* of his solar chariot, thus cleansing her and making for her a 'sunny skin', (*sūryā tvacam*) makes it clear that the old skins are removed and a glorious skin revealed making Apālā fit to be Indra's bride" i.e. Sūryā to be the Sun's. (p. 9).

(c) The second point, cited from the *Atharva Veda*, 1. 27 is stated as "offering an unmistakably condensed account of Indrāṇī's procession and marriage" (p. 10). "On yonder shore (*amuḥ pāre*) are thrice seven adders (*pṛdākvaḥ*) that have cast their skins (*nirjarāyavaḥ*)" (Verse 1). The cast skins, it is stated, are to "blindfold the vicious beings that beset the paths, the highwaymen (*paripanthinaḥ*) who are inimical to the proceeding principles."

But verse 4 actually states the human-angelic character of Indrāṇī and points to her marriage. "Let the two feet go forward, let them visibly proceed; bear (her) to the homes of Pṛṇat (*vahatam pṛṇataḥ gṛhān*)". '*Pṛṇat*', the author explains, is a "designation either of the Sun, or of Indra or Agni as the Sun, who "fills the world"; as Indra, who fills the waste lands, (*apṛṇak dhanvāni*) *RV*., IV. 19, 7; of Agni who "fills the regions" (*ārajasī apṛṇat*) *RV*., III, 2, 7. (p. 10-11).

5. *The Identity of Apālā with Sujātā.* Sujātā desiring a husband, according to *Jātaka*, 1, 69, brings a milk offering to the Bodhisattva on the eve of Samādhi. She actually becomes the consort of Indra. The evidence of Sujātā's identity with Apālā Dr. Coomaraswamy finds in *Jātaka*, 1, 31, p. 205 where Indra seeks her out in 'three rebirths.' These rebirths, it is pointed out, "correspond to the three cleansings of

Apālā." Her father..... "arrays her for marriage and summons an assembly of Asuras so that Sujātā may choose a husband for herself. Indra assumes the "asura color or appearance" (*asuravaṇṇam*), and takes his place in the assembly where Sujātā chooses him to be her husband and he makes her his chief queen. The author points out that in the Buddhist story Indra of course represents a previous incarnation of the Buddha. In ṚV., X, 172, 3 it is precisely *Sujātā*, "by her good birth" or "by being Sujātā," that Dawn supplants her sister Night.

ALVAN C. EASTMAN

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE MYSORE ARCHÆOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT for the year 1930, Bangalore 1934.

This is the second volume of the new series of *Annual Reports of the Mysore Archaeological Department* published under the energetic and competent management of its present Director, Dr. M. H. Krishna and it worthily maintains the high reputation of its predecessor.

The work consists of five parts: (1) Administrative; (2) Monuments and Ancient Sites; (3) Numismatics; (4) MSS. and (5) Inscriptions. It is enriched with 24 well-selected and beautifully executed Plates, a supplement on the Tamil inscriptions, a list of inscriptions arranged according to dynasties and dates, three appendices and an Index bringing this useful volume to an end.

In the year under review excavations were continued on the now famous site of Chandravalli, where more than one thousand antiquities were found. But it has not been possible to incorporate a report on the same in the present volume owing to the limited resources of the Department. Trial excavations were at the same time undertaken on the site of Brahmagiri showing, according to the author of this report, the existence of four distinct layers. These represent a fortified Cālukyan settlement (*c.* 1100 A.D.), the ruins of the Aśokan town of Isila (*c.* 250 B.C.), an Iron Age Culture, "which must be many centuries older than the earliest known land-marks of South-Indian History," and a stone Age Culture of the late Microlithic period, which is much earlier than the Indus Valley Culture and probably akin to the Pygmy Culture of the Vindhyan mountains." It will be possible to test such startling

statements when the detailed report on the excavations is presented to us in a subsequent volume.

No publication was issued by the Department during the year, but a monograph on Cālukya Architecture was in active preparation.

In Part II, the selected monuments are examined according to districts and adequately illustrated by means of excellent plans and plates. By far the most important of the monuments is the group of temples at Hālebiḍ (ancient Dorasamudra), which is illustrated by a sketch map of the site (Pl. VIII). We have here a general description of the Hoyasaleśvara Temple with a brief sketch of its history and a detailed account of two out of the thirty-five heads under which the monument has been studied by the author, the rest being left over for want of space. The heads consist of the mythological frieze running practically round the whole of the outer surface of the temple and the four outer doors. Two plans of the great temple with a number of well-selected illustrations facilitate the study of this largest and most elaborately carved of the Hoyasala buildings. Then follows a similarly illustrated account of several other temples on the same site such as the Kedāreśvara temple, the Jaina Bastis and the Vīrabhadra temple and so forth. Of other monuments the exquisite Īśvara temple at Arsikere is adequately described with the help of plans and blocks. A notable feature of all these descriptions is the use of Indian technical terms for the different parts of the buildings. In part IV the important Hydernāmā MS. written in Kannaḍa shortly after Hyder's death by one of his Hindu officers, has been well summarised and useful comparisons have been made in the foot-notes with the text in Wilks' *History of Mysore*.

Part V gives the text, transliteration, translation and notes of more than one hundred inscriptions collected during the year. Among them may be specially mentioned two early Gaṅga inscriptions to which the author assigns *c.* 475 A.D. and *c.* 500 A.D., and which give him the occasion for an important discussion on the dynastic history of the early Gaṅgas. The study of the inscriptions has been much facilitated by the list of epigraphs, arranged according to dynasties and dates that occur at the end of the volume.

We have noticed a few slips over and above those mentioned in the

list of *errata* (cf. specially p. 61). The paper, print and get-up are all that can be desired of a scientific publication issued by one of the premier Indian States of our time.

U. N. GHOSHAL

THE SUCCESSORS OF SHER SHAH by Nirod Bhushan Roy, M.A., 1934.

This is a well-documented history, based on first-hand sources, of a period which, as the author justly observes, has not received its due attention on account of its falling between two illustrious reigns. It consists, apart from a bibliography at the beginning, of ten chapters of which no less than seven are devoted to Islam Shah, the worthy son and successor of Sher Shah, while the rest carries the history of the Sur dynasty to 1561, the date of Sher Khan's unsuccessful expedition against Jaunpur. Two Appendices and an Index bring this useful volume to a close.

In the Bibliography the author gives a critical account of his historical sources, nearly all of which, by a strange irony of fate, are the works of historians of the age of Akbar. Though the interest of the work is chiefly biographical, the author has not forgotten to notice the contemporary Islamic religious movement (ch. VI) and the administrative measures of Islam Shah (ch. VII). His estimate of the leading characters, though erring on the side of clemency, is on the whole just. On a number of points he corrects the conclusions arrived at by Dr. K. R. Quanungo in his well-known history of Sher Shāh. His concluding estimate of the historical significance of the period, though slightly exaggerated, is worth quotation. "The Surs held sway for a decade and a half only (1540-1556). Nevertheless, their period of ascendancy marks an epoch in Indian history. The old political structure was breaking down and the path was prepared for an era of royal absolutism. It was during this age that the appointment of the Hindus to posts under the Government, provision of drinking water for them in the sarais, served to improve the relations between the two communities. Thus the Hindu-Muhammadan rapproachment, so conspicuous a feature of Akbar's reign, had its beginning in this period. Above all, uniform laws and ad-

ministration, common sarais and the net-work of roads served to establish the unity of the country and to awaken a consciousness of common nationality."

The book is, on the whole, well-written, but we have noticed occasional lapses of construction (cf. p. 48) and a few misprints. Its value would have been much enhanced by the addition of a genealogical table and a map.

U. N. G.

JAMBHALADATTA'S VERSION OF THE VETĀLA-PAÑCA-VIṂSATI, a critical Sanskrit text in transliteration with an introduction and English translation, by M. B. Emeneau. American Oriental Series, vol. iv. New Haven, Connecticut, 1934.

Although the earliest versions of the very interesting collection of twentyfive tales, which goes under the name of *Vetāla-pañcaviṃśati*, are preserved in the metrical form in the two Kashmirian Sanskrit versions of the *Bṛhat-kathā* by Kṣemendra and Somadeva respectively (11th century), it is highly probable that the stories originally belonged to an independent cycle. Several other versions have also survived. That of Śivadāsa, in prose and verse, as well as an anonymous prose recasting of Kṣemendra's version, was critically edited in transliteration by Heinrich Uhle (1884). Another version, attributed to Vallabhadāsa, but existing in not more than half a dozen known manuscripts, is textually less important, being not essentially different from that of Śivadāsa.

The version of Jambhaladatta, which cannot be precisely dated, but which is probably anterior to the 16th century A.D., was known from an inferior edition printed in Calcutta by Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara in 1873. The present work is an attempt to re-edit the text, as critically as materials permit, from three modern Bengali manuscripts, which together with Jīvānanda's text, may be regarded as giving us the Bengal recension of Jambhaladatta's version. It is unfortunate, however, that the manuscript material available to the present editor is neither as old nor as sufficient as can be desired, and the constituted text has, therefore, been necessarily a composite one. The hopelessly defective state of the

Nepalese manuscript from Cambridge University Library, which the editor used, was also unfortunately insufficient for the recovery of the Nepalese recension of this version.

In the present edition the editor has added brief notes on the more important differences of detail as they are presented by Kṣemendra, Somadeva and Śivadāsa, but a fuller critical comparison of all the versions still awaits investigation. The editor, however, explains that the present edition is the preliminary to a larger work on the subject, for which, with his equipment and preparation, he has fully justified himself, and which will be awaited with considerable interest.

S. K. De

THE MAHABHARATA, for the first time critically edited by Vishnu S. Sukthankar. Fasciculus 7. Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona 1933.

With the publication of the seventh fasciculus, the Ādi-parvan of the great epic is completed in a closely printed volume of 1115 quarto pages; and we congratulate the editor on the very high standard of conscientious workmanship with which he has now accomplished one of the most difficult and important parts of the great work undertaken by the Bhandarkar Institute. The first fasciculus appeared in 1927, and it has taken more than six years to prepare and print one Parvan only; but any one conversant with the nature and extent of the undertaking will realise that a work of this magnitude, complexity and difficulty cannot and should not be hurried.

This fasciculus is a volume of introduction and appendices. The first appendix comprises the 'additional' passages which were found too long to be included in the footnotes; and the second is a concordance of Sanskrit excerpts culled from the Javanese version of the Ādi, compared with the principal current editions. But the most important and valuable part of the volume is the extensive Prolegomena of more than one hundred pages, which gives a brilliant exposition of the entire text-problem of the Mahābhārata in the light of the editor's fairly long experience of more than ten years, and clarifies the principal issues, as

well as the method and principles of text-reconstruction, by means of a thorough critical study of the complicated text-tradition of the epic.

Although the Prolegomena is chiefly concerned with the Ādi-parvan, it covers practically all the aspects of the Mahābhārata text-criticism and carries the reader confidently through its tangled complexities. After giving a brief history of the undertaking, the Prolegomena proceeds with the description and classification of the enormous manuscript-material, and gives a critical survey of the Northern and Southern recensions and their various versions, their distinctive characteristics and mutual relation, incidentally discussing the divergent and conflicting character of the epic text-tradition and evaluating the evidence of the various groups or families of manuscripts. There is also a brief account of the secondary testimonia afforded by the Javanese version (*c.* 10th) century), the Andhra adaptation of the Telugu poet Nannaya Bhaṭṭa (11th century), the Bhārata-mañjarī of the Kashmirian Kṣemendra (11th century), and the Persian translation made in the reign of Akbar, as well as the versions of the different commentators (Devabodha, Arjuna-miśra, Ratnagarbha and Nīlakaṇṭha), whose readings are also taken into account in the critical notes. The editor also refers to the previous editions of the epic, and discusses the various methods that have been suggested or actually applied for constituting the text. On the basis of this scholarly survey the editor proceeds to consider the critical and comparative principles by which it is possible to unify the diversity of recensions, the plurality of versions and the endless multiplicity of sub-groups, and evolve and justify a form of the text out of such complicated and fluctuating mass of materials.

The editor rightly emphasises that the Mahābhārata text-problem is a problem *sui juris*. The principles of textual reconstruction must in this case be evolved from an intensive study of the manuscript-material and the manuscript-tradition. By means of the hundreds of real variants systematically noted in the elaborate critical apparatus, which occupies nearly two-thirds of the space of the critical edition, it has been possible to establish definitely that the text was, at all stages of its history, fluid and carelessly guarded, and therefore afforded easy opportunities of addition, omission, alteration, conflation, athetization, haphazard synthesis of divergent readings and versions, and other dinkeu-

astic activities, not only of careless scribes but also of a host of scholars, poets and reciters. The Mahābhārata had all along been a living and and growing text, a book of constant inspiration and practical guidance in the progressive life of the nation; and, as such, its popularity and usefulness was always maintained by such additions and alterations as would bring it in a line with the changing ideas of essentially different ages and localities. Originally an orally transmitted text, it appears to have been recited freely and divergently; and its content and wording varied from generation to generation, from place to place, from reciter to reciter. But the manuscript-evidence also shews that the process was never stopped even by scriptal fixation. The problem is thus not merely one of conscious additions or omissions, for these can be, more or less, separated by a comparison of different versions and tracing them all to an original archetype. Nor is it a question of merely correcting obvious misreadings, scribal mistakes or inevitable corruptions of a fixed written archetype; because only a very small percentage of the hundreds of variants are really such graphical or careless errors; they are all genuine variants from the point of view of language and sense. There are also frequent changes of sequence of text-units in cases where there is no perceptible gain by such strange derangements. It thus appears that each version, and even each manuscript or group of manuscripts, was an independent copy of divergently transmitted texts, which, in addition to being subjected to the normal process of accretions, omissions or alterations, must have become strangely contaminated with each other by means of free comparison, extensive mutual borrowings and an indiscriminate tendency to include rather than exclude. While some circumstances operated towards the evolution of varied types, there were other contrary circumstances which worked against the development of sharply differentiated types. The text-tradition was thus, as the editor shews, not simple and uniform, but multiple and polygenous; and in the long chain of successive revisional and amplificatory activities it is now almost impossible to discover the elusive lost archetype. Like the Indian Nyagrodha it has spread far and wide a complicated system of varied and intertwined growths until the main stem itself is lost in the maze of growing diversity. The editor, therefore, rightly maintains that the genetic method, which is usually applied to the case of ordinary

classical works, cannot be clearly and consistently applied here to a notoriously fluid, contaminated and conflated text; and the principles of the Mahābhārata text-reconstruction must be evolved independently from the data furnished by its own material and tradition.

In other words, besides the normal vicissitudes of oral and written transmission, we have in the case of the Mahābhārata certain abnormal circumstances of transmission, which have not only produced a bewildering profusion of versions, localised in as many scripts as there are provinces in India, but has also created, by mutual contamination, amazing fusions of versions and types, each of which has a long and complicated history behind it. This process has been so wide and deep-rooted that it has now become a most difficult problem to disentangle, by means of any clear objective criteria, the hopelessly intermixed threads supplied by the rival recensions. The text-problem is, therefore, one which cannot be properly solved by any *a priori* method and principles, but by such as can be deduced by a careful and comparative study of the text-evolution as revealed by the manuscripts themselves. The peculiar condition of the growth of the epic makes it imperative that the editor of such a text should ascertain and evaluate the tradition of each type or group, take into account the weak and strong points of all classes of manuscripts, and judge each variant in the light of such study. Purely subjective preference is out of the question, but since no version or even no manuscript is entirely free from contamination or conflation, purely documentary evidence must also be checked and supplemented by the balancing of intrinsic and other probabilities, as well as by a cautious valuation of the conflicting manuscript-traditions.

The constituted text is thus as frankly eclectic as any other printed text of the epic; but it is eclectic on certain recognizable critical principles. It does not aim, as the ordinarily available Vulgate text or the text of Nīlakaṇṭha does, to produce a smooth and inclusive text by ignoring diversities of text-tradition, by indiscriminate incorporation, by obliterating differences and normalising the text. Nor does it seek to produce the text of one version or one recension only, inasmuch as the examination of the existing manuscripts reveals that all versions are, more or less, indiscriminately conflated. It recognises that the Vulgate text, inspite of the authority of Nīlakaṇṭha, is typical of the tendencies

indicated above, and is by no means the text that can be constituted from the existing manuscript-evidence. The Satasāhasrī, as a dynamic text, can hardly be made to conform statically to a rigid archetype. The critical edition, therefore, analyses, estimates and turns into account all important versions of the epic, in fact the entire fluctuating epic tradition, in order to present, on certain definite principles defined therefrom, a version of the epic as old as the extant and varied manuscript-material will permit the text-critic to reach. In other words, it is not the object to constitute the text on any preconceived theory or hypothetical supposition, or to arrive at a conjectural pristine text by purely *a priori* methods; but it is the modest aim to proceed strictly on the existing manuscript records of diverse recensions and versions, and, by a comparative examination of their agreements and disagreements on the basis of a critical estimate of their respective traditions, to purge, as far as possible, the current text of its accretions, conflations and contaminations, but in no case to effect any change, emendation or modification which is not supported by manuscript authority. By the very condition of its uneven and unequal manuscript-tradition the text is bound to be a composite work of strangely mixed-up old and new matter; but inspite of this and other inevitable limitations, the critical edition gives us the oldest form of the text in the direct line of transmission, which it is possible to reconstruct today on the basis of available manuscript-evidence. On the other hand, the elaborate critical apparatus, along with the constituted text, gives us the entire panorama of the Mahābhārata text-evolution in its variety and fulness.

It is true that in this way we do not arrive at the earliest form of the text, when it consisted of real epic songs or when it was of a much smaller dimension. We do not, in any sense, reconstruct the ideal but elusive Ur-Mahābhārata. But, at the same time, we approximate with some amount of confidence to that early form of the text beyond which our existing material does not permit us to travel except by way of pure hypothesis. We have no certain information to determine what the earliest form of the text was; all that we can do is to reach the earliest possible form of the text with the material which still exists. The practical but fastidious critic may object that this is not much; but this is all that scientific investigation at the present stage can do without indulging in

subjective theorising. Such higher criticism or theorising is not at all superfluous, even if it is sometimes of doubtful value; but it can proceed and become useful only after the text is more or less definitely constituted on the existing material. The present business is to supply that text on which future critical investigation may proceed more confidently. It will be seen that the attitude is essentially conservative, instead of being imaginatively radical; but considering the fluid character of the text and its strange vagaries, it is highly desirable to proceed cautiously at the outset and keep within these obvious and inevitable limitations. From the very imperfection of the material and tradition, many superfluities and contradictions will still remain; but to remove these anomalies, if they are fully and clearly documented, is beyond the the scope of the ordinary principles of textual criticism, which cannot manipulate, according to one's personal ideas, the plain facts of manuscript-tradition. If they are anomalies, they must have become a part of the text at some early period to which our present manuscript-tradition does not reach back. The inclusion, exclusion or athetisation, much less emendation, of such passages is not the business of the editor, but must be left to the further critical investigation of the epic, of which the present critical edition should be regarded as only the beginning and the safe basis.

The case, however, is not so discouraging as it might appear in view of these difficulties and limitations. The manuscript themselves are indeed not very old, but the tradition they embody is often very old, even if it is imbedded in much that is comparatively new. It is possible by careful sifting to find out some of the oldest parts. There still exists a considerable portion of the text where the Northern and Southern recensions are in full agreement, where there are no variants, or really no important variants at all. These passages are apparently handed down in unbroken tradition, more or less uniformly, in all manuscripts. A considerable number of passages, again, can be constituted with an amount of certainty by agreements of versions, between which the chances of mutual borrowing or contamination are *prima facie* the least likely; such as, for instance, those between the Śāradā and the Malayalam versions. The importance of such passages cannot indeed be underrated; and if epic variants are studied in the same way as the vedic variants have been studied, they are bound to add very considerably to our know-

ledge of epic language and literature. It is thus not wholly impossible to restore a great deal of a fairly old text for further critical study. It is possible, not on any subjective ground but on strict manuscript-evidence, to purge the current conflated Vulgate text of a large number of late additions and doubtful readings, and restore the archaisms of the older language and metre. In the Ādi-parvan about 121 long passages (including one of 460 lines) and 1634 short passages have in this way been excluded, and a considerable number of authentic archaisms, which had been gradually ousted in the course of transmission of the text, have been rescued from undeserved oblivion. We can in this way approximate much nearer to the elusive original of the epic than any one manuscript or group of manuscripts or any one of the previous editions.

In this connection it is gratifying to note that the XVIIth International Congress of Orientalists held at Oxford expressed, by a resolution, their approval of "the eminently satisfactory manner in which the work is being done by the Institute." They also placed at the disposal of the Institute the collations intended for the edition planned by the International Association of Academies, and generously extended monetary aid to the Poona scheme out of the Mahābhārata fund originally intended for their own edition which, however, could not be accomplished. The critical edition of the Ādi-parvan, now completed, fully justifies this act of appreciation; and one has no difficulty in agreeing with the verdict of Professor Winternitz that "this is the most important event in the history of Sanskrit Philology since the publication of Max Müller's edition of the Ṛgveda."

S. K. De

A GRAMMAR OF THE BRAJ BHAKHA by Mirzā Khān (1676 A.D.). The Persian text edited with an Introduction, Translation and Notes, by M. Ziauddin, Lecturer in Persian, Visvabharati, with a Foreword by Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji. Published by Visvabharati, Calcutta 1935, Super Royal 8vo. pp. xi+91

This Grammar of the Braj Bhākhā (Visvabharati Series no. 3) which has been translated from the original Persian together with a critical edition of its text forms a part of the introductory chapter of the

Tuḥfatu-l-Hind by Mīrzā Khān ibn Fakhrud-Dīn Muhammad (1676 A.C.). The *Tuḥfatu-l-Hind* which means 'a present from India' treats of a variety of subjects which were of interest to ordinary people as well as to scholars among the speakers of Braj bhākhā. They are prosody, poetics, music, dancing, palmistry, erotics, lexicography etc. As the author's sources of information were largely books in Braj bhākhā and as his intention was to interest the readers in these, he very prudently prefaced his work with a treatment of Pronunciation, Orthography and Grammar of Braj Bhākhā and gave as an appendix a Lexicon of the same.

This encyclopædic work was written under the patronage of the Prince Azam Shāh, the third son of Aurangzeb. The prince unlike his father was a person of a very liberal spirit and a great patron of the Braj Bhākhā poets. His recension of the poems of Bihārilāl is well-known. The reason of such a liberal nature of Azam Shāh is to be sought in the fact that he came much under the influence of the Prince Dārā Shikoh whose very appreciative attitude towards the Hindu culture and philosophy was in striking contrast to the bigotry of his brother Aurangzeb. It was no wonder that under such patronage Mīrzā Khān should compose a work for bringing the educated Musalmans, especially the nobility of foreign extraction, into closer touch with the life and manners of the Hindus and thus pave the way for a cultural union of the two principal sections of Indian population.

This valuable work has not yet been published and only a meagre notice of it was published in 1784 by Sir William Jones. Since then it has remained closed in MSS. Mr. Ziauddin of Visvabharati has fortunately turned his attention to this work and in the volume under review has given a translation of a section of its introduction, which contains a Grammar of the Braj Bhākhā, together with a critical edition of the Persian text of this grammar. He has also given along with this a detailed account of the contents of the entire *Tuḥfat*, from which its great value will be at once apparent. Besides this in his preface the editor has ably discussed important points connected with the work and its author.

The editor Mr. Ziauddin and the publisher of the work, the Visvabharati are to be congratulated on their publication, in suitable form,

of this work which is the oldest among the available grammars of modern Indo-Aryan languages. It will be useful for Indian linguistics. Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji has written to this work a foreword in which he has discussed in brief the aspect of Indo-Moslem cultural contact relating to the production of a work like the *Tuḥfatu-l-Hind*. This foreword has added to the value of the volume under review.

The four plates reproducing four pages of the India office Ms., are useful. Its printing and get-up are good and reflect credit on the part of the publishing department of the Visvabharati. We hope that under the patronage of Visvabharati Mr. Ziauddin will continue his valuable work with the Tuḥfat, and he will not only edit the promised Braj Bhākhā lexicon but the entire work at no distant date.

MANOMOHAN GHOSH

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Calcutta Review, vol. 56, no. 1 (July 1935)

SURENDRA NATH SEN.—*The Early Career of Kanhoji Angria*. This is an account of the activities of Kanhoji Angria, the great admiral of the Maratha navy in the early part of his career.

Ibid., vol. 56, no. 2 (August 1935)

BENOYKUMAR SARKAR.—*Nīlakaṇṭha and Mitramiśra: Two Hindu Political Philosophers of the Seventeenth Century*. The topics dealt with in the *Nītimayūkha* of Nīlakaṇṭha and the *Rājanītiprakāśa* of Mitramiśra have been mentioned and the merits of the two authors as writers on politics discussed.

Ibid., vol. 56, no. 3 (September 1935)

BASANTA KUMAR CHATTERJEE.—*Dr. Winternitz on the Veda*. The opinions expressed by Dr. M. Winternitz in his *History of Indian Literature*, vol. I, regarding some Vedic problems have been opposed in this paper.

Indian Culture, vol. II, no. 1 (J 1935)

DOROTHY A. L. STEDE.—*The Importance of the Physical features of India for the understanding of her History.*

MD. ENAMUL HAQ.—*The Sufi Movement in India.*

BENOYTOSH BHATTACHARYYA.—*Iconography of Heruka*. This is a study of different forms of Heruka, a deity described in the Buddhist Tantras.

NALINI NATH DAS GUPTA.—*The Occupation of Bengal by the Kings of Kāmarūpa.*

ANILCHANDRA BANERJEE.—*A Note on the Succession of Fīrūz Sha.*

SUSHIL KUMAR BOSE.—*Historical Notes and Questions.*

(1) Vākāṭaka king Pravarasena I.

(2) Pāṭaliputra in the Time of Patañjali.

GIRIJA PRASANNA MAJUMDAR.—*Furniture.* Mañca, Pīṭha and such other articles of furniture have been described from Sanskrit and Pāli literature.

PANCHANAN MITRA.—*Prehistoric Trade-routes and Commerce.*

RULLIA RAM KASHYAP.—*Parasitology in the Atharvaveda.* The paper interprets the passages in the *Atharvaveda* dealing with Krimis.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.—*Plotinus and Indian Thought.*

Journal of the Annamalai University, vol. IV, no. 2 (August 1935)

V. R. RAMASWAMI SASTRI.—*Jagannātha Paṇḍita.* While continuing the discussion about the position of Jagannātha Paṇḍita as a literary critic, this instalment of the paper gives an exposition of *abhidhā* and *lakṣaṇā* as found in his well known work of poetics, the *Rasagaṅgādhara.*

K. R. PISHAROTI.—*Abhiṣeka-nāṭaka.* Bhāsa's *Abhiṣeka-nāṭaka* is being translated into English with Notes.

K. R. PISHAROTI & T. B. NAYAR.—*Manuṣyālayacandrikā.* The first chapter of the *Manuṣyālayacandrikā,* a Sanskrit treatise on architecture dealing with the secular structures, has been translated into English with Notes.

K. R. PISHAROTI.—शिराच्छोकी । Thirty ślokas explaining some expressions often found in Śāstric writings are edited here with an old commentary.

R. RAMANUJACHARI & K. SRINIVASACHARIAR.—सिद्धित्रयम् । *The Ātmasiddhi* included in the *Siddhitraya* of Yāmunācārya is being edited with English Translation and Notes.

Journal of the Assam Research Society, vol. III, no. 1 (April 1935)

K. L. BARUA.—*Kāmarūpa in the Ninth Century A.D.*

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH.—*King Harṣa, the Author of the Ratnāvali.* The writer of the article thinks that Harṣadeva of Gauḍa was the author of the *Ratnāvali.* He ruled over Gauḍa, Uḍra, Kaliṅga,

Kośala and Kāmarūpa in the latter part of the seventh and the first part of the eighth century A.C.

AMARNATH RAY.—*Caitanya and Śrī Madhva.*—In reply to a rejoinder of Pt. Achyutacharan Tattvanidhi, it has been asserted here that Bengal Vaiṣṇavism has grown out of the Śaṅkara sect, and Caitanya was not a follower of Madhva's teachings.

ANNADA CHARAN BHATTACHARYA.—*The Ancient Relics of Kāmarūpa.*

BIRINCHI KUMAR BARUA.—*The Administrative System of Kāmarūpa.* Information is gathered from inscriptions dating from the 7th to the 12th centuries regarding the machinery of government as it was prevalent in the kingdom of Kāmarūpa.

Journal of Oriental Research, vol. IX, part II (April-June 1935)

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.—*An inscribed Pot from Nandūru.* The paper shows it to be probable from the inscription on the pot that it contained the relics of the celebrated Buddhist divine Āryadeva.

C. SIVARAMAMURTI.—*Realism in Indian Art.*

C. R. SANKARAN.—*Five Stages of Pre-Vedic Determinative Compound-accentuation as surmised by the Historic Survivals of their Representatives in Sanskrit.*

S. DESIKAVINAYAKAM PILLAI.—*Śūcīndram Inscription of Bhūtala Vīra Rāma Varmā, A.D. 1546.* The paper containing the Tamil text of the inscription throws light on the political condition of Travancore about the middle of the 16th century A.C.

L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR.—*Tamil ḷ.*

K. G. SANKAR.—*The Astronomical Data of the Paripadal.* The *Paripadal* is one of the *Eṭṭuttokai*, a part of the Saṅgam literature. The 11th Paripadal contains astronomical data indicating that it was composed in 17 A.C.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, July 1935

K. A. NILAKANTHA SASTRI.—*The date of Bhūti Vikramakeśari.* The writer puts forward arguments in support of his opinion that the Kodumbalur inscription of Bhūti Vikramakeśari belongs to the 10th century A.C. and opposes the theory assigning it to the 7th century.

Journal of the University of Bombay, vol. III, part VI (May 1 35)

H. D. VELANKAR.—*Hymns to Indra by the Viśvāmitras.* Twenty-four hymns from the Ṛg-veda (III, 30-53) are rendered into English and annotated.

A. M. GHATAGE.—*Saurasenī Prakrit.* The linguistic nature of Saurasenī Prakrit is discussed and its grammatical peculiarities pointed out.

GANESH L. CHANDAVARKAR.—*Aśvins as Historical Figures.* The writer of the paper is of opinion that Aśvins, the twin-gods of the Vedic pantheon, were mortals reputed for their surgical skill.

Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, vol. XXV, no. 4 (April 1935)

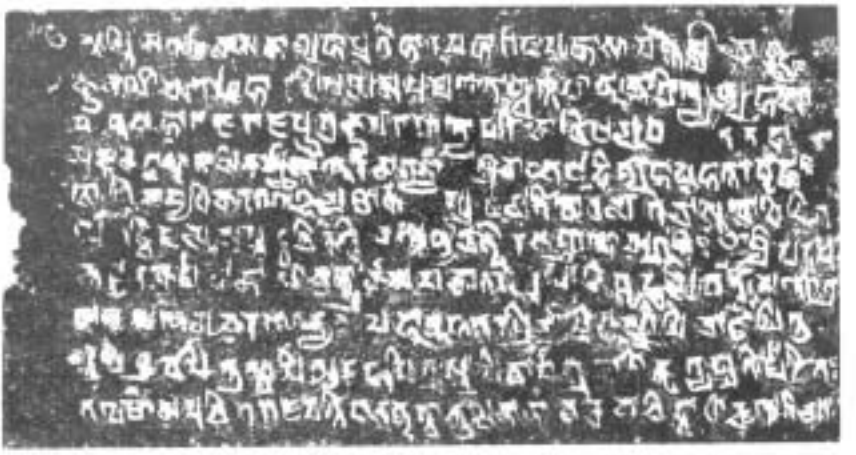
K. R. PISHAROTI.—*Bālacarita.* The *Bālacarita* of Bhāsa is being rendered into English.

N. SUBBA RAU.—*Two Centuries of Wadeyar Rule in Mysore (1565-1761).*

C. S. K. RAO SAHEB.—*Population of the Mughal Empire in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.*

K. NARAYANASWAMI IYAR.—*Śrīvidyā.* The paper dealing with the Śrīvidyā system of Tantric worship treats of Kuṇḍalinī yoga and describes the different *nāḍīs* and *cakras* in this last instalment.

Printed and published by Mr. J. C. Sarkhel, at the Calcutta Oriental Press, 9, Panchanan Ghose Lane, Calcutta.



Obverse



Reverse

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Balasore Copper-Plate Inscription of Śrī-Bhānu

Mr. Ziauddin of the Viśvabhāratī who kindly placed the copper-plate at my disposal for decipherment informed me that the plate was dug out by a cultivator from his field in a village, near the town of Balasore, in Orissa. Several other copper-plates—probably not less than six in number—were also discovered by him at the same time. Thinking the plates to be of gold, the cultivator melted them all except one; he has severed and destroyed the seal of this copper-plate also. Wanton destruction of such priceless records of antiquity, has deprived us, thus, of much valuable historical information.

The epigraphic alphabet of the copper-plate belongs to the eastern variety of the North-Indian script. On the one hand, it has close similarity with those represented by the records of the Śailodbhavas of Orissa, and on the other, with those of the inscriptions of Ṭhākurī Aṃśuvarman, the Licchavi Śivadeva and Abhīra Jiṣṇugupta of Nepal; it is also analogous to that of the copper-plates of Bhāskaravarman of Assam. The plate is in the upright variety of the Gupta script.

Before proceeding to a detailed palæographic analysis of the alphabet of the copper-plate, we shall deal with the general characteristics of the North-Indian alphabet of the period and the province, indicated.

"The North-eastern epigraphic alphabet of the 6th century A.D. presents the ordinary characteristics of the North-western variety of

the early Gupta alphabet."[1] "The palæography of the epoch beginning with the last half of the 6th and ending with first half of the 7th century A.D. can nowhere be studied with greater advantage than in Nepal. The inscriptions of the Harṣa year 34, the Gupta year 316, the Harṣa years 39 and 45 show very clearly the change which came over later Gupta characters in the last half of the 6th century and the 50 years following that."[2]

"Thus the Gōlmāḍhiṭol inscription [of Śivadeva], of the [Gupta] year 316 shows very little departure from Mandāsōr inscription of Yaśodharman. The Patan inscription [of Aṃśuvarman], of the year 34 is allied to the Ganjām grant of Śaśāṅka. The next inscr., that of the Harṣa year 39 and the short record of the year 45 [both of Aṃśuvarman], are inscribed in characters very much akin to the Bōdh Gayā inscription of Mahānāman, and the Madhuban and Banskherā grants of Harṣavardhana."[3]

The script of the copper-plate under discussion is exactly similar to that of an undated inscription of Jiṣṇugupta's reign (Bhagavānlāl's No. 11)[4] on a stone, supporting the parasol over an image of Caṇḍeśvara, in the quadrangle of the Paśupati temple, as also to that

1 R. D. Banerji, *The Origin of the Bengali Script*, (Univ. Cal., 1919) p. 42.

2 R. D. Banerji's '*Paṭiākellā Grant of Mahārāja Śivarāja [Gupta-] Saṃvat 238*', *E.I.*, Vol. IX, p. 286.

3 R. D. Banerji, *loc. cit.* (Additions within brackets are ours).

Prof. Sylvain Lévi, however reads the date of Gōlmāḍhiṭol inscr. as 516 or 518 (and not 316 or 318) and also regards it paradoxical to believe that Aṃśuvarman should adopt the Era of Harṣa. S. Lévi, *Le Népal*, II, pp. 126, 152.

The latest theory is that propounded by Dr. R. G. Basak. According to it, three different eras were in vogue in Nepal in three different periods of her history. At first, the *Vikrama-Saṃvat* was used; in the middle period, the Licchavi kings from Śivadeva I to Udayadeva and the kings of the Ṭhākuri family and their successors used respectively the *Gupta-Saṃvat* and *Harṣa-Saṃvat*, simultaneously; while the third group of the Licchavi kings used only the *Harṣa-Saṃvat*. See R. G. Basak, *The History of North-Eastern India*, Calcutta, 1934, pp. 250, 279-280. Fleet wrongly took the date to be 316 (really, 318).

4 Bhagavānlāl Indraji and G. Bühler, '*Inscriptions from Nepal*', *IA.*, IX, pp. 163-63.

of the same prince's Thankot inscription[5] of doubtful date (500? Saṃvat).

The Inscription of Śivadeva dated Śrīharṣa Saṃvat 143 and Saṃvat 145, (Bhagavānlāl's Nos. 13 & 14),[6] and the Inscription from Chasal-Tol which clearly show the same characters,[7] —as also the Inscription of Jayadeva dated Śrīharṣa Saṃvat 153 (Bhagavānlāl's No. 15)[8] of Paśupati, which has exactly the same scripts as indicated in the Inscription from Timi,[9] having for its Mandatory, *dūtaka* the same prince—all these (re)present epigraphic forms in more advanced stages of development than that in our copper-plate.

The inscription is incised on both sides of a single copper-plate measuring 18 *centimetres* (7·2 inches) by 9·4 *centimetres* (3·7 inches); there are 10 lines on the obverse side with 25-57 letters, on an average, to the line; while, on the reverse side, there are only 8 lines with number of letters varying from 25 to 30 in a line. On the front face the letters are about 5 *millimetres* (·4 inches) in size; but, on the back side, the letters in each successive line, are gradually smaller in size and larger in number—the first line consists of 26 letters, each 4 *millimetres* (·35 inches), while the eighth and last line has 30 letters, each 3·5 to 3 *millimetres* (·3 to ·25 inches) in size.

The seal of the copper-plate was placed probably at the middle of the left side of the obverse; but it was destroyed, leaving some marks at the points of fixing. There was considerable amount of deposits on the plate, including earth, copper-sulphate and copper-oxide etc. But after the plate had been very carefully treated for several weeks, all the letters came out quite legible, and almost all of them in perfect

5 S. Lévi, *Le Népal, III*, XVI.—*Inscr. de Thankot*, pp. 102-9; R. G. Basak, *op. cit.*, p. 262.

6 See Note 4, *supra*.

7 S. Lévi, *Le Népal, III*, XVIII.—*Inscription du Chasal-Tol*, p. 113; R. G. Basak, *op. cit.*, p. 263.

8 See Note 4, *supra*.

9 S. Lévi, *Le Népal, III*, XIX.—*Inscription de Timi*, p. 119; *op. cit., II*, p. 168 ff.; R. G. Basak, *op. cit.*, p. 263.

state of preservation. The few lost or damaged letters, on the reverse side could also be restored with perfect certainty, from a comparison and consideration of the peculiarities of the language. The work of engraving is, with few exceptions, good.[10]

The inscription begins with an auspicious symbol ৩ (having the form of a loop or semi-spiral), which has been differently interpreted.[11] This is followed by the single benedictory phrase, *Svasti*. Thereafter, the epigraph proper, continues uninterruptedly, without any sign of punctuation, all in prose, till the end of the last (10th) line of the obverse side, and after this up to the middle of the 2nd line of the reverse side;—then, after the date, there are double vertical strokes of punctuation.

After a few phrases, there are the usual imprecatory verses from the 2nd line till the end of the 7th line of the reverse side. The verses which are four in number are interpunctuated, and each of them has double vertical strokes, at the end. The last line (8th) is in prose.

Among the orthographical peculiarities of the epigraph, the most important are:

(*a*) The reduplication of consonants, following immediately the letter *r*, whether they be at the middle of words or at the joining of two words,[12] e.g. in the obverse side (l.2) *vartta-māna* and in the reverse, (l.2) *mārggga*, (l.6) *pūrvvadattām;* and, (l.2) *bahubhir=vvasundhā*.

(b) The assimilation of *anunāsikas*, in cases of *liaison*, to the following consonant e.g. in the obverse side, (l.5) *yathārham =pūjayati*, (l.7) *°kālam=punyābhi°*; reverse, (l.4) *°ānaut-yam=para°*.

10 We have examples of work by a master-hand as also of crude attempts by a novice. See Note (n) to the text of the Inscription.

11 It is the symbol of the *Madhyamā* form of *Sabda Brahma*. It is still inarticulate and unmanifest on the physical plane. Whereas, *Oṃkāra* is capable of being sounded.

See Mm. Pañcānan Tarkaratna: আঞ্জী Āñji হরপ্রসাদ সংবর্দ্ধন লেখমালা, (*Haraprasāda Saṃvardhan Lekhanāla*), Vol I. (Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Parishad, Calcutta); Mm. Padmanath Bhattacharya: কামরূপশাসনাবলী *Kāmarūpaśāsanā-vali*, (Raṅgpur Sāhitya Parishad) pp. 55-56.

12 Compare and contrast the Inscr. of Aṃśuvarman and the Licchavis. S. Lévi, *op. cit.*, *II*, pp. 137-38.

But the most interesting and important example, is certainly on the Reverse (l.8) *likhitan=sāndhi-vigrahi*".

(*c*) The reduplication of the consonant *ta*, followed by *ra*, in some cases e.g. in the front face, (ll.8, 9) "*mittra-svāmi*.

(*d*) There is a single instance of wrong sandhi, (ll.4, 5) *Bṛhat-bhogika* for *Bṛhad=bhogika*.

From a consideration of the above orthographical peculiarities of the epigraph, the restorations of the following passages, are probable:—Obverse, (l.10) "*rāja-*"*pa*"*tti(ttri)-dānan=datrā*. Reverse (l.1) "*caiṣā (pattri)ḥ*; (l.5) *ṣa*"*ṣ*"*ṭi[śvarṣa]-sahasrāṇi*.

The following are the main characteristics of the epigraphic alphabet of the copper-plate of Śrī-Bhānu:—

(V o w e l s) There are only two examples of initial *Ā*. Obverse, (l.9) *Āruhawittra* and Reverse (ll.5, 6) "*ākṣeptā*. The upper part of the left limb of *Ā* has small *mātrā* and knob, and the lower part is transformed into a comma-like curve. The right limb consists of a straight stroke with a curve below, also looking like a comma.

There is only a single instance of initial U. Reverse, (l.2) *Uktañca*. The letter has developed a curve below, and has the full form.

(C o n s o n a n t s) The letter *ka* has developed a loop to its left and an acute angle at the lower extremity. It is more advanced than those of the Maukharī (6th century A.C.) but retrograde than the others of Aphsad (about 675 A.C.). The form of *kṛ* (l.9) obverse is however advanced.

kha, *ga* and *ta* have no knobs or wedges. In most cases, *ta* has a top horizontal stroke.

ca is transformed into a triangle, with a horizontal stroke at its top, vertex.

The letter *ja* has the older form.

ña and *ña* occur in ligatures. Obverse (l.10) *bhuñjānāndṃ*. Reverse (l.2) *uktañca*, (l.7) *dānāc=cchreyo=* The form of *ca* subscribed, in these, is quite triangular. The form of *ñca* is that of the Indore copper-plate of Skanda Gupta's time, nearly.

ṭa is a curve with horizontal stroke at the top.

ṭha occurs only in ligatures and has a slightly oval form. Reverse (lines 7, 8) *Yudhiṣṭhira, śreṣṭhaḥ, °pratiṣṭhita°*—

ḍa occurs only once in the ligature *ṇḍa*. Obverse (l.4) *°dāṇḍavāsika°*. The ligature has the same form as in the Maukharī. Probably, we have a further example in Reverse (l.8) *Piḍā-pālaka* .

In the case of *ṇa*, a small acute angle has developed to the right lower extremity and both the sides and loops are marked, but the base line is straight. The form of *ṇa* is as in the Maukharī and in Aṃśuvarman Inscr.

There are three examples of *t* (i.e. *ta* with sign of *virāma*) and the form is more advanced than that of Maukharī.

The letter *tha* has broad upper-part and the lower part is slightly pointed (l.5) *yathārham*. And the ligature *ttha* has the same form, as in Yaśodharman, but a little more advanced.

da has the same form, as in Aṃśuvarman. The lower end has a small final vertical stroke, wherefrom the tail developed in later times.

The letter *dha* consists of an arc and vertical stroke with a small angle at the bottom. The ligature *ddha* has a form nearly similar to that in the Allahabad *Praśasti* of Samudra Gupta.

na consists of a hollow knob to the left, joined with a slightly bent stroke to the right and a horizontal short line, above. The ligatures *ndra* e.g. are of old forms.

The angles of *pa* are generally right ones; but in some cases when subscribed to *ā* and *ra* the left angle is distinctly acute.

The letter *pha* consists of a wedge to the left, from which descends a curve ending in a big hollow knob to the right; this latter occupies half the entire breadth, whereby *pha* is differentiated from *dha*. Also the right-hand angle in *dha* slants inward, whereas in *pha*, the slant is outward, though in both cases the slants are very small.

There seems to be instances, in the copper-plate, of both *ba* and *va*. The first is more box-shaped or broad-bottomed, e.g., Obverse (ll.4, 5) *Bṛhat(-d)=bhogika, bodhayati;* Reverse (l.2) *Bahubhir=vasudhā*. But *va* mostly is more acute-angled at the bottom, e.g., Obverse (l.3) *viṣayapati* (l.5) *vo=vidita°*—

The letter *bha* has a wedge to the left which is either solid e.g. Obverse (l.5) *°bhogika*, (l.7) *puṇyābhivṛddhaye* or, more often, hollow e.g. Obverse (l.1) *Śrī-Bhānuḥ*.

The letter *ma* has acute angles both at the right and left down corners, and an wedge to the top left. But sometimes it is also incised carelessly or differently e.g. Obverse (l.8) *Mahā-mahattara°* and Reverse (l.7) *Mahīṃ mahīmatām*.

The development of the letter *ya* is in transition and therefore very important; and *ya* has both the tripartite and the bipartite forms, sometimes even represented, side by side e.g. Obverse (l.5) *°pūjayati bodhayati*, (l.6) *°viṣaya°* (l.7) *°vṛddhaye*. Also, see the *ya* in reverse (l.1) *°pālayitavyeti*, which is peculiar.

The letters *ra* and *la* retain the older forms. There are no hooks at the bottom of *ra* letters. Sometimes the *la* has the same form, as in Yaśodharman e.g. Reverse (l.4) *°aphala*.

In the cases of *śa*, the form is transitional. In some examples, the upper part has a curve, while in others, it is somewhat rectangular.

The form of *ṣa* is old. All the lines are straight, generally.

The letter *sa* has a hollow wedge to the left and there is an acute angle at the right; the form of the letter is similar to the Maukharī.

The form of *ha* is transitional. The base line is either straight or slightly slanting and the lower angle more acute. In general appearance, the letter is similar to the Maukharī.

From the above analysis of the main characteristics of the epigraphic alphabet of the copper-plate, the following facts are deducible:—

(1) The letters—*ā* (आ), *u* (उ), *ka* (क), *ca* (च), *tha* (थ), *da* (द), *dha* (ध), and *pha* (फ) are advanced than in Maukharī but more retrograde than Aṃśuvarman & Aphsaḍ.

(2) *kha* (ख), *ga* (ग), *ja* (ज), *ḍa* (ड), *ta* (त), *na* (न), *ra* (र), *la* (ल), *bha* (भ), *ṣa* (ष), and *sa* (स) have retained the older Gupta forms as in Allahabad and Indore.

(3) There are examples of both, *va* (व) and *ba* (ब).

(4) There are both tri-partite and bipartite forms of *ya* (य) which is therefore in transitional state of development.

(5) There are acute angles at the lower ends of *pa* (प), *ma* (म), *va* (व)

and *ha* (ह); there are still absence of tails and other appendages, however, to these letters.

From the above considerations, the palæographic alphabet of the copper-plate may be safely put to the period, not earlier than 550 and not later than 650, after Christ (550-650 A.C.).

This copper-plate inscription was issued by the *Mahāpratīhāra, Mahārāja, Mahāsāmanta* Śrī-Bhānu, from the military encampment *vāraka* of Sagaḍhā, in the Sagaḍhāhāra[13] District *(viṣaya)*, for the information and guidance of the Chief Officials of the State *Adhikaraṇas*,[14] in the matter of a perpetual donation of land, by the same Śrī-Bhānu, for the enhancement of the religious merit *puṇya* of his most exalted Highness *Śrī-Parama-Bhaṭṭāraka-pāda* and lasting till the Moon and the Sun. The land donated, was situated in the said Sagaḍhāhāra *viṣaya* and consisted, of the long fallow Anya-Bandīraka (the minor or other Bandīraka) village.

The free gift of land *Agrahāra*, was in favour of the *Mahāmahattaras* Priya-mittrasvāmin, Cāṭu-mittrasvāmin, Dhruva-mittrasvāmin, Āruḥa-mittra-svāmin. The donees belonged to the Vatsa-Gotra and the Vājasaneya School of the Yajurveda. They were evidently Brāhmaṇas and under the services of the state. We know from contemporary records that the title *Svāmin* appertained to the Brāhmaṇas.[15]

13 Could Sagaḍhā and Sagaḍhāhāra, be located somewhere in the Gaḍhajāta Mahals of Orissa, or the Chhatisgaḍh division of the Central Provinces? The word Gaḍha traceable to I.E. periods, is old. (See, Haridas Mitra, *'The Kodarpur Copper-plate Inscr. of Śrī Candradeva'*, *IHQ.*, 1926, pp. 317-18). But the term *Garhjāt* is traceable first, only as late as 16th Century A.C. in Epigraphic records (see R. D. Banerjee, *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 340).

For the best account of Chhattisgaṛh, see B. C. Majumdar, *Orissa in the Making*. Cal. 1925, Chapter VII.

14 Fleet, *CII., III*, and R. G. Basak, *History of N. E. India*, have fully explained the exact functions of these state officials.

15 See, Bhāskaravarman's Nidhanpur copper-plates—ed. by Mm. Padmanatha Bhattacharya. *EI.*, Vol. XII. No. 13; *Kāmarupaśāsanāvalī*. And compare also the Ganjam, the Khurda and the Parikud Grants of the Śailodbhavas. (a) *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, Cal. 1930, Ch. IX, *Harṣavardhana and the Śailodbhavas*. (b) H. C. Ray, *The Dynastic History of Northern India*. (Early Mediæval Period), Vol. I, Cal. Univ. 1931, Ch. VII, *Dynasties of Orissa* (5) *the Śailodbhavas*.

But the title *mittra-svāmin* is remarkable. Could they refer to a particular kind of Brāhmaṇas? e.g.—the *Maga-Brāhmaṇas*, though there is no tangible evidence.

The executive officer, who wrote (drew up the draft of) the deed of gift, was the *Sāndhi-vigrahika* Aruṇa Datta. The plate was made (*lit.* heated and forged, *tāpita*) by Candra, who was established by Piḍāpālaka. Probably, the first one was an Apprentice under the tutelage and establishment of the second person, who might be the master-craftsman or artist.

The record is dated, *Saṃvat* 5 *Mārgga* 4. Both the numerals are legible and district. The first numeral has the ordinary North Ind. form (of the 8th cent. A.C., inclusive). The second numeral has the usual Gupta form (of 4th-6th cent. A.C.).

The digit of the *Saṃvat* is evidently the number for unity, *ekakāṅka*. The digits for the *tens* and the *hundreds* must be supplied.

Firstly, if the era of the record was the *Mālava Vikrama Saṃvat* of 57-58 B.C.—as the month indicated is Agrahāyaṇa, *MVS.* 605 would correspond to 548 A.C.; whereas *MVS.* 705 would be equivalent to 648 A.C.; and *MVS.* 805, to 748 A.C. The first date would be rather too early; the third, too late. The second date seems to be more to the point—viz., *MVS.* 705 corresponding to 648 A.C.

But this would at once bring down the date of the record, to the times of the emperor Harṣavardhana.[16] Firstly, it is doubtful, if Mahāpratīhāra Śrī-Bhānu, would have failed to mention by name, as his *Śrī-parama-Bhaṭṭāraka-pāda*, such an outstanding personality, if he owed any fealty to the emperor Harṣa, and if the emperor was alive at the time. Harṣavardhana had, already, disappeared from the political firmament by 648 A.C.[17]

16 For Harṣavardhana and his times, the best account is by Maurice L. Ettinghausen, *Harṣa Vardhana Empereur et poète de l'inde septentrionale (606-648 A.D.) Etude sur sa vie et son temps.* Thèse pour le Doctorat d'université de Paris. 1906. Especially, *Chronologie du Règne*, pp. 8-16.

17 Rakhaldas Banerji, বাঙ্গালার ইতিহাস, ১ম ভাগ (*History of Bengal*, Vol I), Cal. 1321 B.E., p. 95; R. G. Basak, *The History of North-Eastern India*, Ch. VII: Hemchandra Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, third ed., revised and enlarged, Cal. Univ. 1932, pp. 408-10.

Secondly, the palæographic alphabet of the plate, is more Guptaic, than anything else in character. And since, the date of the script used must be put, as has been conclusively proved, to the period 550-650 A.C., it would be hazardous to bring down the same, to the extreme lower limit.

The next alternative is to identify this *Śrī-parama-Bhaṭṭārakā-pāda* with the Gupta Emperor Śaśāṅka. Inscriptions, coins, contemporary literary records etc. prove that his territories extended from (Kanauj?), Magadha, Karṇasuvarṇa (Dt. Murshidabad) to Koṅgaḍa (Dt. Ganjam). But, the concerted attacks of Emperor Harṣavardhana and his powerful ally the king of Kāmarūpa, Bhāskaravarman had driven Śaśāṅka away from Karṇasuvarṇa by 610 A.C., or probably after at least 619-20 A.C.[18]

And though Mahārājādhirāja Śaśāṅka's 'conquest of Orissa was undoubtedly real and the adherence to his cause of the Śailodbhava chiefs strong', 'it seems to be certain that he died before Yuan Chwang's arrival at Kanauj or Bodh-Gaya.'[19] Probably, Śaśāṅka had died sometime between 619-39 A.C., or between 619-37 (about 625 A.C.)[20] So Śaśāṅka cannot evidently be the *Śrī-parama-Bhaṭṭā-raka-pāda* of our copper-plate.

The only other Gupta king, who had assumed the Imperial titles, *Parama-Bhaṭṭāraka* and *Mahārājādhirāja*, and whose reign would synchronise with the period in question, was Ādityasena of the Magadhan Branch.

He ruled over a wide territory 'the whole earth up to the oceans' and performed 'Aśvamedha and other sacrifices'.[21]

18 **Rakhaldas Banerji**, *ibid.*, pp. 87-88; **Mm. Padmanath Bhattacharya**, কামরূপশাসনাবলী, ভাস্করবর্মার তাম্রশাসন, p. 5; **Ramaprasad Chanda**, 'কামরূপ-শাসনাবলী' সমালোচনা, প্রবাসী, বৈশাখ, ১৩৩৯, পৃঃ ৬২-৬৬; **K. L. Barua**, *History of Kāmarūpa*, Shillong, 1933, Ch. IV, *Kāmarūpa of Bhāskaravarman*, pp. 66-69; **R. G. Basak**, *Hist. of North-Eastern India*, pp. 224-225.

19 **Rakhaldas Banerji**, *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, Ch. IX, pp. 128-29.

20 **Rakhaldas Banerji**, বাঙ্গালার ইতিহাস, Vol. I, pp. 87-88; **R. G. Basak**, *op. cit.*, pp. 152-153, 225 ff.

21 **Hemchandra Raychaudhuri**, *op. cit.*, pp. 408-11; **H. C. Ray**, *op. cit.*, pp. 274-75.; **R. D. Banerji**, *The Origin of the Bengali Script*, p. 42.

Both, his Shahpur images-inscription of the Harṣa year 66-671 A.C., and the undated Aphsaḍ inscription belonging to the latter-half of the 7th century A.C., are more advanced, as regards script, to the Inscription of Śrī-Bhānu, which may be more properly put to the first-half of the same century.

Though it is inadvisable to hazard conjectures, the emperor (*Śrī-parama-Bhaṭṭāraka-pāda*) referred to, may be the Magadhan Gupta emperor, Ādityasena or any of his immediate ancestors, who might have become independent.

Saṃvat 5 Mārggadi 4, might be, either, the *Mālava Vikrama Saṃvat* 705=648 A.C. or, the regnal year 5 of the emperor.

TEXT

[OBVERSE]

L.1 ॐ स्वस्ति
सगडावासकान्महाप्रतीहारमहाराजमहासामन्त
श्रीभानुः

L.2 कुशली सगडाहारविषये
समुपगतान्वर्त्तमानभविष्यन्महासा

L.3 मन्त
महाराजराजपुलकुमारामात्योपरिक
विषयपतितदा
a)

L.4 युक्तकदाण्डवासिक
स्थानान्तरिकानन्यांश्च
b)
चाटभटादीन्महामहत्तरवृहत्

L.5 भोगिकाधिकरणांश्च
यथार्हम्पूजयति बोधयति चास्तु वो
विदित

L.6 मेतद्विषयसम्बद्धचिरंखिलजो
c)
न्यबन्दीरकग्रामोस्माभिः
श्रीपरम

L.7 महाराकपादानामाचन्द्रार्कसमकाल
म्युत्पाभिवृद्धये
वत्सगोत्र

L.8 वाजसनेयचरणेभ्यः
महामहत्तरप्रियमित्रस्वामिचाटुमित्र

L.9 स्वामिभ्रमित्रस्वामि
d)
आरुहमित्रस्वामिनामामहारीकुल प्रतिपादितः

L.10 तदेषां समुचितराजपत्ति(त्रि:) e) f) दानन्दत्वा
भुञ्जानानां न केनचिद्बाधा करणीया

[REVERSE]

L.11 श्रीपरमभट्टारकपादानां गौरवाच्चैषा पत्ति(त्रि):
परिपालयितव्येति

L.12 g)
सम्वत् ५ मार्ग्ग दि ४ ॥
h)
उक्तञ्च धर्म्मशास्त्रे

बहुभिर्व्वसुधा दत्ता
L.13 राजभिः सगरादिभिः
यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिः
तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥
मा भू
L.14 दफलराङ्का वः

प[रद]तेति पार्थिवाः
स्वदानात्फलमानन्त्य
म्परदाना

L.15 नुपालनं ॥

i)
षष्टिं[म्पर्ष]सहस्राणि
स्वर्गे मोदति भूमि[दः]

L.16 [आ]छेत्ता वानुमन्ता च
तान्येव नरकं वसेत् ।

पूर्व्वदत्तां द्विजाति[भ]यः

j)
L.17 [य]त्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिरः

k)
महीं महीवतां श्रेष्ठः
दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं ॥

l)
L.18 लिखितन्त्सान्धिविग्रहिकेनाक्षयदत्तेन

m) n)
तापितं पीडापालरूप्रतिष्ठितचन्द्रे खेति

NOTES

(*a*) In many copper-plates, this high official is styled somewhat differently e.g. (1) *Daṇḍapāśika* or (2) *Dāṇḍapāśika*. See (1) *Gauḍalekhamālā*: Copper-plate of Dharmapāla Deva (l. 45) and (2) *Ibid*. Copper-plate of Devapāla Deva (l. 33).

(*b*) *Bṛhat* (*d*) = *bhogika* is known from other source. See *Paṭiākellā Grant of Mahārāja Śivarāja* [*Gupta*] *Samvat* 283, of Mr. R. D. Banerji: *EI*., Vol. IX, p. 287.

(*c*) The reading is *ciraṃkhilajonyaBandīrakagrāma*. The meaning is probably—'The village, the other minor (lesser) *anyaBandīraka*, which was long fallow'. Compare the form *apara-Mandāra*.

(*d*) Doneee of Brāhmaṇa Varṇa with the names of *Svāmin* are known, in Orissan Plates (of the Śailodbhavas) and from

Assamese plates of Bhāskaravarman, but not with titles of *Mitra-svāmin*. Perhaps from the name *Āruha*, is to be derived the Bengali form *Hā-ru*, which might also be from √*hṛ*.

(*e*) This emendation of the text as *°rāja°patti(ttriḥ)* is supported by Mr. R. D. Banerji's *Paṭiākella-Grant* where we have the form *paṭṭi-kṛtya*, with which the (emended) reading may be compared.

(*f*) The reading is very clearly [*dānaṃ datvā>dānandatvā*] *dānan=datvā*. According to the orthography of this inscription, this reading is doubly certain.

Though according to Pāṇini, the subject of both the verbs √*bhuj* and √*dā* must be the one and same person, there are exceptions e.g. **रघे च वामनं दृष्ट्वा पुनर्जन्म न विद्यते।** This is a noted and oftquoted example. So to make out the sense we must interpret these lines of the text, as follows: "So, theirs, is an (*samucita*, as opposed to *kūṭa*) authentic or genuine (*pattri*) record or deed from the king; when the gift has been made, duly, no hindrance must be offered to those who would be enjoying the gift."

(*g*) The numeral indicating the Samvat (*vide* Plate, reverse, 2nd line, 4th letter) is clearly 5. See Bühler, *Indische Palæographie, Tafel IX, Zahlzeichen*. Compare column X. Gupta 4-6th century A.C., and columns XX and XI Nepal Mss., the forms corresponding.

The numeral denoting the *Mārgga di*, is (*vide* Plate, reverse, 2nd line, 8th letter) evidently 4. See Bühler: *loc. cit.*, column XVII. Northern Inscr., 8th cent.

(*h*) Professor Sylvain Lévi has discussed at great length and critically, these and all other verses, to be found in donative charters. They are usually in the form of recommendations and imprecations. See S. Lévi: *Le Népal* Vol. III, *XIX. Inscription de Timi*, pp. 119-135.

(*i*) The restoration *ṣa°ṣ°ṭ°i* [*mva*]*rṣa°* is based on the peculiar orthography of the Inscription.

(*j*) The reading is to be *Yudhiṣṭhira*! in the vocative.

(*k*) The reading is *mahāvatām* (as opposed to the usual *mahimatām*), and inaccurate.

(*l*) This is perhaps the most interesting example of the assimilation of nasals to the subsequent consonants. As *sa* is a dental, the nasal ṃ in *likhitaṃ* (preceding *sāndhivigrahikena*°) becomes changed to dental *na*.

(*m*) *tāpitam* (from √*tāp*, to heat?) is a peculiarly new word; possibly this has reference to the smelting of the raw material and preparation of the copper-plate itself for engraving.

(*n*) Piḍāpālaka seems to be the master artist under whose guidance, was Candra, as an Apprentice. We have tangible proofs of crude work by a novice e.g. in l.10. °पत्ति —करणाया; पत्तिः — °तन्वेति ; and l.12 °र्ब्बसुधादत्ता.

In पत्ति there seems to be a double mistake, committed. The *pa* letter looks more like *da;* while instead of *ttri*, the letter engraved is *tti*. Certainly the word meant was पत्रिः *pattriḥ*, having the sense of 'a deed of gift'. The more usual word is *paṭṭi*, a *tadbhava* derivative which usually replaces the original word.

SUMMARY

Oṃ. Blessings (attend upon you)!

From the Camp [of the army] of Sagaḍhā, the Mighty Guard [of the realm] the Great King, the Great Feudatory Śrī-Bhānu, hale [and hearty], in the Province of Sagaḍhāhāra offers respectful greetings, unto those, assembled presently as also as would flourish in future — Great Feudal Lords — and others,— the Governors of the big provinces and other State Officials —[one and all] accordingly as becometh them, and declares for information [and guidance], that let this be known unto you all, that We have made — for the enhancement of the merits of His Exalted Highness! of the lesser Bandūraka village, lying long fallow and under this Province — a permanent donation lasting even until the Sun and Moon, unto — °Mittra-Svāmins, Chief Officials with the family surname of Vatsa and belonging to the Vājasaneya School.

And that — whereas genuine [and authentic] is their royal charter [of gift], once the gift has been made, by no one, should be offered any hindrance to those enjoying [their legitimate rights]; and that—out of respect unto [the person and majesty of] His Most Exalted Highness, must this deed of gift be fully acted upon. *Saṃvat* 5 *Mārgga di* 4. [Year 5 Agrahāyaṇa day 4].

Thus, hath it been said in the Sacred Texts — Respectful acquiscence, rendered unto the acts of gift by other persons, is even more infinitely meritorious, than one's own personal gifts —

O! Yudhiṣṭhira! protect carefully the previous gifts, unto the twice-born —

[Drafts] Written [drawn up] by the Minister of Peace and War, Aruṇa Datta; [Plate] smelted by Candra, under the establishment of Pīḍāpālaka.

HARIDAS MITRA

The Dasavaikalika-Niryukti

The *Daśavaikālika-niryukti*[1] is one of the important works of the Niryukti literature, next only to the more famous *Āvaśyaka-niryukti*. Even though the *Āvaśyaka* is more important from the point of view of Jain literature, theology and its ecclesiastical history, the *Daśavaikālika* gives us a better insight into the secular and profane subjects which cover a very wide field of interest. The Niryukti literature is certainly a peculiarity of Jain writings and has not as yet received due attention it requires to know its real value and significance. The major portion of these works is occupied with minute and detailed discussions about the various theological points of Jainism, for their chief aim is to supply and supplement these facts to the books, on which they are taken to be the comments. But besides these, we find many references to various philosophical schools, ethical doctrines, rules of worldly behaviour, logical discussions, information about arts and crafts, topics from sciences like economics and erotics, and various other subjects. All these are of immense importance, if we take into consideration the early date attributed to these books. Moreover the Niryuktis allude to a vast amount of folklore which is of some interest.

These works have some characteristics which we do not find anywhere else in Indian literature. Tradition attributes to them the nature of a commentary on the various texts of the Ardha-Māgadhi canon, and therefore each one is definitely joined with one of such books. The names of these works again are derived from such books. The *Daśavaikālika Niryukti* derives its name from the *Daśavaikālika Sūtra*, the second of the Mūlasūtras of the Jain canon, and is supposed to be a commentary on it. Their nature as commentary is very doubtful and if

1 The text of the *Niryukti* is edited by Leumann in *ZDMG.*, vol. 88, pp. 581 foll. It is also printed along with the text of the *Daśavaikālika-Sūtra* and Haribhadra's commentary by the Āgamodaya-Samiti, Surat. Prof. Abhyankar's text as given at the end of his edition of the Sūtra has been followed in giving references.

at all these are taken as commentaries, they form a class by themselves, differing from all other commentaries in many important points. They do not explain the texts nor help us in interpreting them. The earliest available commentaries include them along with the texts, and unlike most of the commentaries they are written in verses. They touch upon points which have no traces in the texts while they pass over much of the text, without a word to say on it. Moreover their method and procedure are altogether different and novel.

The name *Nijjutti* is an obscure Prakrit word. The commentators render it into Sanskrit as *Niryukti* and try to interpret it etymologically. Thus Malayagiri explains it to mean "the explanation of the Sūtras" which means nothing more than a commentary: *sūtre prathamameva saṃbaddhānāṃ satām arthānāṃ vyākhyārūpā yuktir yojanam niryuktayuktir iti prāpte yuktapadasya lopāt niryuktiḥ*]. In the *Āvaśyaka* itself we have the following line to explain the word:—"*Nijjuttā je atthā jaṃ baddhā teṇa hoi nijjutti*" (88). This differs very little from the explanation given by Malayagiri, unless we take it to mean that various things are packed up in it and so it means Nijjutti. Besides this there is another cognate word Nijjūḍha which occurs in the *Daśavaikālika-n.* in *Nijjūḍhaṃ kira sejjaṃbhaveṇa* and *Nijjūhagaṃ vaṃde* (12, 13)., Dr. Weber,[2] being dissatisfied with these suggestions of the scholiasts, proposed to regard Nijjutti as a corruption of Nirutti, which would become in Sanskrit Nirukti, a well-known word in Indian literature meaning etymology (*cp.* Yāska's *Niryukta*). But such an emendation is clearly unacceptable. For one thing, the transition from Nijjutti to Nirutti is unaccountable in any satisfactory way, while we have evidence to show that the writers of these works kept the two words clearly apart. In *Daśavaikālikā-nijjutti*, 10, 399 we find the word 'Nirutta' along with other Dvāras that can be applied to the word 'Bhikkhu' to explain it. From this it is obvious that Nirutta or etymology forms only one part of the subject matter of Nijjutti. In fact, *Nirutti* is relegated to the background, while *Nikṣepa* is given prominence.

2 *Ind. Stud.*, XVII, 57 n. 2.

Another suggestion about the meaning of this term can be derived from its parallel *Nijjūḍha* or *Nijjūhaga*, which the commentators always interpret to mean "to take, to cull out from" usually referring to the Pūrvas as the source. Now, Dr. Charpentier[3] has pointed out that the present Niryukti works are not the first exegetical works, but are produced from the more voluminous prose commentaries that preceded them and to which they formed as if the mnemonic verses, summarising their contents and helping the memory of the monks who expounded the texts following those big commentaries. Now, by this analogy we can say that the Nijjuttis were so called because they were culled out from the original commentaries which are now lost to us. This will explain the nature of these works to a greater extent than the previous one of regarding them as treatises on etymology.

But this explanation also is not very satisfactory. We have no means to ascertain the existence and nature of these hypothetical commentaries and how far they are epitomised in the present Niryuktis. Even if much traditional information is presupposed by these works it is doubtful to suppose that it was put down in the definite form of a commentary from which these works might be derived. Moreover much doubt exists about the meaning of both the words as explained by the commentators.

To interpret the name satisfactorily we must try to understand the nature of these works clearly. It can be very easily seen that these Niryuktis, though ill-arranged and always disgressing to extraneous materials, have one thing in common, we mean, the elucidation of a few typical words of the texts. Thus, in *Daśavaikālika*, it can be seen that besides all other things the Niryukti explains nearly all the headings of the ten chapters of the Sūtra, and some more words from the body of the text in addition. It picks up the various words in the name of the chapter and begins to deal with each one of them in detail. Further it uses a peculiar method in explaining and interpreting them. It applies the various Anuyogadvāras or categories of interpretation, and points out the nature of these objects in the light of these view-points. Usually the four well-known Anuyogadvāras of Nāma, Sthāpanā, Dravya and

3 *Uttarādhyāyana-Sūtra*, Introduction p. 51.

Bhāva are found applied, even though others and of greater number are also laid under contribution (cp. 1; 8, 9, 34; 2; 157, 158; 3; 184 &). So the main function of the Niryuktis appears to be the interpretation of the various terms in the Sūtras by the application of this doctrine of the Anuyogadvāras. We can scarcely doubt that this doctrine is a peculiarity of Jainism, and must be of ancient standing, as it figures in the canon and the *Tattvārthādhigama Sūtra* (1, 5-8). In the light of this fact we can interpret the name Niryukti to mean 'the application of these Dvāras', a fact fully borne out by the nature of these works. It will also explain incidentally why such a literature is found in Jainism only.

Like all other Nijjuttis the *Daśavaikālika-nijjutti* is also attributed to Bhadrabāhu by the Jain tradition. This is found based upon the statement[4] in the *Āvaśyaka-niryukti* in which the author gives the ten Niryuktis which he wrote on the different works of the canon. But besides these ten, we have two other works having the title Niryukti, namely the Piṇḍa-niryukti and Ogha-niryukti which are often included in the Mūla Sūtras themselves. This is due to a misunderstanding on the part of the redactors of the canon. We have a reference in the *Daśavaikālika-n.* (304) in which the writer says that a more detailed statement about the rules of begging food can be found in the work called Piṇḍa-nijjutti. The manner of the reference makes it clear that the work is an off-shoot of the *Daśavaikālika-n.*, a work supplementing its 5th chapter. Similar is the case with the Ogha-niryukti which is an off-shoot of the *Āvaśyaka-niryukti* and is a supplement to it. Because both these works were taken from the Mūla Sūtra group, these Niryuktis were erroneously grouped along with them, and were counted as one of them. This will also evade the possibility of counting them as more than ten.

There are also a few indications which would point out to a common authorship of these works. But whether this writer is Bhadrabāhu himself who lived in the 3rd century B.C. or somebody else is very doubtful. Dr. Charpentier has pointed out that the *Uttarādhyāyana-niryukti* refers to Sthūlabhadra and others who, according to the Jain

4 *Ibid.*, II. I foll.; Weber, *Ind. Stud.*, XVII, 57.

tradition, come after Bhadrabāhu himself, and therefore his authorship of these works is improbable. But there are some difficulties in following this line of investigation, and accepting the conclusions derived from it. It neglects the vital question about the composition of these works, which are, it can be proved with sufficient material, composite works of a very complex nature. Even tradition itself admits this fact, and the oldest commentators often try to differentiate between the original work and these later additions and elucidations. And unless we point out from which source the reference comes, its value for chronological purpose remains doubtful and vague.

Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa,[5] on the other hand, has tried to make use of the tradition of the Digambaras in determining the authorship of these works. According to it there were two Bhadrabāhus, and the younger was a great writer. He would place him in the reign of Candragupta II of the Gupta dynasty, and mainly relies upon the tradition that he was a contemporary of Varāhamihira. On this view the Nijjuttis will have to be placed in the 4th century A.D., a time which would explain all references to late writers like Sthūlabhadra and others.

Even if we refuse to accept the theory of Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa as being founded on very insufficient grounds both in ascribing these works to the younger Bhadrabāhu against the unanimous opinion of the tradition to the contrary, and in placing him in the 4th century, we find the date ascribed to these works is nearer the truth than the early traditional date of the third century B.C. An indication to such a date is found in the *Daśavaikālika-niryukti* (1, 81) in which the text refers to one Govinda as an illustration of a great disputant. Now from the Paṭṭāvali at the beginning of the Nandīsūtra, we know that this Govinda was one of the pupils of Nāgārjuna and so probably lived about 350 A.D. This will also explain to a considerable extent the developed nature of the various sciences referred to in the *Niryukti*.

The *Daśavaikālika-n* in its present form consists of 447 Gāthās. It is divided into ten chapters and two Cūlikās to suit the divisions of the *Daśavaikālika Sūtra*. According to the indications found in the commentary of Haribhadra, the oldest writer on the Niryukti, the present

5 *History of Indian Logic*, II.

work is formed chiefly of two groups, one of which is called by him as the Niryukti Gāthās forming the real and original text of the Niryukti proper, and the second group of some 63 Gāthās which he calls as the Bhāṣyakṛt-Gāthās, and which are interspersed throughout the work, but mostly to be found in the Niryukti of the 4th chapter. Haribhadra further points out that the two Gāthās (I. 120, 163) are from a different hand which is further corroborated by the fact that the second verse of the two shows a repetition of the similes found in the verse preceding it and which belongs to the Gāthās of the Niryukti proper.

A perusal of the Niryukti and the Bhāṣya-Gāthās will reveal the fact that the Bhāṣya-Gāthās are mainly intended as a supplement to the original Niryukti. Sometimes they point out the philosophical school to which the Niryukti makes a reference, while at other times it interprets the difficult verses in it (cp. 262 and foll.). But on the whole it supplies information not found in the Niryukti or develops the subject-matter barely referred to in the original, to a greater extent with an intention of making the Niryukti fuller and easy. Tradition has not preserved us the name of the writers of these Bhāṣya-Gāthās, nor is there anything in the Gāthās themselves to show the author of these verses. They are usually attributed to ancient writers like Siddhasenagaṇin, Dharmadāsagaṇin and Jinadāsamahattara. But nothing definite can be stated about it.

From the present Niryukti and particularly its introductory part we can collect a few facts about the nature of the original Sūtra as known to the writer of the Niryukti. From vv. 6, 7, we know that the work was called both as Dasakāliya and Dasaveyāliya, which was understood to mean "the ten chapters preached at the time of evening" (cp. *The Daśavaikālika-Sūtra: a Study*, Patwardhan, 1933, p. 9). The present work was the production of Sejjaṃbhava, who was enlightened at the sight of an image of Jina, intended for his young son Maṇaga (14, 15). It was studied by him in six months at the end of which he died. When the whole story was disclosed, the Saṃgha placed the work as authoritative and included it in the canon (444-446). The Niryukti also records a tradition which says that the two Cūlikās at the end were delivered by Sīmaṃdhara to a lay woman for her benefit (447). The source of this work was the Pūrvas particularly the Ātmapravāda from

which the Dharmaprajñapti was taken, the Karmapravāda from which the Piṇḍeṣaṇā was extracted, the Satyapravāda from which the Vākyaśuddhi was culled out, while all others were taken from the Pratyākhyāna Pūrva. The work contained the ten chapters bearing the present names and in addition the two Cūlikās. He also gives us the purpose of each chapter which is a good indication of its contents. The first teaches the exaltation of Dharma, the second the firm belief in it, the third the rules of conduct in a shorter compass, the fourth abstension from killing living beings, the fifth the rules of begging food, the sixth the rules of conduct in details, the seventh the purity of the words, the eighth carefulness, the ninth discipline, and the tenth the nature of the good monk. The first Cūlikā is devoted to the stability of a monk who is shaken in his faith, while the second deals with his secluded residence. All these facts are closely borne out by our present text. Again the very close and verbal interpretation of the first chapter in a syllogistic form goes a long way to show that the text was materially the same at the time of writing the Niryukti. In the 6th chapter however the text gives the title as Mahalliyāyārakahā while the Niryukti gives the title Dhammaṭṭhakahā which it follows in explaining the chapter. That name of the chapter, however, is referred to by the Niryukti elsewhere (22) as being its Adhikāra or purpose and so it must have been an alternative title to the chapter.

To follow the contents of this work we have an indication of its scope in v. 399 of the tenth chapter. Therein it is stated that usually the topics discussed in a Niryukti are: 1. Nikṣepa or application, 2. Nirukta or etymology, 3. Ekārtha or synonyms, 4. Liṅga or characteristics and 5. Pañcāvayava or logical discussion about the various objects chosen for the purpose of comment. This list can further be supplemented from vv. 4, 5, which add such other topics as the author of the work, the cause of its writing, the people worthy of hearing it and the meaning of the Sūtras.

The discussion of *Nikṣepa* always results into a subtle distinction between the various meanings of the term when viewed from the standpoints of *Nāma*, *Sthāpanā*, *Dravya* and *Bhāva*. Usually the first two applications are only referred to while the last is given the greatest emphasis as leading to a discussion into philosophy or ethics. The word

Dharma is treated in this manner in the first chapter. The *Dravya Dharma* is the modification of a substance and comprises on the one hand the Dharmāstikāya and the Pracāradharma or the objects of the sense on the other. But the *Bhāvadharma* contain the Laukikadharmas or rules about the various restrictions of behaviour, the ordinary laws of the land as well as the special rules of the smaller communities, the *Kupravacanika Dharma* or the heretical doctrines and lastly the *Lokuttara Dharma* which again comprises the Śruta Dharma or the study of scriptures and the Cāritra Dharma or the rules of conduct. The subtlety to which this method may lead us is well illustrated by the example of the word Vihaṃgama. The Dravya Vihaṃgama is an object which in its next birth will become a bird. The Bhāva Vihaṃgama is twofold Guṇasiddha or Saṃjñāsiddha. The Guṇasiddha is the world which remains in the sky which is called Viham. It is again of two kinds because the Gati may be due either to Bhāva or Karma. When it is due to Bhāva the Astikāyas become the Vihaṃgamas. The Karmagati is again of two kinds when it is found either in the sky called the Vihāyogati or anywhere else when it is called Calanagati. According to the first variety as also from the Saṃjñāsiddhi the birds are the Vihaṃgamas. According to the Karmagati both the souls and matter become the Vihaṃgamas (122-127). Other cases of such applications are to be found in Kāma (167-169), Pada (172 foll.), Praṇidhi (359) and many others.

The *subject of etymology* is of course of greater importance and interest. One thing that we should mark about the author's attitude towards this problem is that he is all the while trying to explain the Prākrit words without the help of Sanskrit. His etymologies are mainly based on Prākrit forms. However absurd the procedure may seem to us who are acquainted with the elements of comparative philology, the author has a natural disgust in explaining the words of his scriptures with reference to a language which he essentially abhorred as being the speech of the heterodox religions. But the inborn tendency of etymologising in him was very hard to die and therefore he states so many curious views and opinions. He explains the words Ajjhayaṇa as derived from Ajjhappassāṇayaṇam (29); Ajjhīṇa as Akṣīṇa (31); Āya as Lābha (32); Jhavaṇā as Kṣapaṇā (33); Vihaṃgama as "viham gacchai" (123); Samaṇa as Samamaṇai (159) or Samamaṇo (160) or

Sumaṇo (161); Kāma from Ukkāma (170); Bhikkhu from "khuhaṃ bhindanto" (410); Jaī as Jayamaṇo (410); Bhavanto as "bhavaṃ khavento"; Bhikkhu as Bhikkhamāṇo or "aṇaṃ khavej" (411), and many others of similar nature. In many cases we see that his interpretation is clearly wrong and much of it is based upon the mere similarity of sound or the possibility of a secondary sense. But this discussion reveals one fact and that is the energy with which the Prākrit writers tried to copy the grammatical and etymological systems of the Sanskrit writers.

Another allied topic for which we find some traces in the present work is the *science of lexicography*. Herein we find synonyms collected for words like Adhyayana (4 in number v. 27), Druma (11, v. 35), Puṣpa (7, v. 36), Pravrajita (20, v. 164-165), Vākya (11, v. 336), and Bhikṣu (28, 412-414)). We will not be much in the wrong if we see in these verses giving the synonyms of the various words, sometimes a formidable list, the first and the earliest attempts of the activity which later resulted in the production of the Koṣas found both in Sanskrit and Prākrit. The predelection of the Jains and the Buddhists for the use of synonyms is well known and it is but natural that they should take up such attempts as the present to form bigger collections. It appears that the first impetus to the writing of the Koṣas must have been from the Jain writers. There is certainly no lexicon which can be put as early as these works.

The question of *Liṅga* or characteristics always leads to a great deal of philosophical discussion. There are two very important illustrations of this: the one about the Liṅgas of the soul and the other about the characteristics of a monk. In the first the soul is viewed from the point of view of nikṣepa or application, prarūpaṇā or description, lakṣaṇa or the characteristics, astitva or existence, anyatva or difference from the body, amūrtatva or incorporiality, nityatva or immutability, kārakatva or agency, dehavyāpitva or co-extensiveness with the body, guṇitva of qualitativeness, ūrdhvagatitva or having upward motion, nirmāyatā or uncreatedness, sāphalyatā or capacity of enjoying the fruits of his actions and pariṇāma or size (227-228). Of these again the Liṅga comprises ādāna, the fact that the soul is the holder of the body, paribhoga, that it enjoys the body, yoga, that it uses the senses, upayoga,

that it has the quality of consciousness, kaṣāya, its passions, leśyā, ānāpāna or respiration, indriya or senses, bandha or bondage, udaya or rising of the karmas, nirjarā or the shedding of the karmas, citta or sentiency, cetanā or consciousness, saṃjñā or remembrance, vijñānam or knowledge, dhāraṇā or retentiveness, buddhi or grasping power, īhā or discrimination, mati or sense perception, vitarka or probable knowledge (236-247). The characteristics of the monk are given in V. 416.

About *Pañcāvayava* or the logical syllogism the present Niryukti has much to say on it. The whole of the first chapter is devoted to it while the last one also furnishes us with an illustration. Besides the usual five-membered syllogism as found in the Nyāya-vaiśeṣika school which our present work accepts with their terminology, we have two more illustrations of a syllogism having ten members. The first of them is to form and consists in adding the qualification *viśuddhi* or purification which consists in pointing out the statement as true by contrasting it with other perverted views of similar nature. This has led the writer into many digressions of no great value. But the second variety of the ten membered syllogism is much more valuable. It consists of the ten members as given in V. 143, which are Pratijñā or proposition, Pratijñā-vibhakti or limitation of the proposition, Hetu or reason, Hetu-vibhakti or the limitation of the reason, Vipakṣa or counter proposition, Vipakṣa-pratiṣedha or opposition to the counter proposition, Dṛṣṭanta or example, Ākāṅkṣā or questioning its validity, Ākāṅkṣā-pratiṣedha or meeting of the question, and Nigamana or conclusion. Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa has expressed the opinion that this may possibly be the syllogism referred to by Vātsāyana at the beginning of the Nyāyabhāṣya (1-1-32). According to it that syllogism consisted of the following members Pratijñā or proposition, Hetu or reason, Udāharaṇa or the example, Upanaya or application, Nigamana or conclusion, Jijñāsā or inquiry, Saṃśaya or doubt, Sakyaprāpti or the capacity of the example, Prayojana or purpose, and Saṃśayavyudāsa or dispelling the doubt. This will show that the two syllogisms are not identical and differ in many vital points. So it is doubtful whether the reference of Vātsyāyana is to the Jain form of the syllogism as illustrated by the Niryukti. One thing, however, becomes clear and it is the fact that there appears to have been a variety of syllogistic forms having ten members that preceded the present five-

membered one which had a slow progress in acquiring its present position.

Another logical discussion in the Niryukti is that of Udāharaṇa in which a very elaborate classification of the illustrations is given. The whole discussion is replete with references to stories to illustrate them. These stories are given in full only in the commentary of Haribhadra. The Udāharaṇa is either Carita or historical or Kalpita or imaginary. It is again divided into four divisions: Aharaṇa or an example intended in full, Aharaṇa-deśa or an illustration intended in part, Aharaṇa-doṣa or one defective in some parts and Āharaṇopanyāsa or an anecdote. The first is again divided into four divisions called Apāya, Upāya, Sthāpanākarma and Pratyutpannavināśa, the two of which are fourfold when viewed from Dravya, Kṣetra, Kāla and Bhāva. The second is divided into Anuśāsti, Upālambha, Pṛcchā and Niśrāvana. The third into Adharmayukta, Pratiloma, Ātmopanyāsa and Durupanīta. The last again is divided into Tadvastūpanyāsa, Tadanyavastūpanyāsa, Pratinibha and Hetu. This Hetu again is of four kinds, namely, Sthāpaka, Yāpaka, Vyaṃśaka and Lūṣaka. Each one of these 25 divisions is interpreted with reference to the story,[6] its ethical application and its philosophical application, which has rendered the whole discussion very complicated and obscure. A critical study of it will, however, reveal the following facts.

1. The Udāharaṇas are in no way to be taken to mean the Dṛṣṭāntas of the logical syllogisms. The commentator is clearly far-fetched and twisting in interpreting them as such. They only mean illustrations and parables to explain the point, a thing very common in the Ardha-Māgadhi canon.

2. Their chief application is ethical, the philosophical ones being very far-fetched and unconnected.

3. The divisions are not strictly logical but are based on the important point in the story.

4. The Hetus are certainly the logical reasons and the four-fold division appears to be an old one, but its exact meaning is far from certain.

The work refers to many philosophical schools. A reference is made

6 The stories are summarised by Leumann in the introduction to his edition.

to a vāuliya who is repre-ented as advocating the view that there exists nothing in the world and therefore it follows that there is no soul. Haribhadra says that this is a reference to the school of the Nāstikas, which is not very accurate. It is a clear reference to the Nihilist school of the Buddhists (69-70). A reference is also made to a school which admits a soul but refuses any activity on its part (74). This appears to be the Sāṅkhya view. In vv. 77-79 a clear reference to the Nāstikas is made, where the opponent admits only Pratyakṣa as authoritative and on the strength of it denies the existence of the soul. The belief underlying the Vedic sacrifice that the offering of the oblation in fire produces rain is also hinted at (104). Many references to the Buddhists are also found. He refers to the worship of the Buddhas as being current (150). Haribhadra takes the word Sāmāyika in v. 256 to mean the Buddhas and this is confirmed by the quotation "Samaye ahamāsi gao" coming close by. The famous school of Ajita Kesakambalin, the Tajjīvatassarīravāda, is also mentioned (264). The Buddhist doctrine of momentariness is stated in proving the permanence of the soul (270). V. 379 makes a mention of Kapila and his school who deny the soul the capacity of performing actions.

With reference to other seculnr sciences we have some information about the science of Poetics. The secondary use of a word is referred to while discussing the application of the word Dhamma to the Buddhist and other religions (95). The author gives the well known illustration of the word Siṃha and the stock phrase "Candamuhī dāriga" (100). The technical Upamā is found used in v. 131. Another important discussion in Poetics is involved in the discussion of Pada. There Gadya is defined as sweet, full of reason, connected with a foot having a fullstop and unlimited as to the end (177). A Padya is defined as of three kinds: Sama, Ardhasama, and Viṣama—a division well-known to the writers on metrics (178). A Gīta is divided into five varieties when determined by Tantrī, Tāla, Varṇa, Graha and Laya (179). A Cūrṇa is explained as rich in meaning, deep on account of reasons, particles, prepositions, having many feet and being unlimited (180). An elaborate discussion of Kathā is also to be found. It is of four kinds. The Arthakathā deals with sciences, arts, acquisition of wealth and includes a discussion of Sāma, Daṇḍa, Bheda and Upapradāna (195). The Kāmakathā deals

with all the aspects of love. The Dharmakathā is subdivided into four varieties: Ākṣepaṇī, Vikṣepaṇī, Saṃvejanī and Nirvedanī. The Miśrakathā of course includes all these subjects together (194-220). Again Kathā is divided into Akathā or a story preached by a lay man who is ignorant, Kathā or a story told by a careful monk and dealing with a right course of conduct, and Vikathā or a story preached by a monk who has fallen from right conduct (215-217).

We have some information about erotics as well. It is divided into Samprāpta or Sambhoga of 15 kinds and Asamprāpta or Vipralambha of 10 kinds (325-328). Similarly the author divides wealth into six kinds: Dhānya or corns of 24 kinds (318-319), Ratna or precious materials of 24 kinds (320-321), Sthāvara or immovables of 3 kinds (322), Dvipada or bipeds of 2 kinds, Catuṣpada or quadrupeds of 10 kinds and Kupya or base metals of various kinds.

A few references to arts and other subjects are also to be met with (cp. 173, 433).[7]

A. M. Ghatage

7 A good many verses are found to be common to this work and the Digambara work *Mūlācāra* which, it is to be noted, requires careful consideration. The following can be given as the chief resemblances: D. 46=M. v. 219-220; D. 47=M. vi. 149; D. 48=M. v. 163; D. 158=M. x. 110; D. 188=M. vi. 4; D. 190=M. vi. 72; D. 191=M. v. 100 and others.

Zābita Khān, the Ruhela Chieftain

(From a unique Persian manuscript)

Introduction

In the *Indian Historical Quarterly* for 1933 (pp. 866-871) I published an original and very interesting account of the rise of Najib-ud-daulah, translated from the Persian life written by Sayyid Nuruddin Husain Khān, of which there is only one copy extant, namely, the British Museum ms. This Nuruddin Husain was formerly an officer in the household of Ghaziuddin Imad-ul-mulk,[1] wazir of Delhi from 1754 to 1760 and grandson of the first Nizam-ul-mulk Asaf Jah. He latterly became the munshi and most trusted diplomatic agent of Sir Charles Malet, Baronet, the British Resident at Poona (1786-1797). Since then I have discovered another contemporary life of Najib-ud-daulah, written in Persian by Bihāri Lal Munshi, a nephew of Mansukh Rāi who (the last-named) was the confidential *wakil* of Zābita Khān, the son and successor of Najib-ud-daulah. This second work was composed in 1787 in Camp Fathgarh (Farrukhabad, U.P.) for "Captain Ustar"—which I read, not as *Worcester*, but as a copyist's error for *Istur=Stuart*,[2] meaning that Col. Stuart who was kidnapped by the Sikhs when hunting near Anupshahar, and afterwards released for a ransom through the mediation of Begum Samru in 1791.[3] Bihāri Lal was the munshi of Col. Bastin (=Sebastian?), and his history of the house of Najib Khān, though it falls far short of Nuruddin Husain's work in literary power, fulness of detail, and the historical importance of its contents,—is still of value, as giving certain facts about Najib and his son known only to a hereditary servant of the family, whereas Nuruddin was an outsider

1 For his life and character, see my *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, vol. I.

2 إستر and not إرستر

3 See *Mahadji Sindhia and North Indian Affairs*, Poona Residency Records, vol. I, edited by me, p. 375.

and lived far from these Ruhela chiefs' dominions. Bihāri Lal's work, extant in a unique ms, covers 30 pages of foolscap folio and falls into three parts:—the life of Najib, the career of Zābita, and accounts of Ali Md., Hafiz Rahmat, Dundi Khān &c. The second of these sections is here presented to the reader.

[J. Sarkar]

Translation

[13] On hearing of the death of Najib-ud-daulah [31 Oct. 1770], Rāmchandra Ganesh, Tukoji Holkar, Visāji Krishna and other Maratha sardars with Ghāzi-uddin the [ex-] wazir, came to Nawāb Zābita Khān to offer condolences; but not [Mahadji] Sindhiā Patel, who cherished enmity at heart, but had outwardly professed friendship, knowing that Najib-ud-daulah was so brave that no undertaking [of the Marathas] could succeed without his co-operation. From that he laid the foundations of hostility. Holkar also, while he remained outwardly friendly to Nawāb Zābita Khān, in secret gave the chieftains of his own race advice to expel the Afghan clans.

Zābita Khān, in anticipation of their hostility, summoned Afzal Khān and Sultān Khān with a strong force from his dominion. When the army arrived for battle, leaving their country defenceless and joined Nawāb Zābita Khān, Sindhiā Patel, by way of treachery and breach of the oath of friendship and safe-assurance that he had sworn to on *bel* leaves to Nawāb Najib-ud-daulah, now seeing the Nawāb's country bare of soldiers, reached Delhi by rapid marches, and established his own possession and rule over that region. Then Zābita Khān sent his *munshi* (secretary) Mansukh Rāi [to Tukoji] to say, "Your solemn promise and *dharma* are wonderful! You have forgotten all the kindnesses of the late Nawāb [Najib-ud-daulah] to your paternal uncle Malhar Rao at the time of the battle [of Pānipat] with the Shāh of *vilāyat*! Not one Deccani sardar could escape with his life from the Durrani soldiers, except Malhar Rao, who was safely sent away by Najib-ud-daulah on account of his friendship. It is now proper that you should conduct me [Zābita Khān] in safety by means of your vast

army to my own frontier and the bank of the Ganges. After I have been escorted there, let whatever God wills be done." Tukoji Holkar did so; after conducting Zābita Khān to Shakartāl he joined the army of the sardars of his own race.

Zābita Khān ran trenches at Shakartāl,—which was a strong place with many ravines running from the bed of the Ganges—and made a mud fort. Madhav Rao Sindhia and other Deccani sardars [14] from Delhi sent letters to the Emperor [who was then near Allahabad], and when the Emperor arrived there [6 January, 1772] they marched with His Majesty against Zābita Khān. For five or six months skirmishes took place between them and in every battle Zābita Khān's army, which numbered nearly ninety thousand horse and foot, was victorious. When the months of Chait and Baisākh began, and the river Ganges became somewhat fordable at Chāndnighāt, Zābita Khān, out of anxiety for the safety of his family who were living in Najibābād, posted all his troops at Chāndnighāt, while he held the trenches in fort Shakartāl with 4 or 5 thousand men. He wrote to Hāfiz and other [Afghān] sardars to come and join him quickly, otherwise when the Marathas would defeat him they would not spare them. They replied saying that they were coming, but every one stood aloof.

Only Faizullah Khān came with 5,000 men to the bank opposite Shakartāl and encamped, sending Shaikh Kabir and a small force [to Zābita]. Nawāb Muhibullah Khān [and other] sons of Dundi Khān reached Chāndpur, when the Marathas, finding the Ganges fordable, planted their artillery in front, attacked at Chāndighāt, crossed the Ganges, and fought S'ādat Khān and Sādiq Khān. These two heroes at the head of only 300 troopers fought for a *prahar* and a half, defeating and repulsing Sindhiā's troops. When the Marathas attacked from all four sides, they succeeded in crossing the river; all the above troopers [? *sardars*] with Karam Khān Razzar were slain; the rest of the [Afghan] army took to flight. Zābita Khān became alarmed on hearing of it, went to Faizullah Khān who was encamped on the opposite bank of the Ganges, and told him not to mind the defeat of the force stationed at Chāndi, but to cross the river with his army and take post in Shakartāl. Faizullah Khān, who had never seen a fight, in great alarm declined the proposal of Zābita Khān, left Mālik Ibrāhim [15]

in his place, and took the road to Rāmpur, where he stopped for one night only, and then took refuge in the jungle with his treasures, family and troops, setting fire to that city. Hāfiz, the sons of Dundī Khān and other sardars, fleeing from their places without a fight, went to the jungle of Nānakmath. The Emperor and the Marathas besieged Najībābād and encamped there for some months.

When Zābita Khān, along with Faizullah Khān, reached the jungle where Hāfiz and others were assembled, and met with utter lack of consideration from his clansmen, he spent only one night there, and then went to Nawāb Shujā-ud-daulah who had marched rapidly from Faizābād to Shāhābād for the purpose of joining them. As the Wazir cherished great friendship to Najib-ud-daulah and after his demise had given Zābita Khān a letter swearing to regard him as a son,—he greatly cherished and favoured Zābita, and sent Mr. Harper with Ināyet-ullah Khān, the son of Hāfiz, to the jungle to Hāfiz and other sardars, and settled through his own mediation a peace with the Marathas for forty lakhs of Rupees. The Marathas vacated the country of the Ruhelas, holding the Wazir security for the payment of the above amount, crossed the Ganges and went away. The Ruhela sardars came out of the jungle and every one took possession of his own lands. Mādhav Rao Sindhiā and Tukoji Holkar and other [Maratha chiefs] then made peace with Zābita Khān also, and gave him a written relinquishment of the territory in the Miāna Doāb [belonging to Najib Khān]. Zābita Khān, leaving his family with his uncles Afzal Khān and Sultān Khān in Barily, appointed his own faujdārs in the mahals of Najībābād and Pāli Sāharanpur. Sindhiā, Tuko Holkar and others, who had been encamped in the Katehr [=Rohilkhand] district, went back. Nawāb Shujā-ud-daulah too returned to his own province, after settling the dispute between the Ruhelas and Marathas through his own mediation.

Ināyet-ullah Khān, the son of Hāfiz Rahmat Khān, who used to get three lakhs of Rupees in *jāidād*, in addition to a troop of horse, from the revenue of Etāwā,—which had now been stopped,—when Hāfiz and others returned from the jungle, demanded from his father a *jāgir* and place of residence [elsewhere] for himself, and asked these to be assigned out of the territory of which Hāfiz had recovered possession in consequence of the settlement with the Marathas effected by the

Wazir. [16] Hāfiz, not attending to his request, put the matter off from time to time. Gradually it grew to harshness of altercation and ill-feeling between Hāfiz and Ināyet Khān. The latter, disgusted with his father, went to Barily, won over Dundi Khān of the Razzar clan, who had been a comrade of Najib-ud-daulah, appointed him to his service and through his instrumentality enlisted about 5,000 infantry and some cavalry out of Najib-ud-daulah's veteran troops. At this Hāfiz and others were greatly alarmed lest the Ruhela soldiers of Najib Khān, who were very much experienced in war, should sack Barily, and if the other troops of Zābita Khān who were with [his] relatives were to join them, it would be impossible to succeed against them.

So, Hāfiz, Faizullah Khān and others took counsel together, gave solemn oaths and assurances on the *Qurān* to Ināyet Khān through Sultān Khān and Afzal Khān, and made peace with him by assigning to him parganahs Salimpur and Faridpur as *jāidād*. Hāfiz sent word to his son to vacate the city of Barily, go to his place and disband his army. Ināyet marched to parganah Salimpur with his army and there established his authority. Hāfiz, summoning all his troops, to the number of 50,000, wished to expel his son from his *jāidād*. Nawāb Sultān Khān and others tried to dissuade Hāfiz, saying, "After all, he is your son. If he is slain, you will grieve for it. Breach of oath is not proper. God is on his side now;" but Hāfiz would not listen. At last a battle was fought between the two at the *jhil* of Khar Khiri; Dundi Khān Razzar, backed by 5000 cavalry and infantry mounted on their own horses, with unfurled banners, charged the army of Hāfiz. He advanced towards the division of Kamālzai and none ventured to oppose him; the soldiers of all the sardars fled away and many were slain. Just then Dundi Khān was shot dead, and Ināyet-ullah Khān, Mir Gul Khān, and Alayār Khān, defeating all the [hostile] army, beat them back to the tents of Nawāb Muhibullah Khān. Hāfiz, with a few men, stood still, feeling too ashamed to flee away from before [17] his son. As Muhibullah and Ināyet Khān were friends, they came riding the same elephant; and Muhibullah told Ināyet that if he fought against his father and slew him his face would be blackened in this world and the next, and that he should hold back. Ināyet did

so; he forbade his troops to plunder the enemy, and presented himself before his father with his wrists tied together. Hāfiz turned his face away from his son and cried out, "I do not wish to look at you. You have blackened your face. Leave this country." Ināyet Khān, who was a very clever and thoughtful man, at the persuasion of Muhibullah Khān, marched away from that place with all his troops and went to Wazir Shujā-ud-daulah. After staying for some months there, he dismissed his troops for lack of money. When Hāfiz encamped at the *ghāt* of the Ganges in order to confront the Marathas again, Ināyet reached Barily and there died of illness. Men used to say that Khān Muhammad Khān, Hāfiz's sister's son, who bore enmity to Ināyet Khān, had him murdered by bribing his physicians with thousands of Rupees.

Zābita Khān had come to Barily at the call of Hāfiz and other chiefs, but went away from them. The Marathas again came to the bank of the Ganges to attack their country. From this side the Ruhela chiefs went and encamped on the eastern bank of the Ganges. Shujā-ud-daulah, when appealed to by them, came to join them. Tukoji Holkar, on being informed of the successive marches of the Wazir, formed a light force, forded the river with Abdullah Khān and Faizullah Khān, generals of Zābita Khān, and Nawāb Najaf Khān, and fell upon Ahmad Khān, the son of Sardār Khān Bakhshi, who was encamped with his own contingent at a distance of four *kos* from Hāfiz, with his back to a fortalice. Ahmad Khān fought the Marathas for three hours, without Hāfiz and others coming to his support,—they rather prepared for flight without fighting. At last Tukoji [18] Holkar seized Ahmad Khān in the fortalice, broke his army, plundered Morādābād and Sambhal, and wanted to attack Hāfiz's army. But hearing that the English *sāhibs* and Shujā-ud-daulah had come by long marches and joined Hāfiz, Holkar did not deem it expedient to go to that side; he was glad to recross the Ganges at Rāmgarh-*ghāt* and join his other troops. After encamping in that neighbourhood for some time, he set out for the Deccan on account of disturbances having broken out in the Deccan. Tukoji left Najaf Khān at Delhi in the presence of the Emperor, and conferring something (? some money) on Zābita Khān sent him to Pāoli Sāharanpur.

After one year, when Najaf Khān had fought and defeated Nawal Singh Jāt, and taken possession of his country, Zābita Khān went to Delhi by order of the Emperor and met him; here he received repeatedly letters from Shujā-ud-daulah reporting the duplicity and opposition of Hāfiz. Zābita Khān wrote much to Hāfiz, appealing to his sense of honour, and pointing out the good services rendered by the Wazir. Hāfiz replied to Zābita Khān that he had made no hostile move (*qasd*) on his part, so that the Wazir's statements were false. Then Zābita Khān sent copies of Hāfiz's letters to the Wazir. When these copies reached the Wazir, Zābita Khān, taking leave of the Emperor at Delhi, by successive marches went to Najibābād, took counsel with Sultān Khān and others, and came to Bisauli, where he summoned Hāfiz and held a consultation with him. He told Hāfiz, "Whatever is past is past. Do you now entrust your sons to me, so that I can go with them to the Wazir and restore the friendly relations between you. Unless I go to the Wazir with your sons, his ill-feeling will not be removed." Hāfiz declined the proposal, and rather cherished ill-feeling towards Zābita in his heart.

Zābita Khān, going against all the sardars of his clan and rejecting the advice of every one, crossed the river at the Ujhāni-*ghāt*, joined the Wazir, [19] and came on with him against Hāfiz. At Lāhi Kātra the English and the Nawāb Wazir defeated Hāfiz and others who had turned back from their promises. Faizullah Khān fled away from the field, and with all his treasure and family in concert with Ahmad Khān, the son of Khān-i-sāmān, reached Lāldāng. When Shujā-ud-daulah marched against that place, he told Zābita Khān, "Your troops and family are in Najibābād, and Lāldāng is in your possession. We cannot distinguish between your troops and those of Faizullah. It is better for you to leave a *qiladār* with a few hundred soldiers in fort Najibābād, and to write to your army to cross the Ganges with your family and go to Ghausgarh. After defeating Fathullah [Faizullah] I shall restore your country to you; nay, increase it somewhat." Zābita Khān, on this being sworn to, sent his troops to the further side of the Ganges. The Wazir and the English marched against Faizullah, and from Bisauli gave congee to Zābita Khān and Najaf Khān for Ghausgarh. After this the business of Faizullah Khān was

settled, and the Nawāb Wazir, falling ill, returned from Lāldāng to his own kingdom and died of that disease [1775.] Expelling Bashir Khān, the *qiladār* of Zābita Khān, from the fort [of Najibābād] and seizing all its parganah, he established his own rule there. If the Nawāb Wazir had lived longer, he would have kept his word to Zābita Khān. From that time Najibābād and other mahals of Zābita Khān have remained in the possession of the Wazir, and the Pāoli of Sāharanpur in that of Zābita Khān.

After some time a quarrel broke out between Zābita Khān and Abdul Āhad Khān, the deputy Wazir. However much the deputy Wazir wanted to bring the Afghān race over to his side, dispossess Najaf Khān of power at the Court and rule over Delhi with the help of this tribe,—the Emperor being under his control from before,—Zābita Khān, who had met with many misfortunes in the course of time, declined the proposal. Then Abdul Āhad Khān planned to send his brother Abul Qāsim Khān with *paltans* and *chela* troops to fight Zābita Khān. Although Zābita Khān was friendly to Abdul Āhad Khān from before and used to call him his paternal uncle, [20] and Abdul Āhad, by the grace of Najib-ud-daulah, enjoyed Khatauli and other mahals as his jāgir unmolested and had been a companion and confidant of the Amir-ul-umara [Najib-ud-daulah],—the Amir-ul-umara [Zābita] in view of this old friendship, sent his *munshi* Mansukh Rāi as his agent (*wakil*) to the Emperor and Abdul Āhad Khān. That munshi remained with them for five months, holding parleys, and every day told the Emperor of the devotion and loyalty [of Zābita Khān] and reminding Abdul Āhad Khān of the friendly acts of the late Nawāb [Najib-ud-daulah] tried to persuade him. But as he was a Kashmiri and a philosopher, he outwardly said Ay! Ay! but secretly instigated the Emperor, who was under his control, and sent his own brother Abul Qāsim Khān with a strong park of artillery and a large force against Zābita Khān.

From the other side Zābita Khān sent his own army under Sultān Khān and Afzal Khān with 5000 Sikhs led by Sardārs Diwān Singh, Daljā Singh, Rāi Singh, Bhāg Singh, Sāhib Singh Khonda, Bhagel Singh, Hardukam Singh and others, while he himself marched behind them, and arriving near his advanced force delivered the attack.

The Sikhs, who were full of stratagem and cunning, faced the imperialists, fought well for one *prahar* with matchlocks, and then suddenly turned round and fought in the skirmishing order [or Parthian fashion, *jang-i-gardāwali*]. They began the fight seven or eight kos from the position of the Ruhela army, and encountered the Ruhelas (*sic*); then they went to the [Ruhela] camp and plundered it. Then they arrived in the rear of Abul Qāsim's army and defeated it; the Ruhelas cut off Abul Qāsim's head annd brought it away to Zābita Khān.

The two imperial *paltans*, commanded by Gangārām and Bhawāni Singh, had shut themselves up in a fortalice; they held out for two days, after which Zābita Khān gave them solemn promises of safety and knowing them to be servants of the Emperor released them from the hands of the Sikhs. Zābita Khān, putting [21] the corpse of Abul Qāsim Khān in a coffin, sent it to Abdul Ahad Khān, writing to him very apologetically that it was not his fault at all and that what had happened was a divine dispensation, because he regarded Abdul Ahad as in the place of his late father. Ghulām Qādir Khān, the son of Zābita Khān, who was at the Imperial Court with *munshi* Mansukh Rāi, fled away on the arrival of this news, while the *munshi* hid himself in the city. When the letters of Zābita Khān arrived, the *munshi* showed himself, went to Abdul Ahad Khān and submitted the letters of Zābita asking for Abdul Ahad's pardon.

Abdul Ahad Khān, after much lamentation, took Mansukh Rāi to a secret conference and with solemn oaths told him, "My business will now be ruined through the death of Abul Qāsim Khān, and Najaf Khān will become all in all. Do you bring Zābita Khan over to my side in any way that you can; let him banish from his heart all fear of my resentment for the slaying of Abul Qāsim Khān." Although the *munshi* was a wise and experienced man, he took written assurances confirming the promises of Abdul Ahad, and being deluded by the oaths and words of the Kashmiri, wrote [approvingly] to Zābita Khān. Zābita Khān, having full confidence in his *munshi* who had shared the secrets of his household for 30 years, accepted the *munshi*'s advice, and proceeding to Delhi with his Sikhs, waited on the Emperor.

After sometime the Kashmiri by deception caused the Sikhs to be dismissed, and also gave leave to [most of] Zābita's soldiers to return home. When about 4,000 Ruhelas were left with Zābita Khān, Abdul Ahad invited Zābita Khān to his house to dinner and got the *paltans* ready for arresting him. Zābita Khān, being perturbed and distracted by the knowledge of this plot, called for paper and wrote in a secret code to *munshi* Mansukh Rāi, urging him to carry out any remedy that he could devise. The *munshi* rose, called Rājah Shyāmlāl apart from the *darbār* [of Abdul Ahad] and protested to him. This Shyāmlāl had formerly been the *munshi* and factotum of Najib-uddaulah, and all the world knew that Shyāmlāl, Bholānāth and Mansukh Rāi *munshi* were three brothers; but some time ago, having become disgusted with Zābita Khān, [22] he had left him and become the servant and confidant of Abdul Ahad Khān, who did nothing without taking the advice of this Rājah. Mansukh Rāi told him, "You and I both have fed on the salt of this house. Relying on your and my own letters and assurances, Zābita Khān has come here. How will you answer for it to God in the next world? Remember that the things of this world are not lasting; in a twinkle all earthly things perish. Don't forget God. Abdul Ahad Khān will earn a bad name for his breach of faith, and you will be disgraced in this world and the next." High and low words having passed between them, Rājah Shyāmlāl persuaded Nawāb Abdul Ahad, who gave up his plan, took new oaths again confirming their friendship and removed the distrust between the two sides, and the *paltans* that had come fully armed and were standing near [*gap in the text here*] went away. Zābita Khān returned thence to his own troops, stayed for two days and then, taking leave of the Emperor and Abdul Ahad Khān, marched away at night to his own country and reached Ghausgarh.

After one year Najaf Khān, with the Emperor and all his own troops and Latāfat Ali Khān, came for expelling Zābita Khān and laid siege to Ghausgarh. Zābita Khān dug trenches at places on all four sides. When Najaf Khān pressed him very hard by bombardment, Zābita sent Mansukh Rāi to bring a Sikh army by any means he could, as he was invested on all sides by the troops of the Emperor and Najaf Khān and could not think of sallying out. The *munshi*

put on the disguise of a *faqir*, issued from the *garhi*, passed through the imperial camp, and went to the further side of the Yamunā for bringing the Sikhs. After he had reached the other bank, Najaf Khān learnt of the departure of the *munshi* to the Sikh camp, and he sent horsemen in pursuit, but without avail, because the *munshi* had entered the Sikh camp before the arrival of these men. Conveying to them the message of Zābita Khān and appealing to their former friendship with the late Nawāb [Najib-ud-daulah], he induced them to come to the aid of Zābita Khān without any lure of money, because these sardārs, in the time of the late Nawāb, had [23] received lakhs of Rupees through the hand of this *munshi* and fully trusted him. Seven thousand warlike Sikh horsemen came to the help of Zābita Khān, and fighting their way through the imperial army encamped outside Ghausgarh.

For seven or eight months the Sikhs, in concert with the Ruhela troops, defeated and distracted the imperial army. Owing to the rainy season, the Emperor encamped there. In every battle the Ruhelas and Sikhs used to repulse the troops of Najaf Khān who assaulted their trenches, but they never sallied forth from their trenches, because the enemy were too superior in number while the Ruhelas were not more than 10,000 horse and foot including the Sikhs. The Ruhelas had some trenches on the Jalālābad side. Dilāwar Ali Khān and Qalandar Ali Khān Afghān, the zamindārs of Jalālābād, outwardly supported Zābita Khān, but secretly corresponded with Najaf Khān and the Emperor. One day the troops of Najaf Khān and the Emperor, by the advice of the Afghāns of Jalālābād, attacked their trenches. From this side the Ruhela army, even Zābita himself, rode out [to repel them] and the Sikhs joined in the fight near their trenches [? or the trenches of Thanah Bhim]. When the troops of Zābita Khān had advanced two *kos*, the Afghāns of Jalālābād treacherously began to fire their guns on the back of Zābita Khān. When Zābita Khān saw that there was no path open on any side for advancing, he fled and joined the Sikh corps. After the flight of Zābita Khān the imperial army invested Ghausgarh fort and seized it, and taking captive his family with the women and children of all the *risāladārs* sent them to Agra.

Zābita Khān, going to the west bank of the Yamunā, remained with the Sikh army. The Sikh sardārs presented him with lakhs of Rupees and conferred on him the name of Dharam Singh. Najaf Khān, witnessing the daily devastation of the kingdom by the Sikhs, could not enjoy peace of mind. So, he had no help but to write to Zābita Khān, give him solemn assurances of safety and call him to his side. The daughter of Zābita Khān was betrothed to Najaf Khān, and Zābita Khān came and saw him. Najaf Khān showed him great honour and respect and restored to him the country round [Delhi] together with the Pāoli of Sāharanpur. Zābita Khān stayed there and engaged in preparing for his daughter's marriage, when Najaf Khān died [6th April 1782].

Some time after this, Zābita Khān died of the flux [21 January 1785] and now his son Ghulām Qādir Khān holds his place.

JADUNATH SARKAR

The Financial Administration of Lord William Bentinck

The condition of Indian finance during the long period of the East India Company's rule was, with a few exceptions, one of chronic deficit.[1] Among those few, the administration of Lord William Bentinck was the most glorious from the point of view of finance. For a proper appreciation of the work done by and under him, it is necessary to bear in mind the then financial organization, the sources of the revenues of Government, the items of expenditure and the actual state of finances at the time of his taking charge of the Indian administration as the Governor-General.

Financial Organization

In the earlier stages of the East India Company's rule the financial organization judged by modern standards was very crude. The acquisition of the *diwani* by the E. I. Company from the then Mughal Emperor Shah Alam changed the very character of the Company and it now became a political power as well. This change in the Company's character necessitated a corresponding change in the relationship of the Home Parliament and the Company. The former began to exercise its influence in various ways, by legislative enactments, enquiries conducted by Secret and Select Committees, and discussions in both the Houses of Parliament. To check the abuse of power on the part of the E. I. Company, primarily a commercial body, the Pitt's India Act of 1784 made a provision for the establishment of a Board of Control, which was to be henceforth the final administrative authority. By the Charter Act of 1813, the Company's monopoly rights of Indian trade were abolished; and thus the Company became a mere political power in India. As such there remained little justification for the continuance of the Board of Control. But it was not abolished, nor were its powers limited or curtailed, rather it laid

1 K. T. Shah: *Sixty Years of Indian Finance*, p. 3.

down that the approval of the Board of Control of any levy of tax in India was necessary.

Despite this, the Court of Directors continued to exercise large powers and wield great influence. All proposals normally originated with them: all appointments in the higher services rested with them; and their sanction for all duties to be levied in India was absolutely necessary.

Below these was the Government of India. The Regulating Act of 1773 had made the Governments of Bombay and Madras subordinate to the Bengal Government in respect of war and peace, but left them practically independent in internal matters, and hence there was a want of uniformity or unity in administration.

Lord Cornwallis placed the management of the revenues of India in the hands of a Board of Revenue, and appointed Collectors without any judicial powers on the principle of the separation of the judiciary and the executive. In 1819, the administration of customs, salt and opium was separated from that of the Land Revenue, and placed under a separate Board, consisting of two members. In Madras and Bombay Presidencies, there were Boards of Revenue only.

Till 1813 the accounts of the commercial and political branches of the E. I. Company were not kept separately, but in one. The Charter Act of 1813 laid down the provision that "the Accounts of the Company, abroad and at home, shall be so kept and arranged as to contain and exhibit the receipts, disbursements, debts, and assets appertaining to, or connected with, the Territorial, Political and Commercial branches of their affairs respectively; and that they shall be made up so as to exhibit the Accounts of the Territorial and Political Departments separately and distinctly from such as appertain to, or are connected with, the Commercial branch of their affairs....." Despite this provision, there still remained considerable confusion, as is clear from the report of Mr. James Pennington who was appointed to examine the accounts of the Company in 1832.

Its defects

The main defects of this financial organization and system of the maintenance of accounts were more than one. It is true that the inter-

ference of the Parliament through the Board of Control at times minimized the abuse of power by the Court of Directors, and also that the Court of Directors provided a check on the high-handed acts of the Indian Government; but still there were many evils incidental to the union of Government and trade against which the Parliament was powerless. The most serious evil, for example, was the 'investment', or later on the 'Home Charges'. Moreover, the excessive dependence of the Governments in India on authorities in England, especially the Court of Directors, limited the powers of the local Governments and deterred them from undertaking any works of public utility, even if they wished to do so, without the previous sanction of the Court, which owing to a conflict between the principle of economy in administration and the interest of patronage could not and did not usually grant it. The keeping of separate accounts in the three Presidencies precluded the possibility of making profit by frequent comparisons of accounts. All these evils were aggravated by the absence of a separate Finance Department and Finance Member, of the Budget system and a scientific system of taxation or expenditure.

Sources of Revenue and Items of Expenditure

The principal sources of the revenues of the Government of India were the Land Revenue, the salt monopoly and tax and the opium monopoly. Other sources, in those days, of less importance, were Transit Duties, Customs Duties, Sayer and Abkaree Duties, town-Duties, tobacco tax, post office, stamps and the pilgrim tax.[2] These Territorial Revenues, by the Charter Act of 1813, after defraying the expenses of collections of revenues, were to be applied in (1) maintaining forces and forts, and providing warlike and naval stores (designated as Military charges); (2) payment of interest on Indian Debt; (3) defraying the expenses of civil and commercial establishments; and (4) the liquidation of the Territorial Debt or the Bond Debt at Home; and a sum was to be annually issued in India for commercial investment or remittance to

2 *Report of the Select Committee on the Affairs of the E. I. Company* (1831-32), (Finance), p. v.

England, equal to the payments made from the commercial funds at Home, on account of Territorial charges incurred in England. The charges of administration in the subordinate settlements and the island of St. Helena were also to be defrayed out of the Indian revenues.[3]

THE STATE OF FINANCES IN INDIA IN 1828

The state of finances in India at the time of the arrival of Lord William Bentinck on July 4, 1828 was very precarious and embarrassing. The gross charges of the Indian territory including the 'Home charges' generally increased in greater proportion than the receipts. "The greatest increase in the gross charges took place in the four years ending in 1827-28." "The deficit of these four years," says the *Report of the Select Committee on the Affairs of the E. I. Company* in 1831-1832, "constitutes two-thirds of the deficit for the whole period from 1814-15 to 1827-28. The total average of charge in these four years, as compared with 1823-24, was £4,529,494. Of this large increase, the part incurred in India was £3,527,158; and the part incurred in England was £702,336. Of the part incurred in India, £1,108,251 was an increase of the civil charge; £2,695,749 was an increase of the military charge; and £23,158 was the increased interest on Debt."[4] The total deficit up to the year 1828-29 was £23,052,911, which was met by extraordinary resources, viz. (i) money received on loan in India £17,289,864; (ii) surplus profits applied to payments of Bills of Exchange for Principal of Indian Debt, £2,256,182; (iii) advances by commerce, £3,036,578; (iv) short credit by commerce, £129,919; and (v) Balance due from His Majesty's Government in 1814, £2,112,113 which even showed an excess of £1,771,745. From this, it is quite clear that "of the deficiency.....for the whole period, about one-fourth has been directly supplied by commercial profits, and nearly three-fourths by money borrowed."[5] The chief method, therefore, of meeting deficits may, with great justice, be said to have been 'debt'. But that was neither a wise financial measure, nor a very pleasant one. Therefore some other methods had to be taken to bring down

3 *Report of the Select Committee*, 1831-32, (Finance), p. v.
4 *Ibid.*, p. ix.
5 *Ibid.*, p. xvii.

the charges to the level of the revenues. In the year 1827-28, the gross revenues were £22,872,456; but the charges in India including interest were £23,737,572. Besides these, £100,864 were the net supplies to the islands, £120,571 as net charges of St. Helena, and £809,468 as cost of political stores sent to India, and £1,255,125 as other territorial payments (charges incurred in England, but charged on Indian Territories). Thus the total surplus charges or the deficit amounted to £3,151,144.[6]

Causes of the Deficit

The cause of this huge deficit did not necessarily lie in the deficiency of revenues of Indian territories, because 'the gross revenues of India' despite all the defects in administration 'were progressively increasing to a considerable amount by the acquisition of new territory, ...improved and extended tillage, enlarged commercial dealings, an increase of population, the enactment of some better laws, more efficient management on the part of the Government, new stamp duties, and a great increase in the demand for opium in China.'[7] It really lay in the ever-increasing amount of the charges incurred on administration. The increase in the civil charges took place under the following heads of account:—

(a) Embassies and Missions, (b) Provincial batallions, (c) Ecclesiastical establishments, (d) Contribution to civil and annuity Funds, (e) Schools and charitable institutions, and mainly (f) Revenue and Judicial establishments.[8]

The increase of the Military charges was the result of the Burmese War, the operations against Bharatpore and the consequent increase in the number of King's and Company's Regiments in India.[9]

There was also an augmentation of the charge incurred in England, caused by an increase of the sums issued for officers' pay on Furlough and Retirement, increased expenses for King's troops serving in India, and an extraordinary increase in the quantity of Territorial stores supplied to India.[10]

6 Appendix I, (No. 11) *Affairs of the E. I. Co.*, 1831-32, (Finance).
7 *Report of the Select Committee*, 1831-32, (Finance), p. viii.
8 *Ibid.*, p. x. 9 *Ibid.*, p. x. 10 *Ibid.*, p. x.

The Court of Directors themselves wrote in their letter to Bengal dated 19 May, 1830 (in the Territorial Finance Department) that "we have contemplated with much solicitude the present very unsatisfactory state of your finances, and we have carefully and minutely examined the causes, which have led to it. We observe that it has been brought about, less by the pressure of occasional and extraordinary expenditure, than by continual progressive augmentations of charge in every department, which, viewed separately may have appeared, at the times they were made, to have been justifiable, but which, taken in the aggregate, have occasioned a large excess of disbursement beyond the revenues from which alone such charges ought to be defrayed. The great amount of that excess has absorbed every accession or improvement of revenue, however considerable, has increased your debt, and has left you burdened with a heavy deficit."[11]

Need for economy realized by the Court of Directors and Lord Bentinck

The augmentation of charges had been the subject of grave and deliberate consideration by the authorities in England. Those were the days of economy in England also, for the Wars of French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars had entailed a very huge expenditure. The Court of Directors had been urging for economy in administration and suggesting the abolition of certain allowances even before the arrival of Lord Amherst. At this hour there was a special cause in operation prompting economy in management of the Indian finances. The Burmese War had resulted in a huge amount of deficit without any gains at all. Moreover, as Hon'ble F. J. Shore suggested, 'the Court of Directors anticipated a speedy downfall of their power, because they had become sensible that the existing state of affairs could not long continue, and that the people of India had been impoverished and were showing hostility towards them. The Charter was about to expire and the chances of its renewal uncertain. Retrenchment in every possible mode that could be effected.....was immediately resolved upon, both for the sake of immediate profit, and with the latent hope, that by a show of fair appearances they might perhaps be able to deceive the

11 *Report of the Select Committee*, 1831-32, (Finance), pp. xi and xii.

English public and procure another lease'.[12] The Court of Directors had already issued positive orders in the Territorial Finance Department letter of 12 December 1827, for the immediate reduction of expenditure in India, to the extent of £2,924,155, referring to the financial position of 1823-24 for the purpose of comparison, enjoining that the charges of that year of comparative peace and small surplus should be assumed as the standard to which the then existing charges were to be reduced, considering the "difficulties of carrying these reductions into effect to be outweighed by the embarrassments which an expensive expenditure must occasion."[13]

The indispensable necessity of extensive and sweeping retrenchment was forcibly impressed upon the attention of the new Governor-General, Lord W. C. Bentinck. Thus he came to India fully aware of the views entertained by the Home authorities on the financial administration of India. It was, therefore, neither because he thought that the Government servants, both in the civil and military branches of administration, were overpaid and revelling in idleness, nor because he cherished the 'most benevolent views' for the amelioration of the Indian people, but because the emergency of the economic reforms in the interests of the British Empire in India was undeniable and also because he was very anxious to follow the injunctions of the Court of Directors strictly,—that he gave himself up heart and soul to this arduous and unpleasant but obligatory task.[14] Indeed, the urgent need for economy was realized by all, for things had arrived at such a pitch of extravagance and mismanagement that delay could not be tolerated.

Criticisms invited: Appointment of two Finance Committees

Therefore, on his arrival in India, he announced his willingness to receive communications and criticisms on Indian administration,[15] and allowed considerable freedom to the press, though he never gave up the

12 Shore: *Notes on Indian Affairs*, vol. I, p. 346.

13 *Report of the Select Committee*, 1831-32, (Finance), p. xi.

14 Shore: *Notes on Indian Affairs*, vol. I, p. 346; P. Auber: *Rise and Progress of the British Power in India*, vol. II, p. 604.

15 Shore: *Notes on Indian Affairs*, vol. I, p. 2.

power of complete control over it. In a minute dated the 7th of October 1828, he wrote that several circumstances of late had strongly confirmed an opinion that he had been disposed to entertain, that much good might arise from a general review of the expenditure and establishments of the three Presidencies. Those circumstances, he added, were the accidental discovery of an excessive establishment of military cattle under the Presidency of Bengal, whereas there was no such in that of Bombay, and of the useless expenses of Rs. 5000 per mensem as allowance for the maintenance of six bullocks for the carriage of spare arms. From these he concluded that, if such unnecessary charges were thus accidentally brought to light, a committee appointed expressly for the purpose, might unfold many other useless charges, and might suggest alterations calculated to produce a great saving of expense, as well as of unity and efficiency in the general administration. Therefore he proposed the appointment of two Committees of Finance, one civil and one military, each consisting of three members, one from each Presidency.[16]

The Board concurred in opinion as to the expediency of the arrangement proposed in the above minute and resolved that circular letters be addressed to the Governments of Bombay and Madras. These letters were despatched on the 10th of October 1828 to the above mentioned effect.[17]

Instructions to the two Committees

Two Committees of Finance were appointed, one for investigation of the military charges, and the other for the civil charges. By a resolution of Bengal Government, dated 25th November, 1828, the Civil Finance Committee were informed of the object of the Government as obtained in the Minute of Lord W. C. Bentinck, and were asked not to waste money in calling many people for consultation. The instructions given to them were that they should make a comparative study of the establishments of the three Presidencies, revise pay and allowances, and suggest means of improving the judicial and revenue

16 *Affairs of the E. I. Company*, General Appendix III: *Calcutta Civil Finance Committee*, p. 112.

17 *Ibid.*, p. 113.

administration and the immediate matter of regulating the public charges. They were not required to inquire into the constitutions of the several Governments and the King's courts, or into the ecclesiastical department and the commercial branch; and were apprised of the fact that "they will understand that it is not the design of the Government to impose upon them the duty of examining the subject of taxation and civil government as applicable to India in its general bearing."[18]

The same general principles, as were prescribed for he Civil Finance Committee, were given to the Military Finance Committee, as far as they might be applicable to both the branches. Their enquiries were to embrace all matters connected with military finance.[19]

Facilities

For facilitating the work of the two committees, free access to all public accounts and documents was allowed to them; all officers were to supply them with the fullest information available; and direct correspondence with any officer without the intervention of the heads of departments was permitted to them.

Thus instructed the two committees began their work. The economies effected, partly on their suggestions and partly by the orders of the Governor-General or the Court of Directors fall into two groups, (a) the reductions in the military charges and (b) the reductions in the civil charges.

(*a*) Reduction in Military Charges

First let us take up the military charges. As already referred to, the greatest increase was under this head. Even before the appointment of the Military Finance Committee, certain steps had been taken to cut down the expenditure at the suggestion of the Court of Directors.

Half-bhatta Affair: Its history

In this connection it is interesting to refer to the 'half-*bhatta*' affair, because it was one of the few measures which affected the interests of the European officers employed in the army, and which produced an

18 *Affairs of the E. I. Company*, General Appendix, pp. 114-15.
19 *Ibid.*, pp. 115-17.

excitement and agitation out of all proportion to its importance. Since the days of Lord Clive a considerable addition in the form of extra allowance or *bhatta* was made in the pay of the military officers of various ranks. In 1757 to cherish the goodwill of officers in the Plassey battle, Mir Jafar gave the officers twice the ordinary sum and this allowance was distinguished by the name of double *bhatta*.[20] The Directors urged Lord Clive to reduce the military expenditure, and he abolished it. This led to a consternation among the people affected. In 1779, therefore, it was decided that when the officers were in active service within the territories of the East India Company, they were to be paid the entire additional allowance or *bhatta;* but they were to be paid double that amount, when they were sent up to serve beyond the territorial boundary of the E. I. Company, and only half that amount when they were stationed in cantonments. In the latter case, they were provided with quarters.[21]

The concession of double *bhatta* was early withdrawn by the orders of the Court of Directors orders, except in the case of troops serving in the dominions of the Nawab of Oudh.[22] In 1801, this remaining concession was also withdrawn, firstly, because every officer was anxious to go there but not to return; secondly, because the grant of *bhatta*—being allowed only on going into the field beyond the Province of Oudh—operated as check upon the natural and honourable desire of the officers to be employed on active service; and lastly, because the Lucknow subsidy was commuted for territorial cessions.[23] In the same year, according to the evidence of Colonel Salmond before the Select Committee of 1831-32, the practice of equal allowance in peace and war was introduced, it having been found upon calculation "that it would be a saving to Government to allow officers' full *bhatta* in all the cantonments rather than keep them on half *bhatta*, the Government

20 P. Banerjee: *Indian Finances in the days of the Company*, Chapter on Military Expenditure, p. 358, fn. 2.

21 H. H. Wilson: *History of the British in India*, vol. III, pp. 169-70.

22 Thornton: *History of the British in India*, vol. V, pp. 220-25.

23 H. H. Wilson: *History of the British in India*, vol. III, pp. 168-70; Thornton: *History of the British in India*, vol. V, pp. 220-25.

supplying the barracks.'[24] Though this arrangement was considered more economical, the Home authorities never approved of it. In 1814 the Court of Directors sent instructions to the Bengal Government to grant half-*bhatta* plus the house-rent only at the original stations of the army, or at those which were established prior to the extension of the British territories. But the Marquis of Hastings and Earl Amherst objected in strong terms to the proposed reduction of the *bhatta*, and referred the question back for the reconsideration of the Court of Directors. The Court could not reconcile themselves with the protests of the two Governors-General, and issued positive and definite instructions to Lord William Bentinck to abolish it. The Hon'ble F. J. Shore writes that he knew from unquestionable authority that it was the firm determination of the Court of Directors to enforce the half-*bhatta* order at all hazards.[25] Orders so repeated and so definitely positive could not be disobeyed consistently with the obligations under which he had accepted office. Resignation and execution of their orders—these were the only two alternatives before him. "The first was too great a sacrifice for him." So he promulgated an order on November 9, 1828, reducing the allowance of *bhatta* to a half at the stations of Dum Dum, Barrackpore, Berhampore, Dinapore, and Ghazipore. The saving expected from this was about £12,000 per annum.

Protests against it

As this measure touched the pockets of the junior officers, it produced great discontent. And no sooner had it been issued than strong protests against it were presented by different regiments through the recognized channels. Even the Commander-in-Chief Viscount Combermere addressed a letter of remonstrance to the Government.[26] This created still greater alarm. The Indian Press also criticized this measure. Against the reduction of the *bhatta*, it was argued and urged,[27] that it was in their eyes a virtual breach of

24 *Affairs of the E. I. Company* (Military), p. xxiv.

25 Shore: *Notes on Indian Affairs*, vol. I, p. 350.

26 H. H. Wilson: *History of the British in India*, vol. III, pp. 170-2; *Asiatic Monthly Journal*, 1829, p. 600.

27 *Ibid.*, pp. 170-2.

the conditions under which officers purchased the public quarters transferred to them by public sale in 1801; that this order was likely to produce great hardship on the junior officers whose total allowances were not sufficient to support them, and who had to live a comparatively more expensive life at the stations to which the order applied; that the order was unequal in its effect upon the different branches of the army because the cavalry were never quartered at any of the half-*bhatta* stations while the artillery headquarters were always at Dum Dum; and that the saving would be too little and the hardship too great.

The Reply of the Court

The Governor-General did not yield an inch and did not mind their protests at all. He informed the memorialists through the Commander-in-Chief that copies of the letters should be forwarded to the Court of Directors, adding that it would afford the Governor-General sincere gratification if the Court should see fit to reconsider their orders.

When the matter came up before the Court of Directors, they rejected it.[28] They expressed their firm resolve to enforce this order, and disapproved of the tone of the memorialists, because they considered that it was not consistent with the principles of military service. They asserted their right, "the right common to all governments," to reduce or augment the allowance of public servants according to the circumstances of the state, and denied the existence of any compact between themselves and the military officers or soldiers. They justified the order on the ground of the embarrassing financial condition of the Company's territorial revenues, for they said they did not want to impose any fresh burden on the Indian subjects or to borrow money from England. Thus they tried to show them not merely the necessity but also the justice of such a measure.

Criticism

When these views of the Court were made known to the officers at large, all remonstrances naturally stopped. There is no denying the

28 H. H. Wilson: *History of the British in India*, vol. III, pp. 170-2.

fact that the financial conditions more than justified the adoption of such a measure. The argument that the saving to be effected was too little was meaningless, because it were such little savings that were necessary for meeting such a huge deficit. It would have been, however, better if some less popular measure had been adopted to save an equal amount, for it really hit the junior offiers hard. But then, the condemnation of the Governor-General for this order was unjust, because he was not the originator but a mere instrument of this measure.[29]

The hue and cry raised in this connection failed in its own object, but it was productive of one good result. The Court of Directors and the Government of India, there is reason to believe, were deterred from ordering sweeping measures of retrenchment in the salaries and emoluments of the officers, towards which this was a mere preliminary.[30]

Other Measures

The other measures were productive of far better results and far less agitation or alarm. The proceedings of the Military Finance Committee have not been published, perhaps because though the reduction in the military charges was of more than one million pounds, it was largely the result of the instructions of the Court of Directors, issued before the appointment of this Committee. And it has with great justice been said that the services of this Committee were rendered almost superfluous.[31] Therefore, it is difficult to state in definite words the principles on the basis of which these economies were effected in the military charges. However, we are in possession of some figures and dates, and perhaps these might prove more eloquent than words themselves.

Reductions

In the year 1827-28, the number of men employed in the army was 260,066 of which 135,801 was in Bengal, 75,473 in Madras, 47,745 in Bombay, and 1,047 in the Prince of Wales Island and St. Helena; and

29 Thornton: *History of British in India*, vol. V, pp. 220-25.
30 Shore: *Notes on Indian Affairs*, vol. I, p. 351.
31 H. H. Wilson: *History of India*, vol. III, p. 172.

the expenditure amounted to £10,773,966—£5,123,364 being in Bengal, £3,449,531 in Madras, £2,073,022 in Bombay, and £128,049 in the Prince of Wales Island and St. Helena.[32] The estimated amount of reductions actually ordered in 1828-29 was Rs. (*sicca*) 50,54,063 in Bengal, Rs. 27,41,330 in Madras and Rs. 31,18,444 in Bombay, the total coming to Rs. 109,13,837 (or £1,022,811). The charges were thus reduced to £9,751,155. These were further reduced to £9,461,953 by £289,202 in 1829-30.[33] The reduction under the various heads was as follows:—[34]

	1823-24 £	1827-28 £	1828-29 £	1829-30 £
1. Engineers ...	62,810	85,551	91,146	83,873
2. Artillery ...	68,163+3,924	100,171+3,469	102,518+3,212	97,705+3,035
3. Cavalry ...	1,113,524	1,311,752	1,368,290	1,070,834
4. Infantry ...	3,521,609	4,517,315	4,268,579	4,035,079
5. Commissariat	557,477	527,574	372,637	614,327
6. Pioneers ...	84,613	79,757	77,720	74,511
7. Medical Dept.	115,780	133,034	125,354	132,858
8. Staff ...	734,940	1,019,828	689,456	488,490
9. Miscellaneous	2,710,677	2,460,384	2,127,858	2,58,046
10. Grand Total ...	9,490,589	10,773,966	9,751,155	9,461,953
11. Decrease from the previous year ...		...	1,022,811	289,202

Observations

In this connection, it is interesting to note the observation made in the *Affairs of the E. I. Company* (Finance), that "almost the only military reductions which, strictly speaking, can be called immediate are those made in the irregular forces and establishments. In the regular army the reductions take place as super-numeraries, are removed by death or other casualties, a process which, in general, is completed within three or four years."[35]

32 *Affairs of the E. I. C.* (Military), p. vii.
33 *Ibid.*, p. vii.
34 *Ibid.*, (Military), Appendix A—No. 2.
35 *Ibid.*, (Finance), Appendix No. 7, p. 182.

Hardship to Indians

The above table of the decrease in the charges under the various heads shows that there was very little reduction under items of expenditure on Engineers, Artillery, Pioneers and Medical Department. That too was effected mainly by lowering the cost of establishments. The item of Commissariat showed no decrease, but rather an increase. The largest amounts of savings were shown under the items Cavalry, Infantry, General Staff and Miscellaneous. The table given below will clearly point out that the economies effected were largely due to the reduction of the number of Indians serving in the army, though in certain departments the number of European employees was also cut down[36]:—

	Regulars		Irregulars		
	Europeans	Indians	Europeans	Indians	Total
1823-24 ...	30,694	165,709	792	47,044	244,329
1827-28 ...	34,703	174,472	891	50,000	260,066
1828-29 ...	35,803	161,575	966	46,088	244,522
1829-30 ...	36,452	148,087	924	38,981	224,444
Increase in 1828-29 and 1829-30 from the previous year	1,190 559		75		
Decrease in 1828-29 and 1829-30 from the previous year		12,879 13,488	42	3,912 7,107	15,544 20,078

This table shows that although the years 1829 and 1830 were those of financial stringency, the total strength of the European forces was not only not reduced, but even increased; and though the year 1823-24 was referred to as the standard year, to which the approximation was to be made, the European number was more than that in 1823-24. This undue partiality to the Europeans will become all the more obvious, when it is remembered that the expenses incurred on Europeans were higher than on Indians, though the two were almost equally efficient, as the evidence of the witnesses before the Select Committee of 1831-32

36 *Affairs of the E. I. C.*, (Military), Appendix No. 3.

shows."[37] The following table will substantiate the remark that the expenses on Europeans were greater[38]:—

Charges per man in each corps.			Europeans		Indians
I Cavalry	—Bengal			£100	£84
,,	—Madras			£109	£90
,,	—Bombay			£107	£87
II Artillery	—Bengal			£61	£28
,,	—Bombay			£90	£46
,,	—Madras			£81	£45
		King's	Co's.		
III Infantry	—Bengal	£61	£51		£30
,,	—Madras	£66	£68		£35
,,	—Bombay	£65	£67		£32

Remarks

It may, therefore, be rightly concluded that though by the various expedients and measures adopted by Lord William Bentinck to effect economies, either on the suggestions of the Court of Directors or in accordance with the recommendations of the Military Finance Committee, a saving of more than one million pounds was effected, yet they were calculated to be of far greater hardship to the Indians than the Europeans. But then, it must be said to his credit that the measures adopted by him did not bring about any inefficiency in the army. The majority of witnesses before the Select Committee of the House of Commons praised the measures adopted by him and observed that economy and efficiency were harmoniously blended. Though the number of the forces was reduced, the army did not become so weak as to endanger the British Empire, which was then held on the mere "breath of opinion" and by the military force.

(*b*) Reduction in Civil Charges.

Now we pass on to the economies effected in the Civil charges. The Court of Directors had, in their Territorial Finance letter of 12 Dec. 1827, drawn the attention of the Government of India to the necessity of retrenchment.

37 Evidence before the Select Committee contained in the *Affairs of the E. I. Company*, pp. v & vi.

38 P. Banerjee: *Indian Finance in the days of the Company*, p. 353.

39 Appendix III, *Affairs of the E. I. C.*, (General Appendix), p. 115.

The Civil Finance Committee consisted of Mr. David Hill from Bombay, Mr. Holt Mackenzie from Bengal and Mr. John Bax from Madras. Their letter of November 20, 1829 to the Governor-General in Council, in which they solicited instructions upon some general questions in order to correctly apprehend their nature and duty,[40] tells us that they were to suggest ways and means of securing an Indian surplus of 2 crores of rupees (£2,000,000); that their work was to suggest not the measure of reform, unless absolutely necessary, but of retrenchment and adjustment, keeping the year 1823-24 as their standard, a year of comparative peace and moderate surplus, since when no addition to the territories of the E. I. Company had been made; and that they were not to lose sight of the principle that economy and efficiency should go together as far as it was practicable. They pointed out that "although there be room for discretion, as to the means of retrenchment, there is none as to the retrenchment itself by some means or other." So they added that "objections.....to particular means can carry no weight unless accompanied by the suggestion of other means less objectionable. If the end cannot be otherwise achieved, then the fair expectations of the servant of Government, European and Indian, the adoption or prosecution of measures of acknowledged public utility, the vigour of our establishments, and even the security of our possessions are all considerations which to such extent as may prove inevitable must be postponed to the overruling necessity of contracting our expenditure within the limits of our income." In that very letter, they also requested the Government that in the meantime no increase of the salary or allowances of any officer without the sanction of the Court be made, for that would frustrate the work of the Civil Finance Committee.

Principles of Retrenchment

These preliminaries having been done, the Civil Finance Committee began their work with energy and in right earnest. Some of the correspondence which passed between this Finance Committee and the supreme Government is preserved in the General Appendix to the *Affairs of the E. I. Company* (1831-32).

40 *Affairs of the E. I. C.*, General Appendix, III, p. 118.

(a) *Extensive employment of the Indians*

A close and careful study of the correspondence along with the resolutions of the supreme Government and the letters of the Court of Directors irresistibly points out certain general principles which guided them in their arduous and unpleasant but important and indispensable task of retrenchment. The most important of these was the more extensive employment of Indians in certain situations in the administration of India. Lord Cornwallis, as we know, had laid the foundations of the administrative edifice on a purely European agency. Whether this almost total exclusion of Indians from higher posts in the administration of their country was dictated by the sole desire of an efficient and orderly administration or by the distrust and incapacity of the Indians in general, in its practical results it was proving a failure. On the one hand, it deprived the Indians of expectations of promotion in the service, and on the other hand, the British Government lost the support of a section of the people. The financial results were undoubtedly harmful. The boundaries of the Empire had become far greater than they were in Lord Cornwallis's time. Therefore a larger number of civilians and other functionaries was required. The education imparted to the Europeans (civil servants) were very expensive, and their salaries very high. The inevitable consequence was the uninterrupted growth of the charges of administration to a considerable degree. Moreover, as the Europeans lacked a sound knowledge of the customs, manners, traditions and usages of the Indians, in many cases they could not be expected to administer justice equitably, howsoever competent and well-intentioned they might have been. The system of a purely European agency had already begun to crumble down long before the arrival of Lord William Bentinck. In Madras Presidency, they had been appointed since 1816 in certain higher judicial posts.[41] But still this was done on a very limited scale in the judicial branch of administration in the Madras Presidency. The supreme Government, in their resolution of November 25, 1828, had invited suggestions

41 *Affairs of the E. I. C.*, General Appendix, III, pp. 128-34.

on the practicability of this change.[42] In a minute (8th March, 1830), Mr. David Hill pointed out that the argument that the Indians were inefficient, dishonest and venal was palpably false. Not all the 60 or 70 millions of Indians could be described as such. "In point of intelligence, of application, of knowledge of the languages, manners and circumstances involved in the cases to be investigated, Indians had unquestionably a vast superiority over the Europeans. Even if they were inferior in point of integrity, that defect could be remedied only by the exercise and discipline of their moral faculties. In the meantime, under the European superintendence, it need not prove a bar to their usefulness." The successful Madras experiment conclusively showed that they were not necessarily to prove corrupt and venal. In addition to these reasons, economy alone pointed towards that course.[43] Mr. Holt Mackenzie, another member of the Civil Finance Committee, supported the views of the Bombay Presidency member on the grounds of comparative fitness and economy. He also made it clear that the venality of the Indian judges was only a result of their miserable pay. He concluded his minute (1st Oct. 1830) with the statement that "the main principle of the change to be adopted clearly must be the admission of natives (Indians) to a much larger share of the civil government, and the practical adoption of the often-avowed maxim that the proper purpose of European agency is general direction, check and control, not the executive administration of details."[44]

The Committee were thus of one mind so far as the main principle was concerned. But in details and in its practical application, they differed. Mr. David Hill was in favour of ultimately giving all jurisdiction whatever in civil cases to Indians, and of the use of the *panchayats* in criminal judicature. Mr. Holt Mackenzie would allow their employment not merely for original suits only, but also for some appeals, and an extension of their powers as criminal judges, subject to various checks. Mr. Bax was also prepared to let Indians be given the right and power of all original jurisdiction in civil cases.[45]

42 *Affairs of the E. I. C.*, General Appendix, III, p. 115.

43 *Ibid.*, pp. 128-34.

44 *Ibid.*, pp. 135-64.

45 *Ibid.*, pp. 128-35, 135-64.

This principle of the more extensive employment of Indians was mostly extended to the judicial branch of administration, where amins and munsiffs were recruited from among the Indians.

(b) *Consolidation or Abolition of Offices*

The second main principle was the consolidation or abolition of certain offices. Mr. Bax proposed an elaborate scheme of reforms on this principle, in his minute of 16th June, 1829.[46] Mr. Holt Mackenzie was also against any arbitrary and absolute line of separation between the judicial and revenue officers, especially in an unsettled country, because "to disjoin the several parts of a government in a country which is not self-governed is not wise." He attributed the failure of administration in Bengal principally to the separation of revenue and judicial offices. He concluded by saying that "though there may be separate judges, he was clear (in his mind) that the office of magistrate should in all unsettled districts be united with that of a Collector." He went further and proposed the combination of the offices of *thanadar* and *Tashildar*.[47] Many other offices, especially those of residents and political agents, were to be abolished, because they had become unnecessary due to the extension of the British influence over a wider area.

(c) *The partial substitution of individual agency for collective agency or boards*

The third main principle was the substitution of individual for collective agency, or for certain boards, e.g. the Revenue Board of Bengal, the Board of Customs, Salt and Opium of Bengal, the Marine Board of Bengal and the Boards of Marine and Revenue of Madras. In their letter of February 18, 1829, the Court of Directors had drawn the attention of the Government of India. Mr. David Hill refers to it in these words:—"Connected with the duties of superintendence is an important general question, namely whether Boards are the fittest instruments either of improvement or control and whether both these objects might not be more effectively attained by individual agency.

46 *Affairs of the E. I. C.*, General Appendix, III, pp. 122-28.

47 *Ibid.*, pp. 135-64.

It is a common but trite observation, that responsibility is lessened by being divided, and there is, we believe, no doubt that more business can be done by the same number of persons acting separately than in conjunction. If the business of your revenue boards is now divided, and a distinct portion is allotted to each member, then the utility of such division is already practically admitted, and the Board may be deemed to exist principally for the purpose of receiving collective praise or blame for measures, the merit or demerit of which belongs exclusively to one of its members."[48] Opinions differed as to the relative merits of the two principles. The Calcutta Civil Finance Committee, in their letter of December 13, 1830 to the Vice-President, summed up the arguments advanced in favour of each.[49] In behalf of collective agency, it was argued that a Board provides an opportunity for free interchange of opinion, correction of errors of oversight, security against passion or prejudice, and there is a greater probability of consistency and steadiness. In short, they thought that in counsel there is wisdom." The Calcutta Civil Finance Committee doubted whether these advantages as claimed by those in favour of Boards really resulted, for the past experience showed that these advantages were more imaginary than real. Sometimes the members of a Board acted separately and resided in different places. Thus there could be no free interchange of opinion. Generally one member took up one branch, or preponderated even in important matters. In fine, they remarked that they did not intend altogether to deny the general advantages of oral discussion, but that they could not rate it very high in the case of Boards. In extremely important matters, where the interests of the Government were likely to be affected, there did not exist strong reasons to confide the function to more than one individual. The quantity of output was decidedly to be less. Moreover there was no direct responsibility attached to any of the members. Against the argument that a collective body could exercise a more vigorous control and with less of personal feeling, they pointed out that experience did not justify it, as Mr. Holt Mackenzie's minute clearly showed. The main reason for the

48 *Affairs of the E. I. C.*, General Appendix, III, p. 130.
49 *Ibid.*, pp. 231-38.

preference of individual agency was economic. The following were the expenses of the Boards:—

Bengal Boards

BENGAL BOARDS	Rs.	
Revenue Board	3,05,859	
Customs, Salt and Opium	2,47,710	
Marine	4,4,880	
		5,38,449
MADRAS BOARDS		
Revenue	2,75,560	
Marine	4,622	
		2,80,182
		8,78,031

The principle of individual agency was likely to bring an annual saving of Rs. 2,76,380, as the following table will show:—

PRESENT	Rs.	PROPOSED		
BENGAL				
(a) *Board of Revenue*—				
3 members	1,56,600	2 Sudder Commissioners ...	1,04,400	
4 Secretaries or Assts. ...	91,200	2 Secretaries or Assistants ...	36,000	
				1,40,400
(b) *Board of Customs*—				
2 members	1,04,400	1 Commissioner	52,200	
3 Secretaries or Assts.	54,000	1 Secretary	18,000	
				70,200
MADRAS				
Board of Revenue				
4 members	1,00,100	2 Commissioners of Revenue	96,000	
4 Secretaries or Assts. ...	52,680	2 Secretaries or Assts. ...	36,000	
				1,32,000
	6,18,980			3,42,600

Total Saving = Rs. 2,76,380.

Besides this, the Madras Marine Department was to be transferred to the Military Board.

To this plan of reduction, Mr. David Hill objected.[50] For he

50 *Affairs of the E. I. C.*, General Appendix, III, pp. 130-31.

wanted that the Madras Revenue Board should not be curtailed, because its work had been very satisfactory (see Appendix 12). Mr. W. Blunt,[51] a member of the Council at Bengal, agreed with the proposals of the Civil Finance Committee so far as the Bengal Boards were concerned, but desired that there should be Boards for the Upper Provinces of Bengal and Madras. Sir Charles Metcalfe,[52] in his minute dated January 9, 1831, agreed with all the proposals of the Calcutta Civil Finance Committee except one. Instead of transferring the control of the Marine Department to the Military Board, he wanted it to be under a Marine Superintendent. Lastly, the Governor-General himself submitted a minute on January 24, 1831,[53] by which a Board of two Commissioners for the Upper Provinces was to be set up, because the work of settlement had not been till then completed; and by which the Madras Revenue Board was to continue, but with two members only. As the Parliament was about to revise the constitution, he did not recommend these measures to be adopted at once, for the Home Parliament might suggest some better plan.

(d) *Reduction in pay or number of employees*

The fourth general principle in which all seemed to agree was the reduction of the number of European judges in the Supreme Court, the Provincial Courts of Appeal and Circuit, and other smaller courts; and, wherever practicable, of the pay of the civil servants, and of their establishment charges, as the Appendices II, letters 15 and 16 (General Appendix to the *Affairs of the E. I. Company* (1831-32) show.

It was on the basis of these four principles, with local and temporary variations or changes, that the whole work of retrenchment was carried on in the civil administration. The extent to which reduction was made will become clear from the following table, prepared from the figures contained in the Appendices to the *Affairs of the E. I. Company*[54]:—

51 *Affairs of the E. I. C.*, General Appendix, III, p. 238.
52 *Ibid.*, p. 239.
53 *Ibid.*, p. 239.
54 *Ibid.*, (Finance), Appendix No. 7.—pp. 174-79.

Reduction in			Immediate Sicca Rs.	Prospective	Total	Reductions ordered but not yet carried out.
Bengal	I General	...	155,500	1,25,020	2,81,020	4,27,150
	II Judicial	...	1,36,620	18,700	1,55,320	...
	III Revenue	...	3,08,470	1,16,560	4,25,030	12,55,340
	IV Civil	...	...	4,30,000	4,30,000	...
	V Marine	...	3,17,020	1,04,790	4,21,810	65,450
	Total	...	15,66,910	8,11,070	23,77,980	18,07,060
			Bombay Rs.			
Bombay	I General	...	1,26,698	11,100	1,37,698	4,95,880
	II Judicial	...	1,42,930	1,800	1,44,730	2,93,620
	III Revenue	...	1,90,270	1,50,000	3,40,270	2,37,750
	IV Civil	...	...	3,30,000	3,30,000	
	V Marine	...	...	...		6,91,000
	Total	...	4,59,798	4,92,900	9,52,698	17,18,250
			Madras Rs.			
Madras	I General	...	1,73,752	68,950	2,42,702	1,32,960
	II Judicial	...	9,700	3,66,020	3,75,720	78,550
	III Revenue	...	2,77,930	37,000	3,14,930	67,390
	IV Marine	...	3,600	27,480	31,080	...
	Total	...	4,64,982	4,99,450	9,64,432	2,73,900
Subordinate Settlements		...	3,75,000	75,000	4,50,000	...
	Grand Total	...	Sicca Rs. 28,09,270	(Amount of reduction) 18,16,805	46,26,075	36,75,517

With regard to this table, a few points deserve consideration. Firstly, many of the reductions were prospective, and dependent upon contingencies very remote. Secondly, a measure partly of a financial, partly of a political character,[55] was the result of the Governor-General's voyage to the Eastern Settlements, which he undertook in January 1829. He returned on February 3, 1829; and proceeded to the Prince of Wales Island on the 23rd of February. After this visit, he returned to Calcutta. It was a strong conviction on his Lordship's mind that Prince of Wales Island and its dependencies should be abolished as a separate government, and annexed and subordinated either to the Government of Madras or Bengal, so that the expenses might become

55 H. H. Wilson: *History of the British in India*, vol. III; P. Auber: *Rise and Progress of the British Power in India*, pp. 607-8.

less and the administration simpler and better. The Court of Directors too confirmed his views. So the separate government of Penang with its dependencies was abolished, and made subordinate to the Bengal Government.[56]

Measures to augment the revenues

Thus, in India, retrenchment measures were adopted as far as practicable. Concurrently with these steps were also taken to augment the ever-increasing revenues of India. The main sources of the revenues in India have already been enumerated. No appreciable changes were made in many of these. But a few, e.g. the Land Revenue, the opium monopoly, and the customs and transit duties deserve our attention, for it is these sources which afforded an opportunity for measures to augment the revenues.

Resumption of rent-free lands

The Land Revenue was, as it had always been, the principal source of the State income. The *Ryotwari* system had been introduced too recently in the Bombay and Madras Presidencies to afford any opportunities of the increase of revenue therefrom. Matters stood on an entirely different footing in the Bengal Presidency. In the Lower Provinces the Permanent Settlement had fixed the demand of the Government once for all. Though it did not err on the side of liberality, because at the time it was made the state demand was 90% of the gross rental,[57] yet it created many opponents. The main defects of this measure were that at the time of making this settlement it was assumed that the rights of all parties claiming an interest in the land were sufficiently established by usage to enable the courts to protect individual rights; that it declared the Zemindar the hereditary owner of the land, though he was a mere representative of the Government; and that no limit was fixed for the rate of demand by the Zemindar from the tenant.[58] Despite these defects, no efforts were made to remove them. Rather, attempts were

56 P. Auber: *Rise and Progress of the British Power in India*, pp. 607-8.
57 K. T. Shah: *Sixty Years of Indian Finance*, p. 8.
58 *Report of the Select Committee*, General Appendix, p. 63.

made to increase the revenue of Government by resumption of rent-free lands. Under the Indian rulers, many individuals or associations had been granted rent-free lands. But during the period of anarchy following the disruption of the Mughal Empire and before the beginning of Company's rule, many people, not grantees, had also appropriated lands as *lakhrajee*. The Regulation of 1793 made it incumbent on the Government to disprove the validity of the grants. The Regulations of 1801 and 1805 confirmed the former regulation.[59] Under these, the collectors had to sue in the courts to prove the right of Government to resume the grants. They were also awarded with 25% of the rent of one year.

In 1811 on the plea of the pressure of business, but, truly speaking, for deriving more revenue, the Regulation VIII was passed, which gave the collectors cognizance of claims on the part of the Government to the revenue of lands hitherto held rent-free. They were thus made both prosecutors and judges. In case their finding was that the Government could not tax the land, he was to refer the whole thing to the Board of Revenue, which might or might not allow the claim to hold the rent-free land. By the Regulations XI & XXIII of 1817, the collectors could withdraw their previous suits and decide them. In 1819 Regulation II was passed. By this, the suits are to be instituted before the collectors, or, if preferred, in a court of justice, to be referred by the latter to the collector. "In the former case, the collector is empowered to decide suits; in the latter, he is, after completing his proceedings, to return them to the court. The court may call for further evidence, but is not to admit any documents not already filed before the collector, unless very satisfactory reasons can be shown for the omission."

An appeal is allowed to the court from the decision of the collector.

"But if the Government be defendant, the collector is to submit his proceedings to the Board of Revenue; if the suit shall have been referred by the court, the return to such court to be delayed until the orders of the Board of Revenue upon such proceedings be received; if originally entertained by the collector, on an appeal being preferred to

59 Shore: *Notes on Indian Affairs*, vol. I. pp. 478-80; Appendix to *Affairs of the E. I. C.*, (Finance).

the Civil Court, the court shall not interfere until the decision of the Board be passed: in all such cases, the period for the appeal to date from the decision of the Board."

"The decision of the revenue authorities to be carried into effect, notwithstanding the admission of an appeal unless the party appealing give security for the payment of profits from the lands under dispute."[60]

Measures in 1828

In all these, the real motive of the Government—the increase of the state revenue—is too apparent to need any comment. In June 19, 1828, before the coming of Lord W. C. Bentinck, reward was transferred to informers by a circular order in the fond hope that this would act as a deterrent to the collector's injustice in behalf of the Government. As if these measures were not in themselves sufficient, Regulation III of 1828 brought a fresh accession of force.[61] By this law, collectors were to remain prosecutors as well as judges. When the decision was to be in favour of the Government, tax was to be imposed all at once, and the aggrieved party was left to appeal. But when it was against the Government, the whole proceedings were to be sent to the Board of Revenue. Moreover, the judges were prohibited from having any jurisdiction in these matters. The Governor-General was to appoint a special commission to try appeals from the decision of the collectors.[62]

Justification

The Bengal Government justified their action in passing this regulation; their justification is embodied in the Revenue letter from Bengal, dated the 23rd February, 1830.[63] Their grounds were that the 1819 Regulation II was defective in many ways, because there was no prompt control over the proceedings of the local revenue officers; because it led to needless litigation, which impoverished the people; and because arrears accumulated and evinced the urgent necessity of some special arrangement. Another serious defect of the same regulation

60 Shore: *Notes on Indian Affairs*, vol. I, pp. 478-80.
61 *Ibid.* 62 *Ibid.*
63 Appendix to *Affairs of the E. I. C.*, Finance.

was that the courts, which were intended as correctives to the biassed decisions of the collectors, were neither vigilant nor efficient nor prompt. The second justification put forward by them was that by the preamble to the 1793 Regulation Government had a share on land, unless it exempted it. Therefore all claiming exemptions should prove their claims to be valid. In addition to these, they claimed that by the new regulation these defects of the previous regulations were removed.

Objections

Against this Regulation, however, three petitions were sent in English,[64] one by Bengal landlords, second by individuals from Bihar and the third was anonymous. Their objections were that there was not provision for an appeal to the courts of justice; that the lands should not be resumed if they were included in the *lakhrajes* register or if the designation of their tenure was *lakhrajee;* that original deeds had been lost due to numerous sales; that the prosecutor and the judge should be two different men; that many years had passed, and so there was lapse of time.

Reply

The Bengal Government replied in their letter to all these numerous objections. They, first of all, maintained that these applications were not the genuine expression of all, but those of the few interested. They pointed out that the Special Commissioner's court was a court of justice, a poor defence on the face of it, that the mere designation could not decide the nature of land; the whole of the document must be taken into account; that the 1793 Regulation had laid down that no lapse of time would be deemed a ground of exemption; that the collector was not likely to prove corrupt or unjust, for he was not to receive any reward.[65]

Result

The Court of Directors agreed with the provisions of the 1828 Regulation II except in few negligible details, and some points.[66]

64 *Affairs of the E. I. C.*, Finance. 65 *Ibid.* 66 *Ibid.*

The injustice of the Regulation is clear, but it did answer the needs of the Government, the augmentation of the revenues of Government. Considered therefore in this light, the measure was well adopted.

Settlement of the Upper Provinces

In the Upper Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, no settlement had been finally made. The Governor-General's tour in the Upper Provinces had as one of its objects, the ascertaining of the progress made in carrying into effect Regulation VII of 1822, which empowered the collectors to define, settle, and record the rights and obligations of the various classes of persons possessing interest in the land, or in the rent or produce thereof. Ten years had elapsed and practically nothing had been done, because there was nothing to guide the local officers and they had to contend with many judicial niceties. The Governor-General wrote a minute on September 26, 1832 on the revenue settlement of the Upper Provinces. In January 1833, he held a conference with the members of the Sudder Board for the Western Provinces, some of the chief revenue officers of the same, and the officers of the Survey Department. In March 1833 arrangements for settlement were sanctioned.[67] They were simpler than the earlier ones. We need not enter into the details of the settlement, since the period of ten years lapsed before it was completed and its result did not produce any effect on the revenues of the Government of India under Lord W. C. Bentinck. But it should not be forgotten that an effort was made to improve the resources of the state. The Regulation IX of 1833 "embraced all the objects of the Regulation of 1822, with other collateral aims, and it greatly improved the machinery of revision, and enlarged the personal agency to be employed. Special Settlement officers were to be appointed, not burdened with other duties, civilians with all their time and all their energies to bestow upon the great work that opened out before them." (Kaye). The objects proposed to embrace were the following:—

(1) The revision of the assessment.

67 H. H. Wilson: *History of the British in India*, vol. III; P. Auber: *Rise and Progress of the British Power in India*, pp. 630-32.

(2) The better division of the instalments of revenue payable to Government.

(3) The demarcation of the exterior boundaries of estates and villages.

(4) The formation of a fund for the construction of roads.

(5) The correction of the system of accounts at the Tahsildar's offices, and the arrangement of their records.

(6) The establishment of a provision for the support of the village police.

(7) The resumption of all hidden rent-free tenures brought to light by the surveys.

(8) The recasting or retention of the large tenures.

(9) The demarcation of the component portions of every village.

Mr. R. M. Bird carried it out. "Under this enactment," says H. H. Wilson, "the instructions furnished to the revenue and survey officers, and the spirit infused into the whole system by the example and encouragement of the Governor-General, the work received an impulse which carried it briskly forward. The torpor of the last ten years was dissipated. In ten years, the revenue settlement of the Western Provinces was completed upon principles equally conducive to the improving resources of the state and the growing prosperity and happiness of the people."

The Opium Monopoly and its Result

The other important source of Government revenue was the Opium monopoly. This source was seriously affected by the restoration of order in the Indian States. The Malwa Opium began to control the market and decreased the revenues of the Government. Various plans were tried. Direct route to Bombay from the central native states of India was forbidden, so that the expenses incurred in going to Damanuz through a circuitous route and the insecurity on the way might tell upon its commerce. But the plan failed. Now the Britishers themselves began to purchase all the opium grown there. That led to a greater production of opium. Smuggling went on briskly. Therefore this experiment was also given up in favour of another, by which the princes of the various native states were persuaded and, in some

cases, coerced not to permit its transit through their states, for which they were paid by the Indian Government an annual fixed sum. Since all the native states did not accept this offer, the plan had to be given up.[68] Under Lord W. C. Bentinck, again, the reversion to the original plan of purchasing the produce was resorted, but again abandoned. Ultimately, a Permit or Transit duty was substituted under Bombay Regulation XX of 1830. The original rate was Rs. 175 per chest. As the exporters found it cheaper to ship the drug from Damaun, the duty was lowered to Rs. 125/- per chest. The Select Committee on the Affairs of the E. I. Company (1831-32) reported that it has been attended with satisfactory results."[69]

The sum-total of the results of the measures of retrenchment, which were continued till as late as 1834, and of those of improving some main resources of the Government was the balance struck between the Income and Expenditure of Government—as the following table will show[70]:—

Years	Indian charges including the interest on debt	Indian surplus	St. Helena charges	Charges in England: Territorial payment and political stores	Surplus charges
	£	£	£	£	£
1828-9	21,384,209	1,338,282	113,054	1,517,802 +449,603+ 14,883	927,629
1829-30 } 1830-31 }		Figures	not	available.	
1831-32	12,834,929	1,563,216	94,152	1,476,555	207,681
1832-33	12,896,285	1,068,757	95,553	1,227,536	264,332
1833-34	12,245,489	1,434,666	91,641	1,293,637	Surplus revenue 49,398
1834-35 (Estimate)	12,313,246		* Charged on revenues of England.	2,162,868	7,924,431

*£8,502,767 were the extraordinary receipts.

68 H. H. Wilson: *History of the British in India*, vol. III.

69 *Affairs of the E. I. C.* (Finance), Report of the Select Committee.

70 *Parliamentary Papers* (1834-6), p. 19.

Criticism

The regime of Lord William Cavendish Bentinck will, therefore, be always remembered for the economies effected in the various items of expenditure. He has been, to a very great extent, rightly praised for this. But there are certain considerations which should not be allowed to be overlooked. Though from the purely financial point of view, the results were encouraging, yet they were not without their attendant evils. The Hon'ble F. J. Shore has pointed out numerous cases of petty economy.[71] The recourse to purveyance and forced labour in procuring supplies for camps, carriage for troops, or for the civil functionaries, provision for the goals etc., the virtual abolition of the 'reward system' to the police officers whose pay was miserable, stoppage of improvements in roads, bridges, serais etc., and the giving of allowance to the witnesses in rare cases—these are some of the acts which none can praise. But they pale into insignificance, when we find that generally most of these measures were undertaken only at the cost of the Indians. It has already been shown that the reduction in the Military charges was brought about largely by decreasing the number of Indians. That of the Europeans was not reduced but, strange as it may appear, increased despite the financial stringency. In the Civil charges, it is worth noticing that the economies were effected only in the charges incurred in India. The Parliament no doubt conferred a boon on the Indian finances by charging the expenditure incurred in the Government of St. Helena from the English finances from 1834 onwards. But nothing was done to reduce the 'Home Charges', which consisted of interests on Home Bond Debt; charges on postal arrangement, transport of troops from England to India, furlough and retired pay to Military and Marine officers of the Indian establishments, King's troops; and charges for the establishments of the Board of Control, the Court of Directors, Haileybury College, Military Seminary at Addiscombe, pensions and gratuities; and law charges. The table given on page 682 will make it appear that the charges in England decreased in the years 1831-34, but that is far from truth. In the *Parliamentary Papers* of 1834-38, the remark is

71 Shore: *Notes on Indian Affairs*, vol. I, pp. 307-8.

that this decrease in charges in 1832-34 in these expenses was mainly due to the decreased and decreasing transport of troops and stores, and payments on account of King's troops serving in India, because the war had ended in 1827.[72] No retrenchment was effected in the rates of pay on furlough, retirement, and pensions. The Appendices Nos. 60-66 and 72 of the *Affairs of the E. I. Company* (1831-32) (Military) substantiate this observation. Some of the witnesses before the Select Committee of 1831-32 pointed out the possibility and desirability of retrenchment, but no steps were taken to cut them down. This was a very great injustice done to India and Indian administration. For these 'Home Charges' were a drain on Indian resources, for which no great material returns were made. Similarly, nothing was done to increase the revenue of India by providing for an increase of the Indian trade. Mr. David Hill, in his answer to the circular letter, referred to this. Mr. Holt Mackenzie also wrote a minute for the same object.[73] But all was in vain.

When all this is said, it need not be assumed that Lord William Bentinck alone was responsible for this. The Court of Directors and the Board of Control could never allow him and the Indian Government to do otherwise. The very constitution of the Indian Government was responsible for all acts of injustice. Rather, it must be said to his credit that, whatever be the criticism against his measures, no administrative deterioration was allowed to take place. The witnesses before the Select Committee and the latter themselves expressed their approval of his administrative measures and spoke, as if in one voice, that in all his measures there was a very happy blending of unity, efficiency and economy. These things ultimately proved beneficial to the Indian administration. Thus the financial administration of Lord William Cavendish Bentinck succeeded in relieving the E. I. Company of their financial embarrassments and also in doing an ultimate good to the Indian administration. There is a great truth in the eulogistic remark of Mr. K. T. Shah that "in the whole

72 *Parliamentary Papers* (1834-38), p. 18.
73 *Affairs of the E. I. C.* (Finance).

history of Indian financial administration, Bentinck's achievements are unique, not merely because of the reduction in total expenditure, but because the reduction was carried out without any impairment of the administrative machine. Not even Wilson's efforts after the Mutiny, or Lord Minto's efforts after the Wellesleyan Wars, can compare in magnitude of savings or improvements in administration with Lord W. Bentinck's,"[74]—with the reservation that these measures were carried out largely at the cost of the Indians or the then Indian Government.

ISHWAR SAHAI

74 K. T. Shah: *Sixty Years of Indian Finance*, p. 25.

Kingship and Nobility in the 14th Century

(1288—1325)

In an article published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly* for June, 1935, I remarked that Jalāl-ud-dīn Khaljī came to the throne of Delhi by the greatest of all rights—the right of conquest. For the history of his reign we can depend on the account left by Baranī, who claims "that the events and affairs of the reign.....all occurred under his own eyes and observations."[1] The succession of the Khaljīs being unpopular with the pro-Turkish citizens of Delhi,[2] "the new Sultān did not go into the capital;" but the "great men and nobles went out to pay their respect to the new Sultān, and to receive robes."[3] The nobles, not very loyal to the memory of their pure Turkish rulers, were evidently prepared to accept an accomplished fact, and anxious to fortify their own position by identifying themselves with the regime of the *de facto* ruler. The support of the nobles enabled Jalāl-ud-dīn to go to Delhi.[4]

1 Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, vol. III, p. 135.

2 Sir Wolseley Haig (*Cambridge History of India*, vol. III, p. 91) says: "The repugnance of the populace to Fīrūz was due to the belief that his tribe, the Khaljīs, were Afghāns, a people who were regarded as barbarous. They were, in fact, a Turkish tribe, but they had long been settled in the *garmsīr*, or hot region, of Afghānistān, where they had probably acquired some Afghān manners and customs, and the Turkish nobles.....refused to acknowledge them as Turks." See also the footnote on the same page.

3 Elliot and Dowson, vol. III, p. 136. Jalāl-ud-dīn is said to have "seated himself on the throne.....with the acquiescence of the Amīrs and Maliks." (K. K. Basu, *Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhī*, p. 58). We are told by Firishta (Briggs, vol. I, p. 287) that he "had no great confidence in the loyalty of the people of Dehly." He also says (*op. cit.*, p. 288) that "the chiefs and nobles of Dehly, who had for sixty years paid obeisance to the throne of the Toorks, and had always revolted at the idea of subjection to the Khiljies, forgot for the moment their wonted animosity to this race, and were.....well pleased with the commencement of the reign of Feroze Khiljy....."

4 Elliot and Dowson, vol. III, p. 137.

But the feeling that the Khaljī "race had no right or title to Delhi" was not dead. Malik Chhajū,[5] nephew of Balban, revolted and "had the *khutba* read in his name." He was supported by some of the "old adherents of Balban," and many citizens of the capital "recognized him as the rightful heir to the throne."[6] "The *rāuts* and *pāiks* of Hindūstān flocked round him like ants or locusts, and the most noted of them received *betel* from him, and promised to fight against the standards of the Sultān."[7] The Sultān, however, succeeded in suppressing the rebellion with the help of "his adherents and the Khiljī nobles, who rallied thick around him," and of "an army in whose fidelity he had confidence."[8]

The way in which the old Sultān treated the leaders of this rebellion revealed his own weakness and alienated the sympathy of his supporters. Malik Chhajū and his friends were "freed, washed, perfumed, and dressed in clean garments" and entertained as guests. Moreover, Jalāl-ud-dīn told them that "in drawing their swords to support the heir of their old benefactor, they had taken an honest rather than a dishonest course."[9] This was magnanimity indeed; but magnanimity in politics is very often ruinous. The Khaljī nobles, on whom Jalāl-ud-dīn had to depend, "whispered to each other that the Sultān did not know how to rule, for instead of slaying the rebels he had made them his companions. Malik Ahmad Chap, deputy lord chamberlain, a personal attendant and counsellor of the Sultān, told him that a king should reign and observe the rules of government, or else be content to relinquish the throne."[10] The Sultān replied, ".....if I cannot reign without shedding the blood of Musulmāns, I renounce the throne, for I could not endure the wrath of God."[11] In his anxiety to escape "the wrath of God," the Sultān forgot that he had already shed the blood, not only of his fellow nobles but also of his master himself, in order to ascend the throne.[12]

5 He was governor of Kara.
6 Elliot and Dowson, vol. III, p. 137.
7 Elliot and Dowson, vol. III, p. 138.
8 *op. cit.*, p. 137.
9 *op. cit.*, p. 139.
10 *op. cit.*, p. 139.
11 *op. cit.*, p. 140.
12 *op. cit.*, pp. 134-5.

Jalāl-ud-dīn's quality of mercy[13] finally cost him his throne as well as his life. 'Alā-ud-dīn, his beloved nephew and son-in-law, whom he had entrusted with the government of Kara, took into his service "many of the officers and friends of Malik Chhajū." These crafty rebels began to instigate him to secure the throne of Delhi, and their suggestions "made a lodgment in his brain."[14] In the capital itself "the nobles and great men spoke of him (i.e., Jalāl-ud-dīn) with disparagement, saying that he knew not how to rule, and had none of the awe and majesty of kings."[15] The Sultān set the thieves free, saying that "he could not slay a bound man." When a large number of '*thags*' were captured, he ordered them to be sent to Bengal, where they were to be set free. Kings have got to be strong and merciless in order to enforce the laws and punish the criminals, for mercy shown to an individual may endanger the peace of the country. If mercy be raised into a system of government, the very basis of political organisation will be endangered.[17] No wonder, therefore, that "a party of wicked, ungrateful nobles used to talk over their cups of killing him and setting him aside."[18] We can only give a qualified approval to the uncomplimentary adjectives used by the historian, for the welfare of the state probably demanded the deposition of the old Sultān. The Sultān "made light of" the conspiracies entered into under the influence of

13 Firishta (Briggs, vol. I, pp. 290-91) says that he "was celebrated.....for many amiable qualities, and particularly for his mercy and benevolence. He hardly ever punished a fault among his dependents, and was never known to lay violent hands on the property of his wealthy subjects."

14 Elliot and Dowson, vol. III, pp. 140-41.

15 *op. cit.*, p. 141.

17 Firishta (Briggs, vol. I, p. 295) says: "Clemency is a virtue which descends from God; but the degenerate children of India of that age did not deserve it. The king's sentiments having become public, no security was any longer found. The streets and highways were infested by thieves and banditti. House-breaking, robbery, murder, and every other species of crime, were committed by many who adopted them as a means of subsistence. Insurrections prevailed in every province; numerous gangs of freebooters interrupted commerce, and even common intercourse. Add to which, the king's governors neglected to render any account, either of their revenues or of their administration."

18 Elliot and Dowson, vol. III, p. 141.

wine.[19] On one occasion he 'upbraided' the nobles 'severely' and challenged them to "fight it out fairly" with him. The nobles affirmed that they could "never kill a Sultān who cherishes us like sons, as you do." The scene terminated with the Sultān shedding tears of joy.[20] Baranī says: "Jalāl-ud-dīn always treated his nobles, officers, and subjects with the greatest kindness and tenderness. He never visited their offences with blows, confinement, or other severity, but treated them as a parent does his children."[21]

But some at least of the nobles were not satisfied with the Sultān's parental care, and they, together with "a Kāzī of some repute", and Sīdī Maulā, *darwesh*, entered into a conspiracy to murder the Sultān and to divide the empire among themselves. Information, however, was carried to the Sultān. The conspirators were arrested and punished.[22] Sīdī Maulā was thrown under the feet of an elephant.[23] For once the "most human king" could not restrain his anger; but his cruelty weakened rather than strengthened his position.

We now come to the closing episode in Jalāl-ud-dīn's career. We have already referred to the sinister influence which the adherents of Malik Chhajū were exercising on 'Alā-ud-dīn.[24] The Sultān, "in the innocence and trust of his heart", could not see through his beloved nephew's plans. He granted 'Alā-ud-dīn's request for "some delay in the payment of the tribute for his territories."[25] He also allowed him to march to "countries about Chanderī."[26] But in reality 'Alā-ud-dīn

19 *op. cit.*, p. 142.

20 *op. cit.*, vol. III, pp. 142-3.

21 *op. cit.*, p. 143.

22 *op. cit.*, pp. 144-5. The interesting legal questions involved in this trial will be discussed in another connection.

23 *op. cit.*, p. 146. The terrible punishment inflicted on the holy man was so unusual that it caused consternation among the pious Muhammadans. Baranī says that this unhappy incident was followed by scarcity of rain, dearth and troubles in the State.

24 He was made Amīr Tūzak, 'Ariz-i-mamālik and governor of Kara and Oudh. (Elliot and Dowson, vol. III, pp. 137, 140, 148).

25 Elliot and Dowson, vol III, p. 148.

26 *op. cit.*, pp. 148-9.

went to the Deccan,[27] defeated the Hindu ruler of Devagiri, and carried off an unprecedented amount of booty."[28] Meanwhile, the old Sultān remained satisfied with "vague statements" about 'Alā-ud-dīn's movements supplied by his followers.[29] It is unnecessary for us to follow the story in detail. It is well-known how Jalāl-ud-dīn neglected the advice of his well-wishers and lost his life.[30]

The history of the reign of Jalāl-ud-dīn Khaljī shows once again how difficult it was for a weak king to maintain his position. We have already noticed the attitude of the nobles to his impolitic efforts to be unusually merciful. The powerful nobles could hardly bring themselves to acknowledge the authority of a decrepit old man who did not know how to punish the thieves. The earth could not be ruled by a man whose attention was concentrated on heaven. It was probably the memory of Jalāl-ud-dīn's early career, when he was as bold and courageous as any of his contemporaries, which prevented the nobles from striking at him. Perhaps the Khaljī nobles, fresh in their enjoyment of power, understood that they required the services of a phantom-king who would symbolise their claim against the time-honoured cause of the pure Turks. Perhaps they hesitated to change a weak and indulgent master for a strong and efficient king.[31] It was left for 'Alā-ud-dīn, the Sultān's beloved nephew and son-in-law, to play "the stony-hearted traitor"[32] and to rescue the empire from a ruler who had definitely become an anachronism.

'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī was clearly a usurper. He had no hereditary right, for Jalāl-ud-dīn's sons were alive when the old Sultān was murdered. He was not elected by the nobles, for the nobility of

27 For a discussion of 'Alā-ud-dīn's real motive in undertaking this expedition, see the present writer's note in *Indian Culture*, October, 1935.

28 Elliot and Dowson, vol. III, pp. 149-50.

29 *op. cit.*, pp. 149-50. 30 *op. cit.*, pp. 150-55.

31 Jalāl-ud-dīn's eldest son died soon after his accession (K. K. Basu, p. 60); so his natural successor was his second son, Arkalī Khān, who is described as "worthy of sovereignty" (*op. cit.*, p. 67). Baranī (Elliot and Dowson, vol. III, pp. 143, 158) says that he was "a hot-tempered man" and "a brave and able soldier."

32 The adjective is Baranī's. Elliot and Dowson, vol. III, p. 155.

the kingdom did not anyhow signify their desire to place him on the throne. Neither the citizens of the capital nor the people of any province supported his cause. He seized the throne by force, and by force he was determined to maintain it. In order to proclaim his decisive victory he ordered that the head of the dead Sultān should be placed on a spear and paraded about.[33] Jalāl-ud-dīn's sons and grandsons were blinded or slain.[34] 'Alā-ud-dīn won over the nobles, the soldiers and the people by his lavish distribution of gold.[35] The "Jalāli party broke up."[36] Baranī says: "People were so deluded by the gold which they received, that no one ever mentioned the horrible crime which the Sultān had committed, and the hope of gain left them no care for anything else."[37] Firishta says: "He who ought to have been viewed with detestation, became the object of admiration to those who could not see the blackness of his deeds through the splendour of his munificence."[38] Badāonī says:

"Liberality is the alchemy of the copper of faults;
Liberality is the remedy of all pain."[39]

It is to be remembered, however, that "those who could not see the blackness of his deeds through the splendour of his munificence" lived in an age when success justified everything, and when the slightest hesitation to recognise the *de facto* master of the situation was incompatible with personal safety.[40]

The accession of 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī is the greatest landmark in

33 *op. cit.*, p. 155. 34 *op. cit.*, p. 162.

35 *op. cit.*, pp. 159, 161. In his *Khazāin-ul-Futuh* (British Museum MS., Add. 16838, fol. 5b and 6) Amīr Khusrav hails him as a hero who had "advanced to the throne with sword in one hand and gold in the other, crowning heads with the latter and severing them with the former."

36 Elliot and Dowson, vol. III, p. 159.

37 Elliot and Dowson, vol. III, p. 161. The nobles who joined 'Alā-ud-dīn offered a curious justification of their disloyalty to the dead Sultan's cause. They argued that "the kingdom departed from Jalāl-ud-dīn on the day when he wilfully and knowingly, with his eyes wide open, left Delhi and went to Karra, jeopardising his own head and that of his followers."

38 Briggs, vol. I, p. 324. 39 Ranking, p. 244.

40 Cf. the present writer's article on "Early Indo-Persian Literature and Amīr Khusrav" in *Calcutta Review*, April, 1935.

medieval Indian history, for it was this barbarian of genius who finally established a powerful and centralised monarchy upon the ruins of feudal privileges and popular rights. He was a man of iron; and he was determined to crush any over-mighty subject, however useful or loyal he might be. Zafar Khān, governor of Sāmāna, whom Baranī calls "the Rustam of the age and the hero of the time", and who was the greatest barrier against the inroads of the Mughals, had become too powerful to be tolerated. 'Alā-ud-dīn began to think of removing him. The opportunity arrived with a fresh invasion of the Mughals. Zafar Khān fell on the field of battle, although the assistance of the other generals of the Sultān might have saved his life. According to Baranī, 'Alā-ud-dīn considered "that he had won a great victory: the Mughals had been put to flight, and the brave and fearless Zafar Khān had been got rid of without disgrace."[41] The method is not unlike that adopted by Balban to destroy Sher Khān,[42] by Akbar to murder Man Singh,[43] and by Aurangzib to punish Jaswant Singh.[44] It is easy to condemn the ungrateful and suspicious spirit which guided the government of our medieval rulers; but in fairness to them we should remember that in those days loyalty was an extremely rare virtue. Tughril Khān, who was a "cherished slave" of Balban, defied his authority.[45] Akat Khān, 'Alā-ud-dīn's nephew, who held the important office of *wakīldar*, tried to kill him when he was out for hunting with only a few attendants.[46] 'Alā-ud-dīn's sister's sons took advantage of his absence during the seige of Rantambhor, and broke out in revolt.[47] During that seige the minister of the Hindu king joined 'Alā-ud-dīn.[48] 'Alā-ud-dīn must have remembered his own unparalleled treachery against his

41 Elliot and Dowson, vol. III, pp. 165-8.

42 *op. cit.*, pp. 106-9.

43 V. A. Smith, *Akbar* (Oxford, 1919), pp. 325-6. We are told that "Akbar, like many European princes of his time, did remove several of his enemies by secret assassination....."

44 W. Crooke, Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (London, 1920), vol. II, p. 965.

45 Elliot and Dowson, vol. III, pp. 112-3.

46 *op. cit.*, pp. 172-4.

47 *op. cit.*, pp. 175.

48 Briggs, vol. I, pp. 343-4.

uncle, and the memory of that fateful day must have intensified his spirit of distrust.[49]

We are told by Firishta that 'Alā-ud-dīn, "becoming apprehensive of conspiracies against his person, summoned his nobles, and commanded them to give their opinion, without reserve, what should be done to avert these evils."[50] According to Baranī, "these great men agreed that the causes were four": the Sultān's disregard of the affairs of state, wine, the close relations existing among the nobles, and the possession of money, "which engenders evil and strife, and brings forth pride and disloyalty."[51]

'Alā-ud-dīn lost no time in carrying into execution the plans laid down before him by his counsellors. In the first place, he exacted money from the people on every kind of pretence. "The people were all so absorbed in obtaining the means of living, that the name of rebellion was never mentioned." Secondly, he introduced such an efficient espionage system[52] that "no action of good or bad men was concealed from him." Baranī tells us that "nobles dared not speak alone even in the largest palaces, and if they had anything to say they communicated by signs. In their own houses, night and day, dread of the reports of the spies made them tremble." Thirdly, 'Alā-ud-dīn prohibited the use of wine and intoxicating drugs, and himself entirely gave up wine parties. Fourthly, the nobles were forbidden to visit each other's houses, or give feasts, or hold meetings, or enter into matrimonial alliances without the previous consent of the Sultān himself. And lastly, he devised elaborate regulations "for grinding down the Hindus." "The Hindu was to be so reduced as to be left unable to

49 'Alā-ud-dīn was not altogether ungrateful. Baranī (Elliot and Dowson, vol. III, p. 179) tells us that he "grieved for" Ulugh Khān, his devoted brother, when the latter died. He rewarded the services rendered to him by 'Alā-ul-Mulk, Nusrat Khān and Malik Kāfūr.

50 Briggs, vol. I, pp. 344-5.

51 Elliot and Dowson, vol. III, p. 178. Firishta, obviously deriving his information from Baranī, gives a similar account, with some modifications and embellishments of his own. Briggs (vol. I, pp. 344-5) further improved the version left by him. Cf. Dowson's remark in the foot note, p. 178.

52 See the account of Balban's espionage system in Elliot and Dowson, vol. III, pp. 101, 112.

keep a horse to ride on, to carry arms, to wear fine clothes, or to enjoy any of the luxuries of life."[53] In order to provide for the prompt and effective execution of these measures, 'Alā-ud-dīn filled the offices of the state with "men whose indigence rendered them the servile instruments of his government."[54]

The one clear and consistent aim of 'Alā-ud-dīn was to create a centralised and well-regulated empire in which the will of the sovereign was to prevail over that of his nobles, officers and subjects alike. For a time at least he was successful. Firishta says: ".....the empire never flourished so much as in this reign. Order and justice prevailed in the most distant provinces."[55] The failure of the system was probably due as much to its own inherent defects as to the inability of his successors to use the majestic Herculean weapon.

Towards the close of his reign 'Alā-ud-dīn seems to have lost his old vigour and political insight, and as a result the structure which he had created collapsed at once. "The overthrow of his throne and family," says Barani, "arose from certain acts of his own."[56] In the first place, Barani refers to the removal of "wise and experienced men" and the appointment of young slaves and eunuchs. It is difficult to say whether this measure was even partly responsible for the "overthrow of his throne and family." Secondly, 'Alā-ud-dīn "caused a document to be drawn up, appointing Khizr Khān[57] his heir apparent, and he obtained the signatures of the

53 *op. cit.*, pp. 179-83.

54 Briggs, vol. I, p. 346. This policy was successfully pursued by the first two Tudor kings of England. Barani (Elliot and Dowson, vol. III, p. 207) says that during the later years of his reign 'Alā-ud-dīn filled the offices with "young slaves who were ignorant and thoughtless, and with eunuchs without intelligence." If these slaves and eunuchs were of the type of Malik Kāfūr—able and exclusively dependent upon the Sultān,—there is little reason to regret that they were preferred to those "wise and experienced men" for whom Barani sheds his tears.

55 Briggs, vol. I, p. 376.

56 Elliot and Dowson, vol. III, p. 207.

57 His eldest son.

nobles thereto."[58] But Khizr Khān was very young and too much addicted to pleasure to discharge his duties. Thirdly, 'Alā-ud-dīn showed undue favour to Malik Nāib Kāfūr, whom he made commander of the army and *wazīr*. The elevation of the haughty eunuch to the highest position in the realm was naturally resented by the older nobles.[59]

On the death of 'Alā-ud-dīn, Kāfūr "assembled the principal nobles and officers in the palace and produced a will of the late Sultān which he had caused to be executed in favour of Malik Shahāb-ud-dīn, removing Khizr Khān from being heir-apparent.[60] With the assent of the nobles[61] he placed Shahāb-ud-dīn upon the throne, but as the new sovereign was a child of only five or six years.....Malik Nāib Kāfūr himself undertook the conduct of the government."[62] It is clear that the will which Kāfūr produced was either spurious or wrung from the old Sultān "when he was not in his senses."[63] In any case, Kāfūr was doubtless aware of the hostile attitude of the nobles, and considered it necessary to strengthen his own position by taking resort to a show of legality. Probably the reigning king had the right to choose any one of his sons as his successor.[64] The document which 'Alā-ud-dīn had already drawn up in favour of Khizr Khān was no impediment, for a will is always liable to be set aside by the testator.[65]

58 It is interesting to notice that even a strong king like 'Alā-ud-dīn considered it necessary to secure baronial support. See the present writer's article in the *Indian Historical Quarterly* (June, 1935) for the procedure followed by Iltutmish when he nominated Raziyyat as his successor.

59 See the story of Kāfūr's "deadly enmity" with Alp Khān, the father-in-law and maternal uncle of Khizr Khān. (Elliot and Dowson, vol. III, p. 206)

60 Khizr Khān had been imprisoned in the fort of Gwalior during the life time of 'Alā-ud-dīn. (Elliot and Dowson, vol. III, p. 208).

61 Apparently the nobles were ready to support the *de facto* master of the situation.

62 Elliot and Dowson, vol. III, p. 209.

63 Sir Wolseley Haig (p. 119) regards this will as "possibly authentic, but certainly procured by misrepresentation and under influence."

64 See the conversation between Iltutmish and his nobles in the present writer's article in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, June, 1935.

65 But what about the consent of the nobles?

Malik Kāfūr endangered his position by his naked tyranny. He ill-treated the members of the imperial family, and tried to fill the places of the old nobles with "creatures of his own."[66] The result was that within 35 days of his master's death[67] he was assassinated.[68]

Mubārak Khān, an elder brother of Shahāb-ud-dīn[69] whom Kāfūr had raised to the throne, was rescued from the prison into which he had been thrown by the all-powerful eunuch, and was appointed director (*nāib*) to the young king.[70] The murderers of Kāfūr were obviously determined to be the power behind the throne. It is difficult to understand why they should have elected to keep the younger brother on the throne when the elder brother was alive and free from any incapacity such as blindness. It is perhaps still more difficult to understand why they should have placed the former under the guardianship of the latter. Baranī says that they "thought and boasted to themselves that they could remove and kill one of the two princes, and make the other one Sultān."[71] Be that as it may, Mubārak Khān remained in his anomalous position for several months, during which "he made friends of many of the *maliks* and *amīrs*." Having thus strengthened his position, he ascended the throne with the title of Qutb-ud-dīn.[72]

There is an interesting point to be noted in this connection. The assassins of Kāfūr were not nobles; they were *pāiks*, slaves of 'Alā-ud-dīn. Their success temporarily made them masters of the situation, and they tried to seize the prerogatives of the nobility. They boasted that they were the king-makers. When Qutb-ud-dīn had ascended the throne, they "claimed to have seats below the *maliks* and *amīrs*, and to receive robes before them." The creation of a new order

66 Elliot and Dowson, vol. III, p. 209.

67 Barani (*op. cit.*, p. 208) says: "Some say that the infamous Malik Nāib Kāfūr helped his (*i.e.*, 'Alā-ud-dīn's) disease to a fatal termination."

68 *op. cit.*, p. 209.

69 Barani (*op. cit.*, pp. 209-10) says that Mubārak was seventeen or eighteen years old, while Shahāb-ud-dīn was merely five or six.

70 *op. cit.*, p. 210. 71 *op. cit.*, p. 210.

72 *op. cit.*, p. 210.

in the nobility was out of the question. Qutb-ud-dīn murdered the *pāīks* and put an end to their pretensions.[73]

"The accession of the new king", we are told, "was universally accepted", presumably because "the old servants of the state continued in their various posts, and retained their great fiefs."[74] But "the Sultān attended to nothing but drinking, listening to music, debauchery and pleasure, scattering gifts, and gratifying his lust. If the Mughals had come up during his reign, if a rival had made pretensions to the throne, if any serious rebellion or sedition had broken out in any quarter, no one can tell what might have happened to Delhī through the Sultān's negligence, heedlessness and dissipation."[75] This is Baranī's estimate of Qutb-ud-dīn's character. He took "an inordinate liking" for Khusrav Khān,[76] placed him at the head of the army, and finally raised him to the office of *wazīr*.[77] This alienated the sympathy of the old nobles who had formerly supported him. They complained that "men of wisdom and counsel were set aside." A conspiracy to murder the Sultān failed.[78] The Sultān "gave way to wrath and obscenity, to severity, revenge, and heartlessness."[79] The old nobles tried to convince him that Khusrav was unfaithful, but he would believe nothing against him.[80] Finally, Khusrav murdered the Sultān with the help of his Parwārī followers, and ascended the throne under the title of Sultān Nāsir-ud-dīn.[81]

The reign of the usurper was brief. In his anxiety to satisfy his

73 *op. cit.*, p. 210. Sir Wolseley Haig (p. 120) says that they "adopted an attitude similar to that of the Praetorian guards of the Roman Emperors."

74 *op. cit.*, p. 214.

75 *op. cit.*, p. 213.

76 He was a Parwārī (*i.e.*, Gujarātī) and his name was Hasan. (Elliot and Dowson, vol. III, p. 211). Sir Wolseley Haig (p. 120) says that this "wretch was by origin a member of one of those castes whose touch is pollution to a Hindu, whose occupation is that of scavengers, and whose food consists largely of the carrion which it is their duty to remove from byre and field. He was nominally a Muslim....."

77 Elliot and Dowson, vol. III, p. 211.

78 *op. cit.*, p. 216.

79 *op. cit.*, p. 217.

80 *op. cit.*, pp. 219-20, 222.

81 *op. cit.*, pp. 221-3.

Parwārī friends he seemed to give a Hindu character to his rule.[82] The wives and handmaids of the loyal servants of the late Sultān were given to "the Parwārīs and Hindus." Titles were conferred on his relatives. "In the course of four or five days preparations were made for idol worship in the palace.....It was Khusrū's design to increase the importance of the Parwārīs and Hindus....."[83] He attracted popular support by a liberal use of gold.[84]

The task of restoring dethroned Islām to its proper place was boldly taken up by Ghāzī Khān who held the territory of Deobālpur.[85] Khusrav was deserted by his Muhammadan soldiers who "took the money of the wretched fellow, heaped hundreds of curses upon him and then went to their homes."[86] He was defeated and beheaded.[87]

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കേരളസാഹിത്യ അക്കാദമി

82 Barani (*op. cit.*, p. 224) says that he conferred titles and offices on some prominent Muhammadan nobles only to "keep up a delusive show."

83 *op. cit.*, pp. 223-5.

84 *op. cit.*, p. 225.

85 *op. cit.*, pp. 224-8.

86 *op. cit.*, p. 227.

87 *op. cit.*, p. 228.

Racial and Cultural Interrelations between India and the West at the Dawn of the Age of Copper

The last decade has been remarkable for the addition to our knowledge in the field of oriental pre-history. This will be self-evident to anybody who has to begin, as he must, with *La Préhistoire orientale*, the monumental compilation of De Morgan, the immortal discoverer of Susa culture and who shares with Du Bois the credit of opening up the orient to pre-historic anthropology.

The posthumous work of De Morgan could not take advantage of the momentous discovery of the Indus Valley cultures at Mohenjo-daro in Sind by Rakhal Das Banerjea in 1924.

Later researches in Peking, Palestine and Java and the African zone of Kenya call for the re-orientation of outlook about the origins of human culture. They have emphasised more than ever some routes being used by even Palæanthropic man in the course of migrations in Europe, Asia and Africa. Interpretation of the affinities of the Tabun Skuhl and other Palestine Neandertahaloids with those of Ngandoang in Java on the one hand and the European types on the other is beyond the scope of this paper but they should make us pause and consider whether the highways of human migrations in later times were not lying across familiar tracks scooped out of the most favourable geographical possibilities even early in Palæolithic times. We will leave also to Mr. Leakey to explain clearly the routes followed by the fabricators of the *coup-de-poing* from the Seine to the Narbada by the descendants of his Kanam and Kanjera early Palæolithic Homo Sapiens-like types from the borders of Kenya.

The problems of Neolithic origins and at least so far as their early diffusion is concerned have become more and more complex.

In the course of my tour in Polynesia investigating Indian elements in Polynesian culture on behalf of the Bishop Museum I was constantly being reminded of De Morgan's dictum of the difference between Neolithic culture proper which contain celts to be found in S. India, N.S. India and up to the Pacific and the chalcolithic civilisations which

utilised along with copper late Palaeolithic and Mesolithic types of flakes extending westwards from Central and N. W. India. Like the 'control factor' in psychological investigations, students of chalcolithic origins will do well to remember as types of contrast the cultures of the Pacific and the New World which, broadly speaking, did not emerge out of a neolithic phase into a chalcolithic or copper and bronze civilisation as we are familiar with in the Old World. Let us leave aside for the present the intriguing question of trans-Pacific contact to explain similiarities, e.g., tie-dye in East India, Java and Peru or Gifford's suggestion of the origin of pottery (manufactured by wheel, paddle and non-paddle methods) in South America, Africa and Oceania in the culture-centre area of the potter's wheel (*Pottery-Making in the South West* by E. W. Gifford, Calif. Pub. in Amer. Arch. & Eth. 1928, p. 737); these and other traits are not accepted by Americanists as having migrated to the New World from the Old on account of their absence in Oceania (in spite of the philological efforts of Dr. Rivet and others). Our study of the New World, however, shows that the Old World chalcolithic origins lie with the question of the origins of the Cattle-Cereals-Wheel-Plough culture complex (in the language of Prof. Wissler). Polynesia everywhere reminded me of a type of culture which might have been the background out of which the chalcolithic culture of Egypt, Sumer, Susa and the Indus Valleys might have risen. The taro and the banana and the hen and the pig were the humble precursors of the rearing of wheat and the domestication of cattle and Tapa has given place to weaving. And perhaps if Mr. Hevesy is right the magic-ritual beginnings of the writing of an astoundingly similar type of scripts is to be found in the Easter Islands. "Cette écriture néolithique, cet ancêtre de toutes les écritures, ne l'aurions nous donc toute la culture, au moment de sa decouverte, était néolithique encore." (*Sur une Ecriture Océanienne paraissant d'origine néolithique* by M. G. de Hevesy, Bull. Soc. Prehist. Franc. 1933, p. 13). The Polynesians in their physical features by the range of their shades of skin colour from fair to brown, by their fine noses, and specially medium and broad heads appeared to me so much akin to the Indo-Aryan brachycephals of India and in some cases there was just a slight mixture of Mongol traits which reminded me strongly of the statuettes of Mohenjo-daro, might then possibly indicate the isolation in insular conditions

of a pre-chalcolithic type of culture that we meet with in Susa or the Indus Valleys.

It is a far cry from the broad-headed Caucasics of present day Polynesia, Bengal, Gujrat, the Homo-alpinus of Europe to the statuettes in the Louvre from the first Chaldeo-Elamite period, or from early Sumer and Mohenjo-daro, but the family likeness in them will be apparent to any scrutinising investigator. It is more hazardous to try to link up culture patterns with physical types. The great studies in comparative pottery have evoked from Mr. Frankfort a generalisation: "In Egypt, Palestine and Syria the earliest pottery is markedly skeuomorphic and that whatever natural objects are pictured their style betrays a naturalised mentality; and if again in Central or Eastern Europe we find a curious pottery, ornamented with ribbon-like spirals, which in a latter stage are sometimes vivified so as to resemble animals or plants; while on the other hand in the "Highland zone" stretching from Armenia westward across the Hellespont into Europe, we find in different regions at different periods, a pottery with tectonic ornamentation consisting of simple geometric two dimensional designs (ribbon-like) without many traces of a skeuomorphic origin, and revealing when natural objects are represented, an abstract mentality, then perhaps we combine these observations with the results of anthropometry and venture on the supposition that the last named stylistic peculiarities are correlated with the distribution of "Alpine man", and that Mediterranean man is distinguished by the realism on the north and south of this wedgeshapped highland zone (*Studies in the Early Pottery of the Near East* by H. Frankfort, vol. II, London 1927, p. 4).

It is very rash to attempt to correlate culture-types with race. But comparative study is always a corrective. Thus we may take the megalithic races of India at least the few that have been studied. They come mostly from South India where the dolmens abound so much so that in one district alone over thousands are found. Dr. Ghurye's study of the megalithic monuments in India is exhaustive and shows the wide diversity of types and the similarity in features between these in architectural with those of Europe which cannot be a mere fortuitous coincidence. Dr. Wilkes studies the culture relations of these with those of Europe and tried to make them a peg for his favorite theory of Nordic

migration from the shores of the Baltic to the heart of India. But the crania show the furthest possible divergence from any European type. The crania as studied from Adittannallur in South India, in the words of Dr. Guha, show 'a very long type of head, the average cephalic index falling below 70, the supra-orbital regions prominent, nasal bones depressed at the root, forehead receding, slightly prognathous and agreeing very well with the Veddah type.'' Some preliminary measurements with another skull from Ranchi in N.E. India as studied by Mr. Susanta Bose shows a closely approximating primitive type of skull. They could have belonged only to such types as are found in the jungles of South and North-East India who have been classified in such a manner that emphasies their Negroid or Australoid features. They are thus called Australoid-Vedaici (Giuffrida-Ruggeri) pre-Dravidian (Haddon) proto-Negroid (Lapicque), a subtype of the old Weddid Race (Von Eikstedt) and held to be 'the real and genuine ancient Indians'. Thus the megalithic peoples of India form a strange contrast to the races from such rude stone monuments in Europe where so many advanced types are juxtaposed. At least we have not the dictum of 'long barrows long men' and 'round barrows round men' fit for application to any megalithic crania in India so far as is known.

Of the non-megalithic crania from N.E. India two are known which come from Bayana in Agra and Sialkot in the Punjab. The antiquity of the former is very great and it might bear fair comparisons with the type from Obercassel which Keith spoke of as proto-Nordic or the dolichocephals of Ofnet or the crania from Elementeita and Nakuru. The ancient Hindu anatomist Suśruta, a senior to Hippocrates, laid down as the part of a series of anthropo-clinic observations in the detection of a long-lived bio-harmonic type of man a proportionate development of the frontal, parietal and occipital regions. It is such a well-formed bio-harmonic type that we meet with in pre-chalcolithic, neolithic and pre-neolithic times well spread in Africa, Asia and Europe. This type stands in definite contrast to the more primitive Asselar, Boskop, Annamite Dong Thouc, Wadljak or Talgai types as widely spread in pre-Neolithic times and whose survivals may be found perhaps in the megalithic crania from India.

With the Sialkot cranium we have to reckon with a still further

advanced type and still more so is the case with more well-formed skull from the chalcolithic remains at Nala in Baluchistan. Here we have to face the type like that of the Badarians and Amratians of Egypt and the Natufians of Palestine. The Nala cranium can be compared with the Anau type but more well formed cranial vault and the distinct steno-pentagonoidic feature may lead it to be classed in the Eur-African type —the proto-Mediterranean type. In certain respects the skull betrays more affinities with the Corded-Ware crania or dolichoid types from Erfurt and Lingelsheim.

Similarity in crania types go hand in hand with the culture affinities between the Eurasiatic and Afrasian civilisations in Neolithic and Chalcolithic times. Gordon Childe identifies the earliest Neolithic cultures in Europe with those from Egypt which spread by North Africa and also thinks that the earliest culture of Central Europe was in relation with Crete and Anatolia and that the painted ware culture in Thessaly, Bulgaria, the Ukraine and Transylvania was closely similar to that in Asia and there was cultural infiltration from Sumer *via* Troy up the Danube valley across Central Russia (*New Light on the Most Ancient East*, p. 300). He holds that the beginning of intelligent metallurgy in Europe were inspired *albeit* indirectly from Asia (*Ibid.*). The centre of metallurgy was supposed by De Morgan to be near the Caucasus and Frankfort is also of the same opinion. "There are detailed resemblances between China pottery on the one hand and Baluchistan wares on the other which suggest a centre of diffusion somewhere to the west of the Pamir and the Hindu Kush and to the South of the Caucasus and the Caspian Sea" (Frankfort, *op. cit.*, p. 190).

Sir John Marshall's detailed report on Mohenjo-daro and Indus Valley cultures, Sir Aurel Stein's discovery of pre-historic site in Northern and Southern Baluchistan (vide *Mem. Arch. Survey of India*, nos. 35, 37 & 43) and last but not least Mr. N. G. Majumdar's discovery of pre-Mohenjo-daro phase with a Susa I affinity (*Explorations in Sind*, *Mem. Arch. Survey of India*, No. 48, Delhi, 1934) have widened our knowledge of the cultural rapport between the Indo-Iranian borderlands and the Armenian zone. In fact what Frankfort suggested a few years ago is being more and more justified. "The pottery known from Tell Kandeni in the Zhob valley in N.E. Baluchistan may belong to the

Persian-Armenian province. With Seistan it has in common the motive of a sloping oval hatched or cross-hatched and further some suggestions of the first Susian style and its descendants. In claiming the existence of a more or less homogeneous Armenian cultural province we have already left the solid foundations on which we had based the other groupings, viz., Seistan-Susa I, Tell-el-Obeid and North Syria-Assur-Kish-Susa II" (*op. cit.*, p. 188). Mr. Frankfort need have no misgivings. Mr. Majumdar's recently found groups of pottery from Amri, Chanro and Ghazi Shah in Sind have been correlated with the Zhob pottery on the one hand and those from Al Ubaid and Samarra in Mesopotamia, Susa I and Tepeh Musyan in Western Persia and Shahr-i-sokhta and other sites in Seistan on the other (Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 152). Routes from Baluchistan to Sind still used by the Baluchis and Brahuis are mainly through the Mula Pass and another by way of Pandi Wahi and Tando Rahim Khan. So also Stein describes the route of tribal migrations eastward from the side of Anatolia passing through the North and the South of the great central deserts of Persia. The northern path lay through Azerbaizan along the slopes of the Elburz and the second route stretched from Kurdistan through Luristan, Baktrian country eastwards. The aridity of Mekran was no barrier. Another line of advance lay through Seistan, the fertile terminal basin of Helmund, the broad valleys of Arachosia to Kandahar and the plateaux of Ghazna (Stein, 'The Indo-Iranian Borderlands', *Jour. Roy. Anthrop. Inst.*, 1934, p. 196).

Having thus thought out the possibilities of the antiquity of racial contact in the Eurafrican, Eurasiatic and Afrasian zones as stretching back to the Palæolithic Neanderthaloids, and the further intimacy of contact whenever and wherever in the dim dawn of civilisation the cattles-cereal-wheel-plough culture-complex with the beginnings of writing and working in copper, weaving and painted pottery came into being (one trait in which had left its legacies, as some think even as far as Easter Islands) we have gradually narrowed down the circle of our investigations to what has been termed happily by Frankfort as the Armenian-Persian culture area and which Stein and Majumdar's researches bind intimately with the Indus-Valley. One can no longer study any of these areas in isolation. Let us now enter into the discussion

as to who were responsible possibly for the great revolutions in civilisation at the dawn of the copper age? We have to fall back on the actual study of the peoples of this area, the classification of their languages and the few dated cranial finds. After De Morgan, another French authority has happily collected most of the data for us, I mean, Contenu in his masterly *Manuel d'Archéologie Orientale* (Paris, 1931). He has shown that in the present state of our knowledge we have to face three groups of languages in this tract:—

(1) West Asiatic which includes Sumerian, Gouti (invaders of Zagros), Elamite, Kassite (mountaineers of Zagros), Mitannian of Upper Syria, Hittite dialects, Vannic and other minor languages of Asia Minor such as Carian, Lycian, Lydian etc.;

(2) Oriental with Akkadian (Assyro-Babylonia) western with Cannanite, Aramaic, Akkadian, Phoenician, Moabite, Hebrew; and

(3) Indo-European.

It is a first principle of anthropology that linguistic families should not be correlated with racial groups and we should not commit the absurdities of composing 'brachycephalic dictionaries'. But since the linguists took the wind out of the sail of ethnologists, philological terms still hold the day in ethnic classifications. Thus the Semitic group and the Semitic headforms may be left out at the ouset as standing in a clear distinct type. But what about the distinctions of the Indo-European and the Western Asiatic languages. Dr. Autran had long ago presented his thesis that he thinks that "sous le rapport langue Sumer represente, en tout cas, l'un des elements qui, en des temps fort anciens, ont concouru à la formation de l'indo-européen; sous le rapport culture, que celle de Sumer est, dans une large mesure, à la base de la notre; pour le vocabulaire, en particulier, il semble qu-ici tout comme en indo-européen classique, f'on doive, d'emblée, renoncer à faire le depart entre le vieux fonds de termes originellement identiques et la masse de ceux qui, par mille voies diverses, sont venus ou revenus s'aggréger soit au sumérien, soit à'tel ou tel dailecte indo-européen ancien" (C. Autran, *Sumérien et Indo-Européen*, Paris 1925, p. 169). In 1907 Prof. Hugo Winckler found in the treaties between Subbiluliuma, king of the Hittites and Mattiuza, king of Mitanni of about 1400 B.C. the mention of the gods 'mi-it-ra', 'uru-w-na', 'a-ru-na', 'in-dara', 'na-s (a) -at-ti-ia' which

be identified with the Vedic gods and it has been supposed that the tribes who brought the worship of these gods came from Eastern Iran (see Jacobi, "On the antiquity of Vedic culture," *JRAS.*, 1909, pp. 720 sq.). As for Elam or Susiana, the key-culture of this area, we know that "by the time of Sargon in any case the land was inhabited by peoples speaking the Anzanite language assigned by Speiser to the Japhetic group. At least the kings of Elam defeated by Sargon had good Anzanite names" (Gordon Childe, *op. cit.*, p. 231). So also we find the Cassites possessed a sun-god with Vedic-like name Surias. Kennedy tried to show the traces of the Aryans among the invaders of the Tigris-Euphrates lowlands between 2000-1700 B.C. and thought that the interruption of the jade trade between Khotan and Western Asia by the 22nd or 21st century B.C. was due to the movements and settlements in Bactria by the Aryan (see *JRAS.*, 1909, pp. 1095-1119). Hermann Brunhofer in his *Urgeschichte der Arier in Vorder-und Centralasien* tried to bring forward a host of Vedic names from Rg Vedic texts identifying them with geographical, tribal and personal names in Iran and further west and even ingeniously interpreted a hymn as describing the fall of Babylon from the Rg Veda. So the movement of these Japhetic speaking peoples has to be re-examined not only in the light of Mohenjo-daro but also the still mysterious origins of the civilisation known to us from the Vedic texts.

The readers of Sir John Marshall's volumes will have the impression that the non-Vedic and non-Aryan stamp of the Mohenjo-daro culture has been settled once for all. Dr. Narendra Nath Law's fine critical summary of the position taken up by Sir John shows that the grounds on which Mohenjo-daro culture are dissociated from those of the Vedic Aryans are really the results of arguing in a vicious circle (see *IHQ.*, vol. VIII, no. 1, pp. 121-64). First of all, the date of the Vedic Aryans fixed at 1500 B.C., which is still uncertain, is taken for granted; and Mohenjo-daro is settled as pre-Vedic. Similarly the question of the 'Aryan type of head' is to be decided before we dismiss the Mohenjo-daro crania or statuettes as belonging to non-Aryan types.

Let us leave aside the hypothesis based on slippery foundation of interpretations of Vedic culture and examine the craniological evidence.

Here again so far as the published reports are concerned an elaborate theory has been reared on the evidence of four skulls in Mohenjo-daro of which one was modern, two were badly damaged and the fourth was reconstructed and from several skeletons huddled in a room pell mell perhaps the victims of torture or treasure-diggers buried under the débris. And yet we are told that there were proto-Australoid, Mediterranean, Mongolo-Alpine elements. The Nala skull had been adjudged to be Mediterranean on the analogy of Buxton's study of the Kish skulls; even the Combe Capelle affinities proposed by Buxton for Anau were found to fit in with the Nala cranium by the same authors!

The other series of crania that call for comparison with the Mohenjo-daro and Harappa types are those from Kish and Tell el Obeid. At Kish the skulls found by Langdon have been found to consist of two elements, the first a dolichocephalic type similar to that of the Arab which perhaps constituted the conquerors of Asia Minor, the autochthones of Western Asia, the Oriental race of Fisher and the second is a brachycephalic type of Alpine, Armenoid, Dinaric affinities. This type is well extended westwards up to Bengal. This is the same type as found by Ujfalvy and Lapouge amongst the brachycephalic leptorrhines of Western Asia which came to be called by von Luschan as Armenoid and by Giuffrida Ruggeri as Homo Indo-Europeaus brachimorphus armeno-pamiriensis and just fits in with Sergi's Eurasiatic type extending from Iran to Bengal. At El Obeid in 1923-4, 17 crania were found, of which 12 were dolichocephals, 2 sub-dolichocephal and one sub-brachycephal (Cephaic index, 80. 2) and 4 crania were found at Ur next year which were all dolichocephal. Mr. Watelin has found several skulls at Kish which are reported to be brachycephal. Keith considers that the Sumerians had been a branch of the Caucasic stock which had furnished Europe with its population composed of the Iranians and the Semites but more of the former than of the latter. Boule thinks the Akkadians and Sumerians to be of common origin and he joins them to the Hittites and thinks their origin to have been brachycephal. Contenu by a study of the sculptured faces thinks that the archaic Sumerians were brachycephals and at the time of Gudea race mixture made the sculptors give a large place to mesaticephals or sub-

dolichocephals with the occiput less rounded. (Vide Contenu, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 576-82).

In a study of face-proportions the old harmonics used by Nagnajit in India prior to Christian era as to the crinio-glabella, glabella-subnasale and subnasale-menton distances being equal in *Rājacakravartī* or royal leader types is still useful. We notice by a comparison of the statuettes in the Louvre of the first chaldeo-elamite period, the Sumerian statuettes and those from Mohenjo-daro being more or less of the type in which the nasal region is proportionately longer. The depicting of the eyes is almost of the same type in all these three regions, a feature which led curiously enough the reporters of Mohenjo-daro to detect a Mongol trait but which was just a mark possibly for indicating different temperamental types the small bamboo-bow eyes or utpal-leaf eyes for the ascetic temperaments, fish-maw eyes for ladies and courtesans, lotus leaf eyes for ordinary men as is found in the system current in the N.W. India in very ancient pre-Christian tradition in the text of Nagnajit (Vide *Dokumente der indischen Kunst,—Das Citravalkṣaṇa* herausgegeben und übersetzt von Berthold Laufer, Leipzig 1913). The vertical knot (*uṣṇīṣa*) is absent in these statuettes but is to be found in one Mohenjo-daro statuette (see *Arch. Survey Report of India*, 1925-26, plate xxxviii) and will be recognised in Hittite statuettes as in the case of the warrior god from Zendjirli of 1400 B.C. The head-form in all these cases is of the type of a *chatra* or umbrella, spread or round. Here also as in Neolithic and Bronze Age in Central Europe we could distinguish between what has been called by Fischer as "the plano-occipital and the curvo-occipital form." In Zentraleuropa kann man zeigen, dass es schon neolithisch zweierlei Brachycephalen gibt; die Pfahlbauter, besonders die westlichen, haben runde gewölbte Schädel, eine andere weniger seesshafte, einwandernde, reisige Bevölkerung, die die Höhen besetzt. Kulturell ist sie durch die Glockenbecker characterisiert-, hat typisch hohe charackteristische Kurzschädel mit flachem stellaufsteigenedem Hinterhaupt. Leider is bis jetzt die schöne, neuere Unterscheidung von flachem und gewölbtem brachycephalem Hinterhaupt—plano-occipitaler und kurvoccipitaler Form—die man an rezenten Tirolen-schädeln treffen kann, noch nicht auf diese neolithischen Formen angewandt worden. Sehen diese Schädel der Glockenbeckerbevölkerung ganz so aus wie

plano-occipitale sie sind vielleicht die ersten nachweisbaren Vertreter der Dinarischen Rasse in Zentraeuropa (Fischer, *Anthropologie*, p. 162). The Mohenjo-daro statuettes show both the planoccipital and curvoccipital forms. In the brachycephalic regions of India with leptorrhine types we have as in Bengal today oftener plano-occipital types. At Jhangar in Sind ascribed to a post-Mohenjo-daro phase the characteristic bell-beakers were found to be predominant (N. G. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 69).

Thus as it is possible the population of Susa, Sumer and Indus Valley might have been mixed but the statuettes invariably reveal the ruling and the aristocratic element to be distinctively brachycephalic with often plano-occipital features. The researches of Von Luschan have shown the Hittites to be also of the same type as the present inhabitants of Armenia and Anatolia. In Europe the Neolithic banded-ware folk in Silesia is spoken of as brachycephal while the corded-ware culture in the same region according to Fischer perhaps represents a Nordic immigration. The Pile-dwelling folk and the Bell-beaker folk are found to be brachycephals. Have we then in the Susa-Sumer-Indus chalcolithic folk the evidences of the migrations of the brachycephalic folk who were responsible perhaps for the cattle-cereal-wheel-plough-complex and the prehistoric migration of leucedermic leptorrhine elements in India notably in Gujrat and Bengal? Until bilingual inscriptions are found, Mohenjo-daro and Harappa seals must be considered as unread and the language of the peoples unknown. But from the craniometric similarity with the Susians and identity in types with the people speaking the outer-Aryan group of languages in India may we consider them to be a branch of the Japhetic stock? Do we not see here the same movements whose repercussions are found in distant Europe in Neolithic and early Bronze Age? And throughout these regions the intrusions of a combating Nordic type seems to be later and resulting in the destruction of these settled urban types.

PANCHANAN MITRA

The Buddhist Meditation

INTRODUCTORY

Sīlavisuddhi (ethical purity) and *cittavisuddhi* (mental purity) are the two vital conditions to be fulfilled by the bhikkhus for the realisation of Nibbāna, and the major portion of the Buddhist texts is devoted to the exposition of these two *visuddhis*. Many modern writers have dealt comprehensively with *sīla-visuddhi* teachings of Buddhism but few have taken up for detailed study the teachings dealing with *cittavisuddhi*. The principal reason for such one-sided study is that the purification of mind is attained through meditational practices, and the lessons on such practices can be best, and are actually, imparted orally, and perhaps secretly, by the *ācārya* to his *antevāsika*. An exposition however detailed of these practices cannot make itself sufficiently explicit. The only comprehensive attempt to give an exposition of the practices has been made by Buddhaghosa in his *Visuddhimagga*. The object of this paper is to present to the inquisitive a connected intelligible account of what Buddhaghosa has said. It will serve as a guide to those who feel interested in the Nikāya passages dealing with *satipaṭṭhānas*, *jhānas*, *brahmavihāras*, *abhiññās*, etc. Dr. Rhys Davids has edited[1] a late Sinhalese work on the subject, entitled *the Yogāvacara's Manual of Indian Mysticism as practised by the Buddhists* with an Introduction. This work, however, does not help us much. Very recently Mr. G. Constant Lounsbery has compiled a treatise entitled *La Méditation Bouddhique* (Paris 1935), in which he has put together most of the available materials scattered in the Buddhist texts with the aid of personal instructions of the well-known Sinhalese monks Ñāṇatiloka, Nārada, Parawahera Vajirañāṇa and Samana Mahinda. This is a useful work and its value would have been much enhanced if he had utilised the *Visuddhimagga* exhaustively. The present paper, we hope, will facilitate to a certain extent the study of the Buddhist meditational practices.

A series of spiritual exercises has been prescribed for a monk for attaining complete control over the mind (*citta*). In verse after

verse in the *Dhammapada* and in passages after passages in the Nikāyas the difficulty of controlling the fickle *citta* has been dilated upon, and at the same time it has been emphasised that the only means of attaining *Nibbāna* is by curbing the citta, i.e. withdrawing it from all that is attractive in the world and directing it to the highest goal. There are endless *upakkilesas* like rāga, dosa, moha which never permit *citta* to rest at peace, and the various meditational practices prescribed in the Buddhist texts have for their first object the steadying of the mind so as not to be affected by the weal and woes of the world. It is only with a steady mind that one is capable of comprehending the essential oneness or sameness and vastness of the beings of the universe —the Nibbāna of the different schools of Buddhist philosophy.

It is almost an axiomatic truth that control over mind is attained through meditational exercises. Buddhaghosa has often used the two words *citta* and *samādhi* synonymously. He gives the etymological meaning of samādhi thus:

> "Samādhānatthena samādhi, ekārammaṇe citta-cetasikānaṃ samaṃ sammā ca ādhāraṇ ṭhapanan ti vuttaṃ hoti." (*Vism.*, p. 84).
>
> [Samādhi means firmly placing; on one object the act of putting or placing the mind and mental functions equally and properly is so called.]

There is a graduated course in these meditational exercises, and this course ranges from the most elementary form of samādhi, i.e. simple fixation of mind on a black or white circular spot to the most subtle when the meditator loses wholly his consciousness and sensation and reaches a state which is almost akin to the state of death (*saññāvedayitanirodha*). (See Dutt, *Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism*, pp. 158-61).

Buddhaghosa, in order to bring out the various characteristic features of a *samādhi*, has adopted the usual Buddhist (*aṅguttara*) method of numerical classification which is as follows:—

(A) Samādhis of two kinds:

1. upacāra-samādhi and appanā-samādhi. While attempting concentration of mind, *upacāra* is said to be that mental

state which immediately precedes the fixation of the mind on a certain point; the fixation is *appanā* (Saus. *arpaṇā*). It may be described also as the preparatory attempts for developing thorough concentration of mind, i.e., *appanā*;

2. (a) lokiya (i.e. with kusalacitta) and lokuttara (i.e. with ariyamagga);
 (b) sappītika (with joy) and nippītika (without joy);
 (c) sukhasahagata (associated with a happy state of mind) and upekkhāsahagata (associated with equable state of mind).

(B) Samādhis of three kinds:

3. (a) hīna (lower), majjhima (middle), and paṇīta (higher);
 (b) savitakka-savicāra (with discursive and discriminatory thoughts), avitakka-vicāramatta (without discursive thoughts but with discrimination), and avitakka-avicāra (without discursive and discriminatory thoughts);
 (c) pīti-sahagata (with joy), sukha-sahagata (with happy state of mind), and upekkhā-sahagata (with equanimity of mind);
 (d) paritta (small) (while in upacāra-bhūmi), mahaggata (large) (while in rūpāvacara-kusala and arūpāvacara-kusala bhūmis) and appamāṇa (measureless) (while ariyamagga-sampayutta).

(C) Samādhis of four kinds:

4. (a) dukkhāpaṭipado dandhābhiññō, dukkhāpaṭipado khippābhiññō, sukhāpaṭipado dandhābhiññō, and sukhāpaṭipado khippābhiññō.

[*Paṭipada* is that part of mental exercise which is necessary for collecting one's thoughts and reaching the upacāra stage, and *abhiññā* refers to the next course of exercises which lead to appanā (i.e. fixing mind upon one point)

Dukkhā here means 'with difficulty' as opposed to *sukhā* 'with ease'; similarly *dandhā* means 'slow' as opposed to *khippā* 'quick'.]

(b) paritto parittārammaṇo (not of a high order with limited basis of meditation), paritto appamāṇārammaṇo (not of a high order but with unlimited basis of meditation), appamāṇo parittārammaṇo (unlimited but with a limited basis of meditation), appamāṇo appamāṇārammaṇo (unlimited with unlimited basis of meditation).

(c) vitakka (discursive thoughts), vicāra (discriminatory thoughts), pīti (joy), and sukha (happy state of mind)—four combinations of any two or more of these.

(d) hānabhāgiya (belonging to a lower category), ṭhitibhāgiyo, (belonging to steadying category), visesabhāgiyo (belonging to a higher category), and nibbedhabhāgiyo (belonging to the highest);

(e) kāmāvacaro (belonging to the sensus sphere), rūpāvacaro (belonging to the sphere of forms), arūpāvacaro (belonging to the sphere of formless), and apariyāpanno (belonging to the highest);

(f) chanda-samādhi (concentration by means of strong will), viriya-samādhi (by means of energy), citta-samādhi (by means of mind-control) and vīmaṃsā-samādhi (by means of examination); see also *Majjhima*, II, p. 11.

The above classification helps us only to comprehend the various mental states accompanying the different kinds of meditation but it does not tell us anything about the graduated course to be followed by an adept for passing from the lowest to the highest samādhi. Buddhaghosa, however, has gone into minute details of the processes which induce samādhi and it will now be our object to go into them. We shall consider the following in due order:

(i) the *Palibodhas* or hindrances to the practice of samādhis,

(ii) forty kammaṭṭhānas or the objects of meditation,

(iii) kalyāṇamitta kammaṭṭhānadāyaka or the spiritual preceptor;

(iv) the candidate, and

(v) the successive steps in meditation.

(i) PALIBODHAS

The obstructions to one practising meditation may be of a varied nature as described in the *Milindapañha* (pp. 365-399). Buddhaghosa puts them in a more practical form and enumerates them as follows:

> Āvāso ca kulañ lābho gaṇo kammañ ca pañcamam
> addhānañ ñāti ābādho gantho iddhī ti te dasā ti.

These ten, Buddhaghosa explains, act as hindrances not to all but only to those who has got mental weaknesses as detailed below:

(i) *Ācāsa* or dwelling places of monks. This affects those monks who take interest in the construction of monasteries, stūpas, and so forth.

(ii) *Kula* or family. It affects those who care more for the welfare of his relatives or families of his lay-devotees than that of his own self.

(iii) *Lābha* or gain of food and clothes. It sometimes becomes a source of distraction to the monks of repute, for greater demand is made upon their time by people for the privilege of giving them food and clothes, and not unoften these demands are created by his fellow-brethren who take advantage of his company and receive gifts along with him.

(iv) *Gaṇa* or members of the congregations. There are some monks whose time is taken up in teaching the texts of the Sutta or Abhidhammapiṭaka and hardly find time to be alone and practise meditations.

(v) *Kammam* or works. Buddhaghosa takes it to mean navakammam (construction or repair of buildings). He says that much of a monk's time who supervises the building works is taken up in calculating wages of labourers or the works done or to be done.

(vi) *Addhānam* or wayfaring. There are occasions when a monk has got to go to a place to give ordination to a person or to procure any requisite. By leaving it undone, he tries to gain concentration of mind but fails to do so.

(vii) *Ñāti* or relatives including in this case the teachers, disciples or fellow-brethern of the church. Sickness of any of the *ñātis* is a source of distraction to some monks.

(viii) *Ābādha* or one's own sickness which requires medicine to be cured.

(ix) *Gantha* or scriptures. Some are so absorbed in studying the scriptures that they do not find time or feel inclined to practise meditation.

(x) *Iddhi* or miraculous powers. These are attained as one advances in meditation but their use causes hindrance to the development of insight (*vipassanā*) and so these also are treated as one of the palibodhas.[1]

There are some other palibodhas enumerated by Buddhaghosa (*Vism.*, p. 122), e.g., long hairs and nails which should be trimmed off; old robes which should be repaired; discoloured robes which should be dyed, unclean bowls which should be cleansed and weak beds which should be strengthened.[2]

(ii) THE FORTY KAMMAṬṬHĀNAS

The subjects of meditation are hardly possible of enumeration though traditionally they are said to be forty in number. The selection of the subject, as has been shown above, was left to the Kalyāṇamitta who was free to choose any subject which, he thought, would be the most suitable for his disciple, no matter whether it was included in the traditional list or not. As, for instance, one of the very common subjects of meditation found in the Nikāya is *aniccasaññā* to destroy the sense of I-ness (*asmimāna*), but it is not included in our traditional list.[3]

The forty subjects are:—

1. Ten Kasiṇas
2. Ten Asubhas

1 Cf. Pātañjala, I, 30: व्याधिस्त्यानसंशयप्रमादालस्याविरतिभ्रान्तिदर्शनालब्धभूमिकत्वानवस्थितत्वानि चित्तविक्षेपास्तेऽन्तरायाः ।

2 *Vism.*, p. 122.

3 *Udāna*, iv. 1.

3. Ten Anussatis
4. Four Brahmavihāras
5. Four Āruppas
6. One saññā, and
7. One vavatthāna.

Ten Kasiṇas

The word 'Kasiṇa' is very probably a Prākṛt form of the Sanskrit word 'Kṛtsna' meaning 'entire'. In the Buddhist meditational practices the term is applied to those subjects of meditation, which occupy the 'entire' mind, and as such does not give scope to the rising of any other thought.[4]

I. The first of the Kasiṇas in the list is *Paṭhavīkasiṇa*, i.e. when earth is taken as an object of meditation. To induce concentration of mind, a beginner is generally asked to fix his attention on a piece of earth which may or may not be specially prepared for him (*kata* or *akata*), i.e. he may choose a circular-shaped or square-shaped piece of earth when it is called *kata* (prepared) or he may choose, say a ploughed field when it is called *akata* (unprepared). In the former case particular attention should be given to the fact that the earth must be without any colour as it is likely to divert attention from the earth to its *lakkhaṇas*, e.g. colour. It is, however, recommended that the earth should be of reddish-brown colour like that of dawn; and taken, if possible, from the bed of the Ganges.[5] In a secluded place the adept is to take his seat and try to concentrate his mind on the paṭhavīkasiṇa, cogitating all the while the evils of *kāma*, the solace in overcoming it and the fact that great saints had obtained emancipation by means of such dhyānas, and repeating constantly the term *paṭhavī* or any of its synonymns, *mahī*, *medinī*, *bhūmi*, *vasudhā*, or *vasundharā*. The adept is to try to see with his eyes shut the image of the *paṭhavī* inwardly with as vividness and distinctness as he was doing with his eyes open. As soon as this

4 Cf. Childers, *sv.* Kasiṇo. Rhys Davids translates it by the words 'Predominant Ideas' (see *Yogāvacāra's Manual*, p. viii) and Maung Tin by 'Devise' (see *Path of Purity*, II, p. 138).

5 *Vism.*, p. 123-4. There are many other directions about its location, the position of the meditator and so forth.

is accomplished, the *uggahanimittaṃ* is said to have come to stay (*jātaṃ*).[6] He can now go back to his usual place of residence, and cogitate on the *nimitta* acquired by him.[7] By doing so, he gradually gets rid of the five *nīvaraṇas* (or hindrances to religious life),[8] and the impurities (*kilesas*).[9] By this first attempt at concentration (*upacāra-samādhi*), his mind becomes concentrated, and there appears in the mind the *paṭibhāganimitta*, i.e. the image of the object of meditation (*uggahanimitta*) but that it is much clearer and brighter than the *uggahanimitta* and without the *kasiṇadosa* which remains in *uggahanimitta*. Now commences really the course of meditational practices from upacāra and appanā to catukka or pañcaka-jhāna.[10]

II. The second is *Āpo-kasiṇa*, i.e. when the object of meditation is water. It may be any natural or existing expanse of water as that of a tank or a lake, or even of the sea, or clear rain water collected in a vessel before it has reached the earth. The vessel must be full and placed in a quiet secluded corner of the monastery. As in the case of *paṭhavī*, the colour-question must be avoided, i.e. the lakkhaṇa of water must not divert the attention of the adept, and the concentration should be induced in the same way as has been explained in the case of *paṭhavī*, uttering in this case the word 'āpo' or its synonyms *ambu, udakaṃ, vāri, salilaṃ*, etc.[11] Gradually the uggahanimitta and paṭibhāganimitta appear and the adept proceeds along the course of meditation.

III. The third is *Tejokasiṇa*, i.e. when the object of meditation is fire. It may be the flame of a lamp, fire in an oven, or a jungle-fire. The fire may also be specially prepared; in that case, some faggots

6 *Vism.*, p. 125.

7 He is now advised to use shoes to avoid wasting time in washing his feet and a walking stick. *Vism.*, p. 125.

8 Viz., *kāmacchanda* (strong desire), *vyāpāda* (hatred), *thīnasiddha* (idleness) *uddhaccakukkucca* (arrogance) and *vicikicchā* (doubts).

9 The Kilesas are ten in number, viz., lobha, dosa, moha, māna, diṭṭhi, vicikicchā, thīnaṃ, uddhaccam, ahirikā, anottapaṃ. The first four and uddhaccaṃ are enumerated when the kilesas are calculated to be five in number.

10 See *infra* for details; also *Comp. of Phil.*, pp. 54-5.

11 *Vism.*, p. 170.

are to be collected and a pile made of them near a tree and then it should be set on fire. A suitable screen with a hole about four fingers wide is to be placed between the fire and the adept. The adept now is to look at the fire without minding the faggots or the smoke or its colour, even its heat. He should utter the word 'tejo' or any of its synonyms and acquire the uggaha and paṭibhāganimittas as detailed above in connection with Paṭhavīkasiṇa.

IV. The fourth is *Vāyokasiṇa*, i.e. when the object of meditation is wind. It may be seen or felt. In the former case, the adept observes the swaying or shaking of the sugarcane tops or bamboo tops or hair-tips, and in the latter he feels by his body the rush of wind through a hole in a wall or through a window. He realises that it is wind which is moving the tops of sugarcane, etc. or striking his body, and then as described above he is to utter the word 'vāyu' or its synonyms and gradually develop the two nimittas and induce the jhānas.

V. The fifth is *Nīlakasiṇa*, i.e., when the object of meditation is blue colour. It may be of flowers, a piece of cloth or a blue gem. It may be specially prepared by filling a basket up to the brim with blue flowers in such a way so that the pollens or stalk may be seen. The basket should be covered by a piece of blue cloth in such a way that the mouth of the basket is to appear like the surface of a drum. It should be surrounded by a band of a different colour. Then he is to concentrate his mind on the blue colour avoiding the other lakkhaṇas of the flowers and develop the uggaha and paṭibhāga nimittas.

VI-VIII. The sixth, seventh and eighth are *Pītakasiṇa*, *Lohitakasiṇa* and *Odātakasiṇa*, i.e. when the objects of meditation are yellow, red and white respectively. The kasiṇas are to be prepared as detailed above like the *Nīlakasiṇa* and the process is the same for developing the nimittas and jhānas.

IX. The ninth is *Āloka-kasiṇa*, i.e. when the object of meditation is a spot of light. The sun's or the moon's rays, if received through a chink in the walls, or windows or through an opening in a thick foliage, form a circular spot of light on the earth. The adept fixes his attention on it and utters 'obhāso obhāso', 'āloko āloko'. The spot of light may also be obtained artificially by putting a lamp within a

jar having a hole in its side. As said before, the adept by concentrating his mind on the spot of light develops the nimittas and jhānas.[13]

X. The tenth is *Paricchinnākāsa-kasiṇa*, i.e. when the object of meditation is limited space. The openings in a wall or a window may well be utilised as paricchinna-ākāsa, or an opening may be made, say, four fingers wide in a well-covered pavilion or in a sheet of leather. The adept is to fix his attention on the opening and utter 'ākāso ākāso' and develop gradually the nimittas and jhānas.[13]

In conclusion, Buddhaghosa speaks of the various miraculous powers acquired by successfully practising the above ten kasiṇas.[14]

Ten Asubhas

The ten *asubha* (unpleasant) objects of meditation refer to the ten states through which an uncared for corpse passes before it is completely destroyed. They are,—

(i) *uddhumātakam* or swollen corpse;

(ii) *vinīlakam*, i.e. when the colour of the corpse has become blue;

(iii) *vipubbakam* or the corpse full of pus;

(iv) *vicchiddakam* or the corpse with limbs torn asunder (e.g. dead bodies of thieves);

(v) *vikkhāyitam*, i.e., when the corpse has been mangled by dogs and jackals;

(vi) *vikkhittam* or the corpse with dismembered limbs;

(vii) *hatavikkhittam* or the corpse with its limbs partly destroyed and partly scattered;

(viii) *lohitakam* or the corpse covered here and there with blood (e.g. of soldier in a battle field);

(ix) *puluvakam* or the corpse full of worms;

(x) *aṭṭhikam* or the skeleton.

12 *Vism.*, pp. 174-5. 13 *Vism.*, p. 175.

14 *Ibid.*, pp. 175-7.

After enumerating these ten unpleasant objects of meditation, Buddhaghosa deals with the following:

(i) safety of the place where a corpse is found;

(ii) how he should behave or what he should ponder over while going to or coming from the place of meditation;

(iii) sex of the corpse and its suitability;

(iv) advantages of leaving instructions with the teacher and fellow-brethren about the place selected by him for meditation;

(v) the path and direction to be chosen;

(vi) the nature of the noticeable objects around the place where the corpse is found;

(vii) the six characteristics of the corpse to be observed by him, viz., colour, sex, position, direction and limits of the corpse, as also joints, apertures, depth of eye sockets etc., thickness, and a general view of the corpse.

The meditator, as in the case of *paṭhavī*, tries to convert the corpse into a concept (*paṭibhāga*), and then as usual gets rid of the five nīvaraṇas, and induce the ecstacies by gradually doing away with vitakka and vicāra, pīti and sukha.[15]

The Six Anussatis

The two previous lists of Kammaṭṭhānas speak of actual objects upon which the adept concentrates his mind, gradually converting them into concepts. The present list speaks of pure cogitation of the merits (*guṇas*) of (i) Buddha, (ii) Dhamma and (iii) Saṅgha, as also of (iv) *sīla* (observance of precepts), (v) *cāga* (making gifts) and (vi) *devatā*[16] (ways and means by which one is reborn in the realm of the

15 See *Vism.*, p. 189.

16 In the *Visuddhimagga*, the merits (*guṇas*) of each of these have been culled out from the Piṭaka and explained in detail. They are as follows:

(i) Buddhānussati—Iti pi so Bhagavā arahaṃ sammāsambuddho vijjācaraṇasampanno sugato lokavidū anuttaro purisadammasārathi satthā devamanussānaṃ Buddho Bhagavā ti.

gods). Such cogitation leads to quietude of the mind (*cittaṃ pasīdati*) and destroys the five nīvaraṇas, produces great joy and ultimately induces vipassanā (insight) leading to arhathood.

Other Anussatis

Besides the six anussatis mentioned above, there are three other *anussatis* called (i) maraṇa-sati, (ii) ānāpāna-sati, and (iii) upasamānussati. Unlike the first twenty *kammaṭṭhānas*, these are matters of cognition and not external objects to be converted into concepts.

The practice of *maraṇa-sati* implies that the adept after having seen a corpse is to ponder over the fact that he is also subject to that inevitable death and by doing so he rouses his mindfulness of death, mental agitation and also knowledge relating to it. This leads to the destruction of the nīvaraṇas and induction of the jhānas. Buddhaghosa gives detailed direction about the suitable death, instances to be selected by the meditator.[17]

(ii) Dhammānussati—svākkhāto Bhagavatā dhammo sandiṭṭhiko akāliko ehipassiko opanāyiko paccattaṃ veditabbo viññūhī ti.

(iii) Saṅghānussati—supaṭipanno Bhagavato sāvakasaṅgho ujup. h. s., ñāyap. bi. s., sāmicip. h. s., yad-idam cattāri purisa-yugāni aṭṭhapurisapuggalā esa bhagavato sāvakasaṅgho āhuneyyo pāhuneyyo dakkhiṇeyyo, añjalikaraṇiyo anuttaraṃ puñña-khettaṃ lokassā ti.

(iv) Sīlānussati—aho vata me sīlāni akhaṇḍāni acchiddāni asabalāni akammāsāni bhujissāni viññūpasatthāni aparāmaṭṭhāni samādhisaṃvattanikāni ti.

(v) Cāgānussati—Lābhā vata me, suladdhaṃ vata me, yo'haṃ macchera-malapariyuṭṭhitāya pajāya vigatamalamaccherena cetasā viharāmi, muttacāgo payatapāṇi vossaggarato yāca-yogo dānasaṃvibhāgarato ti.

(vi) Devatānussati—Santi devā Cātummahārājikā, santi devā Tāvatiṃsā, Yāmā, Tusitā, Nimmānaratino, Paranimitta-vasavattino, santi devā Brahmakāyikā, santi devā tat'uttariṃ; yathārūpāya saddhāya samannāgatā tā devatā ito cutā tattha uppannā. Mayhaṃ pī tathārūpā saddhā saṃvijjati yathārūpena sīlena.....yathā-rūpena sutena.....yathārūpena cāgena.....yathārūpāya paññāya samannāgatā tā devatā ito cutā tattha uppannā. Mayhaṃ pi tathārūpā paññā saṃvijjatī ti.

17 See *Vism.*, pp. 230 ff.

The practice of *kāyagatā-sati* means that the adept is to ponder over the fact that this body from head to foot is full of many impure things and that there are in it hair, nails, spleen, intestines, etc. The most popular way of taking up this kammaṭṭhāna is to repeat the list of things contained in the body hundreds or thousands of times either loudly or mentally and thereby induce concentration of mind. Buddhaghosa then gives many other directions about the best way of practising kāyagatāsati,[18] and treats in detail the various contents of the body,[19]—a treatment which may well bear comparison to a modern anatomical study.

The second is *Ānāpānasati*. The induction of meditation by the process of controlling breath is very widely known and is, in fact, adopted by all religions which advocates concentration of mind. It corresponds partly to the Prāṇāyāma as described in the Brāhmaṇic Tantras and Purāṇas and Pātañjala, I, 34 in which *pūraka* (inhailing), *kumbhaka* (stoppage of breath) and *recaka* (exhaling) form the three essential factors.[20] In the Buddhist meditational practices it is given an important place and forms one of the chief subject-matters of discourse under the heading *Satipaṭṭhāna*. In the *Yogāracara's Manual*, it is given the first place among the various meditational exercises.

Those, who choose breath-control as their Kammaṭṭhāna, are required to go to a forest or enter into a secluded spot, cut off his memories of the outside world and direct his attention to his own inhalation and exhalation and thus gradually develop *upacāra* and *appanā*.[21] He should sit cross-legged, keeping his body erect. Then he is to exhale (*assāso*) and inhale (*passāso*), observing the time it takes for full inhalation and full exhalation, watching also when exhalation or inhalation starts (*ādi*), reaches the middle (*majjha*) and the end (*pariyosāna*). In exhalation the breath starts from navel (*nābhi*), passes through heart (*hadaya*) and reaches the nosetip

18 *Vism.*, pp. 243 ff.
19 *Ibid.*, pp. 260 ff.
20 Cf. Majjhima, I, p. 243-4, Pātañjala, I, 49.
21 *Vism.*, p. 269.

(*nāsikaggaṃ*),[22] and in inhalation the process is just in the reverse direction. The mind follows the course of the breath consciously. It is only by long practice that an adept is able to keep himself aware of all the three stages of in-breathing and out-breathing. Such observation and control of the breath lead to stoppage of all bodily movements (*passambhayaṃ kāyasaṅkhāraṃ*).[23]

The artificial aids[24] taken by an adept for ānāpānasati are mainly (i) gaṇanā, i.e. counting, which is not to exceed ten; (ii) anubandhanā, i.e. following the course in its three stages, viz., beginning middle and end; and (iii) phusanā i.e. watching the points of contact, nābhi, hadaya and nāsikaggaṃ.[25] By these aids the adept soon acquires the *paṭibhāga-nimitta* (concept) and develops *appanā* (or ṭhapanā, fixation of the mind) and in some cases the body of the adept becomes so light as to rise up in the air.[26] At this stage the external inhalation and exhalation cease but there are internal inhalation and exhalation, to which then the adept's mind is directed. The subject of meditation may be either assāsa or passāsa, or nimitta (after-image) of either.[27]

By meditating upon the *nimitta* without vaṇṇa and lakkhaṇa (characteristics) one destroys the five nīvaraṇas and develops the jhānas.[28]

The last of the anussatis is *Upasamānussati* or cogitation of Nibbāna. The adept as usual is to retire to a lonely place and think of the fact that the absence of attachment (virāga) is the best of all dhammas constituted and unconstituted. He thereby develops concentration of mind and the jhānas.

22 Not *nābhikaggaṃ*. See *Vism.*, p. 280. In the *Sandhyā-upāsanā* of the Brāhmaṇas, the three points are nābhi, hṛdaya and lalāṭa, the first being the seat of Brahmā, the second of Keśava and the third of Śambhu.

Cf. *Pātañjalabhāṣya*, I, 34: कौष्ठ्यस्य वायोर्नासिकापुटाभ्यां प्रयत्नविशेषात् वमन् प्रच्छर्दनम्, विधारणं प्राणायामः, ताभ्यां वा मनसः स्थितिं सम्पादयेत् ।

23 *Vism.*, pp. 274-7.

24 Cf. *Pātañjala-bhāṣya*, I, 50.

25 See *Vism.*, p. 278.

26 *Ibid.*, pp. 282-3. Cf. *Pātañjala-bhāṣya*, I, 34.

27 *Vism.*, p. 285.

28 *Vism.*, p. 286.

The Four Brahmavihāras

The four Brahmavihāras are *mettā*, *karuṇā*, *muditā* and *upekkha*.[29] These are so called because they make the minds of the adepts pure like those of Brahma-kāyikā gods and after death they obtain the highest place among living beings.[30]

i. The adept desirous of practising *mettā-bhāvanā* should take his seat in a secluded place after he has finished his meal and realise the evils of dosa-citta (mind full of hatred) and merits of khanti (forbearance), for my mettā-bhāvanā, dosa is removed and khanti developed.

The first step in mettā-bhāvanā is to select the person upon whom the adept is to look upon with a friendly eye but at the same time keep free from *rāga* and such other feelings. After pointing out the various difficulties in selecting the person, it is suggested that mettā-feeling should be first exercised in connection with one's own self, i.e. wish for one's own good and then in connection with his spiritual preceptor and so forth wishing him all happiness. In this way he is first to develop *appanā* and then gradually extend his range, including ultimately his enemies, after having completely destroyed his *paṭigha*, if any. He is to extend his range from the inmates of his own āvāsa to those of another and so on, to nine or ten āvāsas, and then to the inhabitants of a village, town and so forth up to a cakkavāla.[31] The next step for him is to break down the line of demarcation (*sīmāsambheda*) between any two persons, i.e. his feeling of love towards himself, his friends, his enemies or neutrals should be absolutely without any distinction. As for instance, if a man wants to kill his enemy, he must not say that the life of his enemy be spared and his be taken instead; it will not then be *sīmāsambheda*. To him there should be no distinction between himself and his enemy and it is this state of mind that mettā-bhāvanā is expected to create. As soon as *sīmā-asambheda* is

29 Cf. Pātañjala, III, 23, and Bhāṣya, I, 33: तत्र सर्वप्राणिषु सुखसम्भागापन्नेषु मैत्रीं भावयेत्, दुःखितेषु करुणां, पुण्यात्मकेषु मुदितां, अपुण्यात्मसु उपेक्षाम्। एवमस्य भावयतः शुक्लो धर्म उपजायते। ततश्च चित्तं प्रसीदति, प्रसन्नमेकाग्रं स्थितिपदं लभते॥

30 *Vism.*, p. 320.

31 *Vism.*, p. 320.

developed, he has the necessary nimitta, upacāra and appanā and soon acquires the four jhānas.[32]

In the Nikāyas, the usual statement is that the adept exercises the mettā-feelings towards all beings in all the directions one after another. This is possible only after the adept has gone through the procedure described above.

ii. In *karuṇā-bhāvanā* also the adept is to choose a suitable object of compassion, e.g., an indigent person begging for alms or a criminal when being taken to the place of punishment and so forth. In this way he is to extend his range for compassion, including ultimately his enemies, after removing *paṭigha*, if any. Like mettā-bhāvanā, he is to practise *sīmā-asambheda* and gradually develop nimitta, upacāra, appanā and the jhānas.

iii. In *muditā-bhāvanā* the adept is to have a feeling of joy at another's happiness (*muditā*). The best to start with is a close friend (*atippiyasahāyako*) of the adept and then other persons may be selected and ultimately his enemy. The remaining process is the same as that of mettā-bhāvanā.

iv. *Upekkhā-bhāvanā* is generally taken up by an adept who has practised the previous three bhāvanās and acquired the jhānas. In the jhānas too, there are the feelings of pīti and virāga, which, being akin to *anunaya* (fondness) and *paṭigha* (hatred), have to be eschewed in upekkhā-bhāvanā.

In practising upekkhā-bhāvanā it is suggested that the person to be selected for the exercise of the feeling of equanimity should be a neutral one and then a friend and then an enemy. Like mettā-bhāvanā, in upekkhā too, the *sīmā-asambheda* is to be practised, developing ultimately the jhānas.

The Four Arūppas

The Kammaṭṭhānas that we have so far dealt with were meant to induce the jhānas up to the fourth, which keep the mind of the adept within the limits of *Rūpaloka*. The subjects of meditation that we

32 *Vism.*, p. 307.

propose to treat now induce the higher jhānas from the fifth to the eighth and carry the mind of the adept to the region of *Arūpaloka*.

1. The first subject of meditation of the Aruppas is *ākāsānañcāyatana* (=ananta-ākāsāyatana). It starts with ākāsa-kasiṇa as dealt with above with the difference that *ākāsa* in this case is unlimited extending over the whole *cakkavāḷa*. So long the conception of ākāsa is associated with cakkavāḷa; though it is unlimited, the adept does not go beyond Rūpaloka. The adept is to think constantly of ananta-ākāsa, but without any kasiṇa, i.e. without any reference to the ākāsa as extending over a cakkavāḷa or so forth. In short, his mind is to be severed from rūpa-saññā[33] (*sabbaso rūpasaññānaṃ samatikkamā*), and hence without the possibility of *nānatta-saññā* (sense of distinction). By constantly meditating over this nimitta, he destroys the nīvaraṇas, develops mindfulness (*sati*) and concentrates his mind through upacāra,[34] and attains the fifth jhāna.

2. The second subject of meditation of the Aruppas is *viññāṇañcāyatana* (=ananta-viññāṇāyatana). This is closely connected with the previous subject of meditation and at the same time a further step ahead of it. In the ākāsānañcāyatana meditation, the adept's mind is not without some notion of sphere (*desa*). This is considered as faulty and the adept seeks to withdraw his mind from the sense of sphere and confines his attention to the 'consciousness'[35] only of ananta-ākāsa and cogitates of *ananta-viññāṇa* only and develops as usual the jhānas, reaching the sixth.

3. The third subject of meditation of the Aruppas is *ākiñcaññāyatana* (=n'atthi kiñci and āyatana). In this case the adept withdraws his mind from the consciousness (*viññāṇa*), of ananta-ākāsa, and cogitates on voidness or absence of viññāṇa or anything else (n'atthi n'atthi' ti vā suññaṃ suññan ti vā vivittaṃ vivittan ti vā). By such cogitation, his mind realises the non-existence of *viññāṇa* and thus gradually develops the seventh jhāna, the jhāna of nothingness.

33 Rūpasaññā=Paṭigha-saññā, because by the *paṭighāta* (contact) of form and eye the rūpasaññā arises. See *Vism.*, p. 329.

34 *Vism.*, p. 328.

35 The *pavatta-viññāṇa*, i.e. the consciousness that has arisen in the adept's mind by concentrating his mind on ananta-ākāsa.

4. The fourth subject of meditation of the Aruppas is said to be *n'evasaññā-nāsaññāyatana*, but in fact, the mental state of n'evasaññā-nāsaññā is derived by cogitation of *ākiñcaññāyatana*, i.e. *abhāva* of *viññāṇa* as explained above. While in the seventh jhāna, the meditator gradually gets rid of the *saññā* (perception) of the four khandhas (rūpa, vedanā, saṅkhārā and viññāṇa), but retains perception of extreme subtlety. He cannot perceive ordinary things but he is not without perception of the subtlest form—the residuum of saṅkhārā. Hence the mental state of the meditation in the eighth jhāna (or samāpatti as it is usually called) is without perception of ordinary things (n'evasaññā) but not without the subtlest perception (na+asaññā).

The last two Kammaṭṭhānas

The last two Kammaṭṭhānas are (i) āhāre paṭikūlasaññā-bhāvanā and (ii) catudhātu-vavatthānassa bhāvanā.

1. *Āhāre paṭikūla-saññā* or disgust for food. The adept is to ponder over the evils connected with the food. The evils may be of many kinds, e.g., the botheration of going out for alms and seeking for it; performing the preliminaries when taking food; the unclean stomach which receives the food, the undigestibility of food and so forth. By meditating over these evils, he gets rid of desire for food and gradually of all desires (*taṇhā*). He feels no attachment for his body, and thus attains the summum bonum in this life (*Vism.*, pp. 341-7).

2. *Catudhātu-vavatthāna*, or determination of the four elements of the body. The adept, taking up this Kammaṭṭhāna, examines the contents of his body under the four heads: paṭhavī, āpo, tejo and vāyu. He takes into consideration one by one his skin, flesh, sinews, marrow, kidneys, bones etc.,[36] and examines their functions and then looks upon them as nothing but one of the four elements, and as such they are mere material objects (*acetana*), indeterminable (*avyākata*), substanceless (*suñña*), non-sentient (*nissatto*) and so forth. Such examination and cogitation make the adept realise the voidness (*suññatam*) of his self and so of the world and can no longer perceive the existence

36 For details, see *Vism.*, pp. 358-67.

of different beings. As soon as he develops this mental state, he in fact attains the highest knowledge (*Vism.*, pp. 347-70).

(iii) KALYĀṆAMITTA

A monk, anxious to take up a subject for meditation, must, at the first place, choose a competent spiritual preceptor (*kalyāṇamitta*). He should first try to find out one who has practised the fourth and fifth *jhānas* and by means of them has developed insight (*vipassanā*) into the truths of the universe, and has, in fact, become an Arhat, by destroying all the impurities (*āsavas*). Failing to get hold of such persons, he should seek for the next best in the descending scale, thus (*Vism.*, pp. 98 ff.):

(i) an anāgāmi;
(ii) a sakadāgāmi;
(iii) a sotāpanna;
(iv) a puthujjana who practises the jhānas;
(v-vii) a master of three or two or one piṭaka;
(viii) a master of one nikāya with its aṭṭhakathā, and lastly,
(ix) a lajjī (a man of self-restraint).

If the candidate finds a suitable preceptor in the monastery where he lives, so far so good; if not, he should proceed to the place where he may find his preceptor. On his way to, as also on his arrival at, his destination he must not be failing in the duties prescribed in the *Vinaya* (ii. 231, 223) for an antevāsika, and he should reverentially and discreetly approach his preceptor, and apprise him of his intention of taking up a subject of meditation.

(iii) THE CANDIDATE

He should then offer himself to his kalyāṇamitta (spiritual preceptor) saying that he is resolved to carry out his commands, and even, if necessary, he would not hesitate to throw himself down a cliff or suffocate himself to death if his kalyāṇamitta wanted him to do so. A candidate with such resolution is not afraid of fearful

lonely forest resorts and readily listens to the admonitions of his preceptor.[37]

He must possess the requisite *ajjhāsaya* (intention), *viz.*, aversion to *lobha*, *dosa* and *moha* as well as to *gharāvāsa* (household life), *saṅganikā* (society) and *sabbabhavagati* (all forms of existence in the world).[38] He should have *adhimutti* i.e. strong desire for samādhi and ultimately for Nibbāna.

When he approaches his preceptor for a Kammaṭṭhāna, he is to answer the questions, which will be put by his preceptor to find out the Kammaṭṭhāna that would suit him best. He is to receive his instructions and ponder over them carefully.[39]

Anurūpa-Vihāra

The suitability of the place of meditation should also be taken into consideration. The candidate preferably should dwell with his preceptor in the same monastery. Failing same, he should find out a suitable place not far from the abode of his preceptor, for he is to see him occasionally in order to correct himself about the practice of Kammaṭṭhāna. Buddhaghosa enumerates eighteen kinds of places[40] unsuited to meditational purposes. The suitable place for meditation must fulfil the following conditions:

(a) not far nor too close,
(b) easy of access,[41]
(c) not crowded by day,
(d) quiet at night, and
(e) not exposed to mosquitoes, or serpents, wind or sun.

About the suitability of the time for meditation, it is recommended that it should be after the monk has returned from his begging round and taken his mid-day meal.[42]

37 *Vism.*, pp. 115-6.

38 The opposites of these respectively are alobha, adosa, amoha, nekkhamma, paviveka, and nissaraṇa. See *Vism.*, p. 116.

39 *Vism.*, p. 117.

40 *Vism.*, pp. 118-122. The eighteen places are: Mahāvāsaṃ navāvāsaṃ jarāvāsañ ca panthaniṃ, soṇḍiṃ paṇṇañ ca, phalaṃ puppitaṃ eva ca nagaraṃ dārunā khettaṃ, visabhāgena paṭṭanaṃ paccantasīmāsappāyam, yattha mitto na labhati.

41 *Vism.*, p. 122.

42 *Vism.*, p. 123.

Candidate's Mental States

The first and foremost duty of the Kalyāṇamitta (spiritual preceptor) is to study the mental leanings of the candidate before he can prescribe his subject of meditation. It may be incidentally remarked that unless the Kalyāṇamitta is a Khīṇāsava or at least an Anāgāmi or Sakadāgāmi, he cannot be expected to have acquired the higher powers (*abhiññā*) of knowing others' minds (*paracittañāṇa*) or one's previous births (*pubbenivāsānussatiñāṇa*) which are indispensable for ascertaining properly the mental leanings of the candidate. For practical purposes, it is suggested that the spiritual preceptor should ascertain the leanings of the candidate by asking him about his likes and dislikes.[43] A person's leanings should be ascertained by observing closely his movements (*iriyāpatha*), actions (*kiccā*), food (*bhojana*), ways of looking at things (*dassanādi*),[44] and lastly the qualities peculiar to him. Buddhaghosa in his *Visuddhimagga* (pp. 101 ff.) has made six divisions of such mental leanings of individuals towards viz., (i) *rāga* (attachment), (ii) *dosa* (hatred), (iii) *moha* (delusion), (iv) *saddhā* (faith), (v) *buddhi* (intelligence) and (vi) *vitakka* (argumentation). Class (i) has for characteristics more of deceitfulness, pride, evil desires, ambition, discontentedness, lasciviousness, fickleness, etc.; class (ii) has more of anger, hypocrisy, envy, and miserliness etc.; class (iii) has more of idleness, doubts, obstinacy, etc.; class (iv) i.e. those with *saddhā* have the characteristics of being given more to charity, desire of seeing holy persons and hearing religious discourses, joy, solitude, credulousness etc.; class (v) has amiability, friendship, moderation in food, mindfulness, watchfulness, emotion and exertion etc.; and class (vi) has propensity for argumentation, love for frequenting societies, lack of keenness in application for good objects, unsteadiness, fondness of moving about etc.

The above is only a very general classification, for Buddhaghosa points out the possibility of further analysis of mental leanings, e.g., those with *rāga* love evil deeds as those with *saddhā* love moral precepts and so forth; hence there is a commonness between these two

43 *Vism.*, p. 107.

44 For those interested in details, I would refer to the *Vism.*, pp. 104 ff.

classes, i.e. both have a strong feeling or earnestness for evil in one case and for good in the other.

In this way, all the six classes admit of further analysis and a closer discrimination about the prescription of the subjects of meditation.

Another interesting explanation is offered by Buddhaghosa regarding the first three classes. He says that a person's nature may be ascertained by knowing his previous lives, e.g., those who performed good deeds through *rāga* and were as a result born in *sagga* have in their present life proneness to *rāga*, while those who in their previous lives injured others in various ways and were as a result born in the hells or nāga worlds develop in this existence a leaning towards *dosa;* similarly those, who were in their previous lives given to drinking and did not care for learning, have more of *moha* (delusion). Buddhaghosa gives another interesting explanation of these three classes of persons.[45] He says that those with *moha* have in their body more of the two elements, earth and water, while those with *dosa* have more of fire and air, and those with *rāga* have all the four elements in due proportion.

Further information has been furnished by him about the kind of spot to be chosen for a candidate with a particular leaning, what should be the nature of his dress, bowl, begging places, food offerers, food, etc., postures (*iriyāpathas*), and the colour of his subjects of meditation.[46]

A selection has been made from among the forty *Kammaṭṭhānas* (subjects of meditation) according to the different mental leanings thus:[47]

45 *Visu.*, p. 103.

46 See for details *Visu.*, pp. 108 ff.

47 *Visu.*, p. 114; *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha*, pp. 41-2. Cf. *Udāna*, iv. 1:

asubha	bhāvetabbā	rāgassa	pahānāya
mettā	,,	vyāpādassa	,,
ānāpānasati	,,	vitakka-upacchedāya	
aniccasaññā	,,	asmimānassa samugghātāya.	

MENTAL LEANINGS	KAMMAṬṬHĀNAS
For *rāgacarita*,	the ten asubhas (unpleasant objects) and kāyagatā sati (mindfulness about body;
,, *dosacarita*,	the four brahmavihāras and four colours (vaṇṇakasiṇāni);
,, *mohacarita* and *vitakkacarita*,	only ānāpāna-sati (inhaling and exhaling mindfulness);
,, *saddhācarita*,	the six kinds of anussati (mindfulness about six different objects);
,, *buddhicarita*,	maraṇasati, upasamānussati, catudhātuvavatthāna and āhāre paṭikūlasaññā.

It is never possible to deal comprehensively with all the mental states in any treatise, but the above exposition makes it clear that the choice of the subjects of meditation was given a very important place in the code of Buddhist meditational practices. Buddhaghosa, however, admits that there is neither any original treatise (Pāli) nor any commentary (aṭṭhakathā) which deals with the mental leanings of a candidate and what has been said above is gleaned by him from the oral instructions of teachers.[48]

The Preliminaries

In the *Visuddhimagga*, a few details are lacking about the preliminaries that a candidate has to go through before he commences his meditational exercises. These are to be found in the *Yogīrucāra's Manual* (edited by Dr. Rhys Davids in P.T.S. Series).

The candidate first salutes the Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha by uttering the usual formulæ with the belief that this not only makes him meritorious but also removes many of the hindrances to meditation.[49]

48 *Vism.*, p. 107.

49 Iccevam acanta namassaneyyaṃ,
Namassamāno ratanattayaṃ yaṃ
Puññābhisandaṃ vipulaṃ aladdhaṃ
Tasānubhāvena hatantarāyo
Yogāvacāro's *Manual*, p. 3.

Then he prays for happiness for all beings including his friends and relatives and at the same time wishes that Māra be kept away from him so that he may succeed in his mission.

He then utters the formulæ of confession, praying that he may be absolved from all wrongs that he may have committed knowingly or unknowingly.

He now promises to abide by the teachings of the omniscient Gotama and prays for *uggahanimitta, paṭibhāga-nimitta, upacāra-vidhi, appanā-samādhi.*[50] To strengthen his mind he brings to his memory the fact that numberless disciples of Buddha had before him followed this path and succeeded in attaining their object, and that he will, likewise, with the help of his teacher, be able to reach the goal, Nibbāna.

He now sits cross-legged keeping his body erect and fixes his mind on the subject of meditation (*Kammaṭṭhāna*).[51]

(iv) THE SUCCESSIVE STEPS IN MEDITATION

I. *Upacāra*

We have spoken of the various objects of meditation on which the adept fixes his attention, trying all the while to convert it into a concept as clear and distinct as the object he sees with open eyes. The first attempts that he makes at fixation of his mind on the *nimitta* (i.e. parikamma-nimitta) are called *parikamma-bhāvanā.*[52] When the adept has been able to see the object in his own mind as vividly as he has been doing with eyes open, he is said to have acquired the *uggaha-nimitta.*[53] The attempts that are now being made by the adept to make the concept not only clearer and brighter than the actual object as seen by his physical eyes but free from the *lakkhaṇas* (characteristics) of colour, form, etc. (vatthudhamma-vimuccitaṃ)[54]

50 See infra for detailed treatment.

51 The *Yogāvacāra's Manual* does not treat the subject systematically as has been wrongly supposed by Dr. Rhys Davids. It contains just an enumeration, like all other Buddhist texts of the different mental states and objects of meditation, connected with the four jhānas.

52 *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha*, p. 42.

53 *Vism.*, p. 125.

54 *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha*, p. 42.

which are regarded as Kasiṇadosas are known as *Upacārabhāvanā*.[55] Even at this stage the mind of the adept cannot be steady in concentration; it is like a child unable to stand though making attempts to stand on his legs. The brighter concept, which he now possesses though intermittently, is called *paṭibhāga-nimitta*.[56] It is exceedingly difficult to make the *paṭibhāga-nimitta* steady and this is not possible for an adept so long he is in the upacāra stage. He will now have to exert to pass from *upacāra* to the *appanā* state. He has got to be very particular about the selection of his *āvāsa* (dwelling place), *gocara* (places from which to collect alms), *bhassaṃ* (improper talks), *puggalo* (associates), *bhojanaṃ* (food), *utu* (seasonal food), and *iriyāpathaṃ* (postures in which he should pass his time).[57]

II. *Appanā*

The stage next to upacāra is *appanā* in which the adept's power of concentration becomes strong and steady; and the mind is likened to a grown up man able to stand on his legs as long as he likes. In the appanā stage, the adept can fix his attention on the subject of meditation one whole day or one whole night.[58] It is not possible to maintain the paṭibhāga-nimitta for any length of time unless the adept reaches the *appanā* stage. It sometimes happens that the adept becomes over-energetic and thereby gets excited and fails to attain the firmness of *appanā* state. As a reaction to it, sometimes it so happens that he gets dejected, his energy slackens and his mind drifts to slothfulness. It is therefore advised (see next fn. items 4-6)[59] that the adept should neither be over-energetic nor slack in directing his mind towards the *nimitta*. It is by maintaining the balance of mental energy that an adept easily obtains *appanā*.[60]

55 *Ibid.* 56 *Vism.*, p. 125. 57 *Ibid.*, pp. 127-8.

58 *Vism.*, p. 126. 59 *Vism.*, p. 137.

60 The ten ways and means for passing from the upacāra to the appanā stage are enumerated as follows:

1. Cleanliness in regard to body and clothing.
2. Equipose (*samabhāva*) of the faculties of faith (*saddhā*), energy (*viriya*), memory (*sati*), concentration (*samādhi*) and intellect (*paññā*).

For the attainment of *appanā* state the adept stops his *bhavaṅga* thoughts and concentrates his mind on the object of meditation, which then becomes an object of mental reflection (*manodvārāvajjaṇa*). It is followed as usual by the seven thought-moments (*sattakkhattuṃ javanaṃ javati.—Abhi. S.*, p. 17). It is in the fourth or the fifth moment that the *appanā* state of mind develops.[61] It is ekacittakkhaṇika. Immediately after *appanā*, i.e. in the sixth or seventh moment, the usual currents of thought (*bhavaṅga-citta*) reappear. The *appanā* state therefore refers to a certain mental development which the adept

3. Proficiency in acquiring the nimitta (object of meditation) and in maintaining it.
4. Avoidance of mental slackness. This is to be done not by passaddhi, samādhi and upekkhā sambojjhaṅga, but by dhammavicaya, viriya and pīti-sambojjhaṅgas. The dhammavicaya sambojjhaṅga helps the adept to choose those dhammas which put in him more and more of energy (i.e. *ārambha, nikkama* and *parakkama*). He develops *viriya* sambojjhaṅga by remembering the fact that it is by being energetic persons have became great and that he can also be like them if he applies his energy and dismisses his slothfulness. The third is *pīti* sambojjhaṅga which the adept can develop by practising the *anussatis* (see *infra*) and by associating with gentle persons to the exclusion of the vulgar and by reflecting on suttantas which produce serene pleasure (*pasāda*). These three sambojjhaṅgas help the adept to make his mind strong and energetic when necessary and protect his mind from becoming weak. Buddhaghosa enumerates the various ways and means by which these *sambojjhaṅgas* are to be developed.
5. Not allowing the mind to get excited (*uddhata*). This is done not by the dhammavicaya, viriya and pīti sambojjhaṅgas but by passaddhi (tranquility), samādhi (calm) and upekkhā (equanimity) sambojjhaṅgas. Buddhaghosa enumerates the various ways and means, by which these three sambojjhaṅgas are developed (*Vism.*, p. 134).
6. Toning the mind. Sometimes the adept gets disheartened by failing to acquire the desired object viz., knowledge or quietude. To get over such depression of mind, he is advised to remember things which would agitate his mind (*saṃvegavatthūni*) (for enumeration, see *Vism.*, p. 135.)
7. Looking upon the mind with equanimity.
8. & 9. Avoidance of persons not engaged in meditation and association with persons engaged in meditation; and
10. Strong desire for concentration of mind.

61 *Vism.*, pp. 137-8; *Abhi. S.*, p. 18.

acquires in course of meditational practices. One who has developed that state is able to keep up the *paṭibhāga-nimitta* for a certain length of time and becomes fit for practising the *jhānas*. He is a *gotrabhū*.[62] By repeatedly meditating over the *paṭibhāga-nimitta*, he can induce the *paṭhamajjhāna*.[63]

III. *The First Trance*

The conditions precedent to the attainment of the first trance are:

1. Dissociation from *vatthukāma*[64] and *kilesakāma*,[65] the former referring to attractive things of the world and the latter to mental impurities like chanda, rāga, or the five nīvaraṇas.
2. Directing (*abhiniropaṇa*) one's mind to the object of meditation.[66] It is compared to the spreading of wings when the bird is about to fly up (*abhiniropaṇa*).
3. Roaming of one's mind on the object of meditation.[67] It is compared to the turning round of the bees on the top of a lotus[68] (*anuppabandhana*).
4. Derivation of mental and physical joy (*pīṇaṇa*) through the removal of nīvaraṇas[69] and its enjoyment (*anubrūhaṇa*), and lastly,
5. Full concentration of mind (*ekaggatā*).[70]

62 *Vism.*, pp. 138-139.

63 *Abhi. S.*, pp. 42-43: Tato paraṃ tam eva paṭibhāgamittaṃ upacārasamādhinā samasevantassa rūpāvacara-paṭhamajjhānaṃ uppeti.

64 *vivicc'eva kāmehi.* 65 *vivicca akusalehi dhammehi.*

66 *savitakka.* 67 *savicāra.*

68 In the *Dukanipātaṭṭhakathā* (see *Vism.*, p. 142), the simile given of *vitakka* and *vicāra* is as follows:

The bird's act of flying by resting on its wings in the air is compared to the adept's putting of his mind on the object of meditation (*vitakka*) while its actual flying by moving its wings is compared to the adept's thoughts going deep into the object of meditation (*vicāra*).

Another simile of *vitakka* and *vicāra* is as follows: firm grasping of a dirty bowl by one hand is *vitakka*, while the act of cleansing it by the other hand is *vicāra*.

69 *Vivekajaṃ pītisukhaṃ*: *iṭṭhārammaṇapaṭilābhatuṭṭhi* pīti, *paṭiladdharasānubhavanaṃ* sukhaṃ. For distinction between *pīti* and *sukha* see *Vism.*, p. 145.

70 *Paṭhamaṃ jhānaṃ upasampajja vihareti.*

The first trance, in short, is composed of five angas, viz., vitakka, vicāra, pīti, sukha and cittekaggatā and leads to (i) *paṭipadā-visuddhi*, or purification from the hindrances (*kāma* and *akusala-dhamma*), (ii) *upekkhānubrūhaṇa* or development of equanimity on account of the mind becoming pure, calm and concentrated on the subject, and (iii) *sampahaṃsanā* or mental thrill obtained by bringing into being the mental states as described above and by making all the faculties (*indriyas*) perform one function.

The adept, who has once obtained the first trance, should repeat it, and for the sake of doing it, he should choose the same food, place of residence, companions, etc. as he had when he first developed it. He should be very careful about the hindrances which may spoil his attained fruit. He should now try to enlarge the *paṭibhāga-nimitta*, i.e. if his *paṭibhāga-nimitta* be that of a small piece of land, it should be increased gradually to that of a village, a town, a province, a kingdom, the world and so on. He should also constantly practise *āvajjana* (adverting to trance), *samāpajjana* (entering into trance), *adhiṭṭhāna* (maintaining the trance), *vuṭṭhāna* (issuing out of the trance) and *paccavekkhaṇa* (reflecting).[71]

II. *The Second Trance*

The psychological conditions relating to the second trance are indicated as follows:

1. Cessation of *vitakka* and *vicāra*,[72] which are matters of the first trance. In the second trance, the object of meditation takes a firm hold of the mind (*aṅgapātubhāva*), and the physical sensations are no longer external (*oḷārika*) but purely internal.
2. Attainment of inward[73] calmness and concentration of thoughts on one object (free from *vitakka* and *vicāra*).[74]

71 Vism., p. 154.

72 Vitakkavicārānaṃ vūpasamo.

73 In the *Vibhaṅga*, "ajjhattaṃ" is explained as "self-realised" (paccattaṃ =skt. pratyātma).

74 ajjhattaṃ sampasādanaṃ cetaso ekodibhāvam.

The calmness (*sampasādanaṃ*) is attained by the development of faith (*saddhā*). In the first trance, *saddhā* is present, but it does not produce complete calmness on account of the presence of *vitakka* and *vicāra*. In the second trance, *saddhā* becomes stronger, tranquillizes the mind completely, ending in complete concentration of thought.

3. Total removal of *vitakka* and *vicāra*.[75] On account of complete concentration of mind, the *indriyas* remain impervious to both inward and outward sensations and as such there is not the remote possibility of the appearance of *vitakka* and *vicāra*.
4. Derivation of joy (*pīti*) through concentration of mind (*samādhija*) and its enjoyment (*sukha*),[76] and
5. Full concentration of mind (*cittekaggatā*).

Like the first trance, the adept should repeat the second trance. He gradually realises that *pīti* also is a source of disturbance to mental tranquillity and he should now get rid of it in order to reach the third trance.

III. *The Third Trance*

The conditions for the induction of the third trance are that the adept should be (i) *upekkhakko*, (ii) *satimā*, and (iii) *sukha-vihārī*.

(i) By *upekkhako*, it is meant that the mind of the adept should be unaffected either by joy (*pīti*) or disgust (*virāga*),[77] i.e., his mind must not be perturbed by thoughts of *anicca*, *dukkha* and *anattā* and at the same time it should be passive (*anābhoga*) and inactive (*avyāpāra*);

(ii) By *satimā*, it is meant that the adept should have power of remembrance (*sato*) and be cognizant of the various mental conditions concomitant to the second trance without any delusion (*asammoha*). These two factors *sati* and *sampajāno* are required in *upacāra* and *appanā*; so the reason shown for mentioning it in connection with the third trance is that *sati* and *sampajāno* are necessary in this case also

75 avitakkaṃ avicāraṃ. 76 samādhijaṃ pītisukhaṃ.
77 pītiyā ca virāgā upekkhako. For ten forms of upekkhā, see Vism., p. 160.

for keeping the mind away from *pīti* and *sukha* acquired by the adept in the preceding trance.

(iii) By *sukhavihāri*, it is meant that though the adept's mind is unaffected by *sukha* while in meditation, his body is pervaded by a feeling of ease which he realises only after he has arisen from the trance.[78]

Constant practice of this meditation makes the adept firm in this trance and he can now proceed to the fourth.

IV. *The Fourth Trance*

In the fourth trance, no new mental factors are acquired or got rid of by the adept. This trance is more or less the resultant of the first three. The mental states described in connection with this trance are as follows:

(i) free from physical pain or happiness (*sukhassa ca pahanā dukkhassa ca pahanā*);

(ii) free from mental pain or happiness (*somanassadomanassānam atthangamā*);

[These two states are acquired by the adept in the first stage (*upacāra*) of meditation;[79] only *somanassa* is completely eradicated in the upacāra state of the fourth jhāna].

(ii) Adukkhamasukkham, i.e., being devoid of *rāga* and *dosa*,[80] as the former is the source of *sukha* and the latter of *dukkha*.

(iv) Memory and other mental states reach the purest state through upekkhā (*upekkhā satipārisuddhim*). In this trance when all the obstructing factors to higher meditation have subsided, *sati* and other factors conducive to the fourth trance becomes pure and serene.

78 Sukhañ ca kāyena paṭisaṃvedeti.

79 For details, see *Vism.*, pp. 166-7.

80 See *ante* pp. 730-1 in connection with analysis of mental states of candidates for meditation.

It should be noted that all these four trances[81] are induced by meditating on the various Kammaṭṭhānas detailed above. In every trance, the adept has to take up the Kammaṭṭhānas, say, paṭhavī, induce upacāra and appanā, and then if he has previously acquired the first, he easily develops it and passes on to the second. Similarly, in the case of the third and fourth also, the adept has to induce upacāra and appanā with paṭhavī, pass through the first and second and reach the third or fourth.

There are four higher trances called *Samāpattis*.[82] These trances are induced by the cogitation of the four āruppas, (see above pp. 725-6).

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81 By splitting up the second trance into two, four trances are sometimes spoken of as five in number. See *Vism.*, p. 169.

82 In another paper these will be dealt with in detail.

The Dhammapada and the Udanavarga

The *Dhammapada* in its Pāli recension has been known to the Buddhists of Ceylon and Burma for centuries probably from the beginning of the Christian era, if not earlier. An edition of the text in Roman script with Latin translation was for the first time published by Fausböll in Copenhagen in 1855. Weber translated it into German in 1860 (*ZDMG.*, vol. XIV) which was reprinted in *Indische Schriften I*. In 1870 it was translated into English for the first time by Max Müller as an introduction to Buddhaghosa's *Parables*, later reprinted in the *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. X, 1881. Since then the Pāli *Dhammapada* has been translated into almost all the European languages; it is now also available in many Indian vernaculars.

The *Dhammapada* forms the second book of the Khuddaka-Nikāya. It contains 26 chapters and 423 gāthās in all; each gāthā is said to have been spoken by the Buddha on a particular occasion. The authorship of its commentary in Pāli, known as the *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā*, is attributed to Buddhaghosa.[1]

The existence of an actual Sanskrit version of the *Dhammapada* (henceforth abbreviated as *Dhp.*), I mean, the *Udānavarga*, has been discovered in course of the excavations in Central Asia. The Chinese and Tibetan versions are based on some versions different from the Pāli.

In Chinese there are four separate translations of the *Dhp.* :—

(1) Fa-chiu-ching
(2) Fa-chiu-pi-yu-ching
(3) Chu-yao-ching
(4) Fa-chi-yao-sung-ching.

1 The work has been published by the Pāli Text Society and is available in Ceylonese, Burmese and Siamese script. Portions of it were published in Bengali script with translation (*Jagajjyoti*, a Buddhist monthly, edited by Swami Punnānanda). A complete English translation of this work was done by Burlingame and has been published by the Harvard Oriental Society, vols. 28, 29, 30; 1921).

Four Chinese translations

(1) The *Fa-chiu-ching* (Nanjio, 1365) [=*Dharmapada(gāthā) Sūtra*] was translated by an Indian Śramaṇa called Wei-chi-nan, whose name has been restored by Nanjio as Vighna which is not a happy restoration.

The history of the translator as recorded in the *Kao-sang-chuang* or the Memoirs of Eminent Priests, compiled about A.C. 519 is as follows: Vighna was an Indian Śramaṇa who was at first a Yājñika brahmin (not a fire-worshipper as noted by Nanjio) and afterwards converted into Buddhism. In A.C. 224 he together with Chu-Lü-yen brought a copy of *Dharmmapada Sūtra* (Than-po-ching) to China; then they were asked by the Chinese to translate it. At the time of the translation, Vighna and Lü-yen do not seem to have been well acquainted with the language of the country; nevertheless they translated the text into Chinese, presumably with the help of some Chinese, who had little comprehension of the Indian thought. Their translation, therefore, is somewhat difficult in its expression, owing to the simplicity of their words, though they tried to retain the original sense of the text. (Nanjio, *Catalogue*, No. 1365; Bagchi, *Le Canon Bouddhique*, p. 301).

It seems that Vighna and his friend left India from Ceylon where they got a copy of the Pāli *Dhp.* and went to Nanking, the capital of the Wu Dynasty (222-280 A.C.).

(2) Two generations after this in the reign of emperor Hui (290-306 A.C.) of the Western Tsin Dynasty, Fa-li together with Fa-chu brought out another version of the *Dhp.* called *Fa-chiu-pi-yu-ching* [=*Dharmapada Avadāna Sūtra*] (in 39 chapters, Nanjio, No. 1353). It is not a better translation of the same work as was noted by Nanjio, but it is the same version, only the number of verses is less. The authors of this version were careful enough to select only the best verses for this purpose. There are 68 Avadānas or parables, illustrating the teaching of the verses; these might have been original composition or abridged translation of some *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā*, available in the third century A.C. It was translated by Beal into English,—the verses are fully translated, but of the parables an abstract is given.[2]

2 Text from the Buddhist Canon commonly known as *Dhammapada*, London 1878.

(3) The third work known in Chinese as *Chu-yao-ching* [*Avadāna Sūtra*] is in 20 fasc. and 33 chapters. It contains about a thousand verses and has a very large commentary. It was translated by Śramaṇa Fo-nein, with the help of Saṅghabhūti, a monk of Kipin (398-99 A.C.), who is said to have brought the Ms. from Kipin (Nanjio, No. 1321).

Fo-nein was a monk of Liang-chen in the province of Kansu; but it seems that he was an Indian settled in Kansu, as the prefix 'chu' indicates Indian origin. Fo-nein would mean Buddhasmṛti. This monk was vastly learned, knew many languages and visited many countries. He was one of the principal assistants of Saṅghabhūti and Dharmanandi and was working at translation, when Fa-hein left China for India (399 A.C.).

(4) After a lapse of about six hundred years the text of the *Udānavarga* (*Fa-chi-yao-sung-ching*) was translated by a monk of Udyāna, named Tsin-si-tsai (980-1001 A.C.) whose original name has not yet been restored. This work (*Dharmasaṃgraha-mahārthagāthā-sūtra*) has also 33 chapters and the number of verses would approximately be a thousand. This is the largest and the latest Chinese *Udānavarga*. The original is said to have been compiled by Dharmatrāta. The translation of the first chapter of this work has been appended with notes and comments. This last Chinese version approaches closest to the Tibetan translation, known also as the *Udānavarga*.

The Tibetan translation

The earliest reference of Tibetan *Udānavarga* is found in the *Analysis of the Kanjur* by Csoma Kōrōsi (*Asiatic Researches*, 1826, vol. 20, p. 477; also in its French translation by Léon Feer in the *Annals du Musee Guimet*, 1881, Tome 2) where it is found in the Sūtra group (Mdo); also in vol. 26 of the Kanjur of the Asiatic Society (see also Beckh's *Katalog*). It is further reproduced in the Tanjur, Sūtra Group (Mdo. 71). The first clear analysis of the work was given by Schiefner in his *Mélanges Asiatiques*, vol. 8, pp. 559 ff. But he did not live to finish a translation of the work.

The Tibetan translator of the work was the Indian monk Vidyākaraprabha or Vidyāprabhākara (Beckh's *Katalog*, p. 65) who took the

help of the Lotsaba Rin-chen-mchog. Subsequently it was corrected by Dpal-brtsegs. The translator lived in the ninth century A.C. and was a contemporary of king Ral-pa-chen A.C. 817-842 (Rockhill, p. xii).

According to a statement in the work (fol. 126-2) the *Udānavarga* is an *Agama* of the Vaibhāṣika school (Cordier, II, p. 398). The author or the editor of the work, according to the Tibetan colophon, is Arhat Dharmatrāta (Dharmaśaraṇa, see Cordier, *op. cit.*, Dharmarakṣita, see Csoma, *op. cit.*).

Tāranātha mentions two Dharmatrātas, one a teacher of the Vaibhāṣikas and probably an inhabitant of Kashmir, and the other the editor of the *Udānavarga* (Schiefner, *Geschichte des Buddhismus*, 1869, p. 68). He is referred to as the uncle of Vasumitra, the president of the Council, convened at the time of Kaniṣka (early 2nd cent., A.D.)

Rockhill brought out a translation of the Tibetan version in 1892 and in 1911 H. Beckh published the Tibetan Text.[3]

Its Commentary in Tibetan

There is a commentary of the *Udānavarga* called *Udānavarga-vivaraṇa* (Tanjur, Mdo, LXXXI, vol. X, 52-268; LXXXII, fol. 1-239; Cordier, II, p. 399) by a Sarvāstivādin ācārya named Prajñāvarman. He was a native of Kapatya(?) in Bengal (Bagkhal yul, yul Bhaṃgal) and was a disciple of ācārya Bodhivarman of Bahuśrutiya school. It is very difficult to determine the time of Prajñāvarman; but we might put him at the time of king Gopāla of Bengal, that is, in the middle of the 8th century (*circa* 765 A.C., see Dr. H. C. Roy, *Dynastic Hist. of Northern India*, p. 279; also Tāranātha, p. 204). His treatise was translated by the grammarian Paṇḍita Janārdana of India with the help of Śākya blo-gros.

3 *Udānavarga*: A collection of verses from the Buddhist canon, compiled by Dharmatrāta, being the Northern Buddhist version of the Dharmapada and translated from the Tibetan *Bkah-ḥgyur*, with notes and extracts from the commentary of Prajñāvarman, London 1892.

Udānavarga, eine Sammlung Buddhistischer Sprüche in Tibetischer Sprache, nach dem Kanjur und Tanjur mit anmerkungen, herausgegeben von Hermann Beckh, Berlin, 1911.

This commentary extends over 443 folios of the Tanjur. In the introduction to the work, the commentator has given the reason of his composing the treatise (Rockhill, p. xii). It is divided into 33 chapters, each devoted to a chapter of the text. Each verse is preceded by a short history of the events which led the Buddha to utter it.

We saw above that Fo-nien had translated a commentary (398-399 A.C.) which was also divided into 33 chapters and this was as extensive as the Tibetan one.

There are therefore three big commentaries, the Pāli *Aṭṭhakathā* by Buddhaghosa, the Chinese *Avadāna* by Fo-nien, and the Tibetan *Vivaraṇa* by Prajñāvarman.

Tokharian translations

Besides these complete translations of the *Dhp.* and the *Udānavarga*, fragments of translation in the Tokharian language have been unearthed and subsequently deciphered, studied and edited by Prof. S. Lévi and Drs. Sieg and Seigling.[4] The manuscript was written in the Brāhmī script of the earlier Gupta style, in which Sanskrit verses were translated phrase by phrase into the Tokharian language.[5] From the fragments we can infer that the complete *Udānavarga* once existed in the Kuchean.

Besides the *Udānavarga* there were two other books current in Kucha entitled *Udāna-stotra* and *Udānālaṅkāra* both pertaining to the *Udāna*. The manuscript of the *Udānālaṅkāra* is in Berlin. It is a commentarial work like the *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā*. We just quote below (in translation) a passage of the Śraddhā-varga (Tokharian-*Udānavarga*, X, 1):

"Bhagavan Buddha was in Rajagriha: The Ayuṣmat Ananda came to the city for begging alms: he went to the house of a disciple of the Ājīvaka who

4 *Journal Asiatique*, 1911, pp. 341 ff.: Fragments de Textes, Kuchean, Paris 1933; Tocharische Sprachreste I, 1921.

5 The following verses have been found in fragments:

Varga I, 27-37; 41-42; II, 1-2, 11-14, 14-20, 18-20; IV, 1-5, 10-15; VIII, 12-13; IX, 1-4; X, 13-16; XII, 9-13; XVI, 4-7; XVIII, 7-12; XVIII, 1-2; XIX, 12-14; XX, 1-4; XXII, 2-9; XXIII, 31-36; XXVIII, 37-40; XXIX, 1-5, 45-51; XXX, 22-24; XXXI, 25-31, 23-29, 25-31, 33-39, 49-55; XXXII, 12-21; XXXIII, 20-33.

The fragments are so broken that no two sentences are in tact.

spoke to Ānanda thus—'This is my earnest conviction; there is no gift, there is no offering; there is no good work and no evil work. But you, the Śakyas, declare to numerous people, 'through gift one will not be born again'. You proclaim to all men the value of gift; I do not believe your word 'Gift'; I do not give any gift to any person, in truth, get out of my house.' Ānanda went to another house for alms. After taking food there he went and reported it to Buddha, 'In this way the disciple of the Ājīvaka has spoken to me contemptuously'. Then the Buddha spoke this verse to Ānanda:

'na vai kadarya devalokaṃ vrajanti/
bālā hi te na praśaṃsanti dānaṃ//
śraddhastu dānaṃ anumodamāna//
evaṃ hyasau bhavati sukhi paratra'

(See Lüders, Bruchstücke der Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā des Kumaralāta, 1926, pp. 27-28).

This śloka occurs in the Pāli *Dhammapada* (*Lokavagga*, II) but the story alluded to in the commentary is quite different (see Burlingame, I, 117).

In another fragment of the *Udānālaṅkāra* preserved in France, we have a fragment of the famous story of Nanda of the *Saundarānanda-Kāvya*. While the Buddha was residing in Śrāvastī, Nanda was leading a worldly life; he dressed, he rubbed, he washed, used beautiful clothes, and all sorts of ointments. Buddha having heard this, recited six ślokas the first of which was:—

As a house which is badly covered, the rain destroys it completely, so a self which has not rid itself of passion is destroyed.

The Kuchean author continues:

"This is what appeared to me to be reason of the Buddha's reciting the six ślokas. And having heard this, Nanda felt disgust for the world: impressed by this disgust, his spirit meditated upon it; his senses were illuminated: he began to eat moderately; he began to recite the Dhamma which was beneficent in the beginning and beneficent at the end: he rejected fineries for the body, he endeavoured (to be away) from his wife: and this kleśa did not trouble him any longer. The *samānes* [Śramaṇas] reported this matter to Bhagavat. And the Bhagavat recited six ślokas, again with a view to Nanda:

"As a good house which is covered and is not destroyed totally by rain; so a spirit which is well exorcised of the passion, is not wholly destroyed."

The next five ślokas are the same except at the end, where they read just

6 Chapters I-VIII, XXXIII, XXVI-XXXIX of the *Fa-chiu-ching*, have no corresponding Pāli titles.

as before hatred, ignorance, pride, covetousness, and lust. These twelve ślokas are really two ślokas, one 'with bad covering' and the other 'with good covering'. These are found in the Yamaka-vagga of the Pāli *Dhammapada* (13-14)." (See Lévi, *Fragments de Texts Koutchean*, pp. 74-75).

We do not know who the translators or authors of these Tokharian books were. But we know that in the beginning of the 4th century A.C., Kucha was a great centre of Buddhist activity and for thirty years the great Kumārajīva was the moving spirit of this Oasis-town. It might have been due to the great inspiration infused by this learned Kuchean monk, that other Kuchean Buddhists translated Sanskrit books into their mother tongue.

Senart's Prākṛt Dhp.

The whole outlook of the *Dhammapada* was greatly modified by the publication of Senart's *Prākṛt Dhammapada* in 1898. In 1892 the fragments of this *Dhammapada* were discovered by Detruil de Rhins, in Central Asia. These were found among the ruins of ancient Gośṛinga monastery (Modern Komari Mazar), some thirteen miles from Khotan, in the colony of Indians, where subsequently more Kharoṣṭhī-Prākṛt Mss. or rather inscriptions were found. This Ms. was written in an ancient birch-bark (*bhurja*) in Kharoṣṭhī script and a Prākṛt language. This script till then had been known only from the inscriptions of the northern borders of India, specially from the rock-edicts of Asoka in Shabazgarhi and Mansera (3rd cent. B.C.). Prof. Serge d'Oldenberg announced that some fragments of the same Ms. had reached St. Petersberg. The Russian collection was handed over to Senart. These were larger in number and better preserved and on inspection Senart came to the conclusion that both portions belonged to the one and the same original Ms. The publication of this work had very important issues in the history of Buddhist literature.

Sanskrit Udānavarga

But still further important results were achieved with the discovery of actual Sanskrit fragments of the *Udānavarga* in the sands of Central Asia by Stein, Pelliot and Grünwedel, now preserved in the British Museum, Bibliotheque Nationale and Berlin Ethnographical Museum.

The first specimens of Sanskrit *Dharmapada* were published critically by R. Pischel from Grünwedel's collection in the

Sitzungsberichte of the Prussian Academy in 1908. He published the *Yugavarga* (of which Berlin had three copies), the 29th chapter of the *Udānavarga*, which corresponds very roughly and remotely to *Yamakavagga* of the Pāli *Dhammapada*. In 1910 S. Lévi published a few fragments of the Sanskrit work in *Journal Asiatique*; in 1912 he published a very comprehensive study of *Apramādavarga* (4th chapter) from the four Chinese versions, Tibetan, Pāli, Prākṛt and Sanskrit, the latter belonging to the collection of 'Mission Pelliot'. In the same year La Vallée Poussin edited the Sanskrit fragments of the Stein collection in the British Museum in the *JRAS*. These Sanskrit fragments do not make up the whole *Udānavarga* and the writer was told by Dr. Lüders that a complete reconstruction of the Sanskrit *Udāna* would be possible from the materials in the Berlin Museum. Dr. Niranjan Chakravarty's edition is made from the French collection only and therefore is not complete.

Now with these preliminary remarks on the various versions, we shall enter into a brief survey of the interrelation among these versions.

A Survey of the Inter-relation among the versions

Dr. B. M. Barua and Mr. S. N. Mitra of the Calcutta University in the introduction to the *Prākṛt Dhammapada* have discussed at length the interrelation and position of these versions. The result of their investigation is as follows:—

		Probable date of compilation.
1.	Pāli Dhammapada (a Sthaviravāda work)	Between the 4th and 5th cent. B.C.
2.	Fa-chiu-ching (original in mixed Sanskrit—a Sautrāntika work)	2nd cent. B.C.
3.	Mahāvastu Dharmapada (a Mahāsāṅghika work)	2nd or 1st cent. B.C.
4.	Prākṛt Dhammapada (a Mahāsāṅghika work)	1st cent. B.C. or A.C.
5.	Text portion of Chu-yao-ching or Avadāna Sūtra (original or older edition of the Udānavarga a Vaibhāsika work).	1st or 2nd cent. A.C.
6.	Fa-chiu-ching (Chinese translation) ...	223 A.C.
7.	Udānavarga or a later edition of No. 5.	4th or 5th cent. A. C.

Fa-chiu-ching

The earliest Chinese version of the *Dhammapada* of 223 A.C. seems to approach nearest to the Pāli text. The Pāli text contains 26 chapters, while the *Fa-chiu-ching* has 13 chapters more. But from the ninth to the thirty-fifth (with the exception of the 32nd) the two works contain the same series of subjects; while there are altogether 79 more stanzas in the Chinese than in the Pāli, the chapters are common. Of the extra thirteen chapters, the first eight are Anitya, Śikṣā, Bahū-śruta, Śraddhā, Duḥśīlaḥ, Bhāvanā, Maitrī, Vākya; the ninth is the 33rd chapter, Sambhoga, and the remaining four are Nirvāṇa, Saṃsāra, Bodhilābha, Saubhāgya. These 13 chapters, it is definitely told in Chinese, were added by the Indian monk Tsiang-yen, either at the time of Vighna, or during the period of sixty years intervening the first and the second translations.

The original of all the ślokas and the vargas of the *Fa-chiu-ching* cannot be traced to the Sanskrit *Udānavarga* and we presume that a copy of the *Prākṛt Dhammapada* from Khotan must have travelled through North China, till it reached the hands of Tsiang-yen, who added these 13 chapters to the translation of Vighna. That is why we find in the *Fa-chiu-ching*, a mixture of two elements, viz., Pāli and Prākṛt.

Chu-yao-ching

The *Chu-yao-ching*, as we have already pointed out, is an Avadāna work; we know it for certain that there was a large commentary to the *Udānavarga*, and that it was known in China before the end of the 4th cent. A.C. The last Chinese translation seems to be a revised version of the text mentioned above. These two versions agree with the Tibetan *Udānavarga* in the majority of verses; and this can safely be asserted that these are all copies of the same original text which must have existed as early as the 4th century A.C., although there had been additions and changes made by scribes and interpolers during the six centuries that passed between these translations. One significant fact is that the Chinese texts of the third translation entirely agree with that of the *Fa-chiu ching* and very seldom a new rendering is offered by Fo-nein. All these have four words to the *pada;* only the last translation has five words to the *pada*.

The Sanskrit texts of the *Udānavarga* discovered in Central Asia, have established the above theory beyond all doubts; and all would subscribe to the view that a Sanskrit version of *Dharmapada* must have been in existence in the 4th century A.C., when the 3rd version was brought to China, perhaps from Northern India. But the occurrence of certain Prākṛt or Sanskrit *vargas* in the first translation takes us back to the early third century A.C.

The Sanskrit Udānavarga

In Central Asia the following *vargas* of the Sanskrit *Udānavarga* have been discovered: those not found, but presumed to have existed in the original, are put within brackets; the Kuchean names when they differ are also given along with it.

Varga	Verses discovered	No. of Slokas	
		Chinese	Tibetan
1. Anitya	24-42 Stein; folio 3-4 ...	40	43
2. Karma	1-19 Stein; folio 4-5 ...	20	20
3. (Tṛṣṇā)		21	20
4. Apramāda	1-34 Pelliot ...	40	36
5. Priya	27 Pischel ...	24	28
6. (Śīlaḥ)		21	20
7. (Kuśalakarma) ...	Sucarita-varga (after Kuchean Udānastotra) ...	12	12
8. Vaca	15 Pischel ...	16	15
9. (Karma)		18	19
10. (Śraddhā)	(Kuchean Com., Lüders) ...	20	16
11. (Śramaṇa)		17	16
12. Mārga	18-20 Stein ...	22	20
13. Sambhoga	1-11 a-b Stein Satkāra-varga (Kuchean)	19	17
14. (Dveṣa)	Droha (Kuchean) ...	14	16
15. Bhāvanā	Smṛti (Kuchean) ...	19	28
16. Prakīrṇa	Prakīrṇaka (Kuchean) ...	22	23
17. (Ap)	Udaka (Kuchean) ...	15	12
18. (Puṣpa)		27	27
19. (Aśva)		17	16
20. Krodha	22 Pischel ...	21	21
21. Tathāgata	8-18 Stein (Kuchean Śruta-varga, 1-12, 19) Pelliot ...	21	19
23. Ātma	1-26 Pelliot ...	22	21
24. Sahasra	Peyāla-varga (Kuchean) 1-2 Pelliot ...	34	34
25. Bandhu	Mitra (Kuchean) ...	22	25
26. Nirvāṇa		36	33
27. Avalokita	Paśya-varga (Kuchean) ...	35	38
28. Pāpa		36	41

Varga	Verses discovered	No. of Ślokas Chinese	Tibetan
29. Yuga	1-57, 65, 66 Pischel 39-53 Stein	... 47	59
30. Sukha	26-52 Stein	... 47	53
31. Citta	1-38 Stein; 60 Pischel	... 46	64
32. Bhikṣu	3-14 Pelliot; 15-24 Stein	71	91
33. Brāhmaṇa	...	... 71	91

From the above table we can however form an idea of what the Sanskrit *Dharmapada* was like, and it will not be impossible to reconstruct the Sanskrit which might approach the original to a great extent, with the help of the Tibetan and the last Chinese versions, if the whole text is not found.

The Prākṛt Dhammapada

The position of the *Prākṛt Dhammapada* is not yet determined. It approaches more to the Pāli version than the Sanskrit; but in certain cases it follows the Sanskrit version. The language of the *Prākṛt Dhammapada* was the dialect of Gandhāra or the N.-W. India, and it seems that these were rendered from the Magadhan dialect into the dialect of Gandhāra, just as the literary Pāli was the outcome of the same process.

After the publication of the *Prākṛt Dhammapada* in 1898 several important contributions were made by European scholars. Bühler held that the Ms. belonged to the first century A.C. and the place of origin was India (Strassburg, 1898). Jules Bloch attempted to fix the home of the Ms. on philological grounds and placed it in the N.-W. India (Gandhāra), but was written down in Khotan, where it was discovered. The language, he affirms, bears influence of the native language of S.E. Turkestan, which was prevalent there side by side with the Prākṛt dialect during the early centuries of the Christian era. (*Festschrift Windisch*, 1924, also Dr. N. P. Chakravarty, *India and Central Asia*). Dr. Barua, in agreement with Prof. Sten Konow, shows its close kinship with the dialect of Asokan edicts at Shahbazgari and Manshera in orthography and other linguistic traits (*Prākṛt Dhammapada*, p. ix). That the Kharoṣṭhī script was used not only in the Punjab and Gandhāra but elsewhere also is proved by the inscriptions of Asoka. We find the Kharoṣṭhī script used in coins along with Greek, by the Greek kings of Bactria, Sogdiana and other places of Central Asia. Not only the Greeks, but Śaka, Parthian and Kuṣāna kings and satraps used this script in coins and inscriptions.

This script spread further east and the discovery of the *Prākṛt Dhammapada* referred above was a proof of that. The discoveries in Niya site of innumerable Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions by Stein between 1901 and 1916 proved beyond doubt that a people lived there who used the Prākṛt language and Kharoṣṭhī script. Still beyond to the east of the Lop-nor where the ancient city of Lulan once existed in the very territory of China, Kharoṣṭhī Prākṛt was used by the local people, and Chinese by their ruler. It was the prevalent script and language till the beginning of the 4th cent. A.C. We believe that this *Prākṛt Dhammapada* had travelled by this route to China, where some chapters might have been taken from it and added to the first Chinese translation of Vighna.

APPENDIX I

The chapters of the different versions of the *Dhammapada* may be tabulated thus:

	Pāli titles	Prākṛt titles	Prākṛt verses	Pāli verses	No. of Slokas in Chinese	Chap.
1.	Yamaka	(1) Mahāvaga	30 Complete	20	22	IX*
2.	Appamāda	(2) Apramāda	25 ,,	12	20	X
3.	Citta	(3) Citta	5 Incomplete	11	12	XI
4.	Puppha	(4) Puṣa	15 Complete	16	17	XII
5.	Bāla	(7) Bāla	7 Incomplete	16	21	XIII
6.	Paṇḍita	(6) Panita or Dhamatha	10 Complete	16	17	XIV
7.	Arahanta	—		10	10	XV
8.	Sahassa	(5) Sahasa	17 Complete	16	16	XVI
9	Pāpa	—	—	13	22	XVII
10.	Daṇḍa	—	—	17	14	XVIII
11.	Jarā	(8) Jarā	25 Complete	11	14	XIX
12.	Atta	—	—	10	13	XX
13.	Loka	—	—	12	14	XXI
14.	Buddha	—	—	18	21	XXII
15.	Sukha	(9) Suha	20 Complete	12	14	XXIII
16.	Piya	—	—	12	12	XXIV
17.	Kodha	—	—	14	26	XXV
18.	Mala	—	—	21	19	XXVI
19.	Dhammaṭṭha	—	—	17	17	XXVII
20.	Magga	—	—	17	28	XXVIII
21.	Pakiṇaka	—	—	16	14	XXIX
22.	Niraya	—	—	14	16	XXX
23.	Nāga	—	—	14	18	XXXI
24.	Taṇhā	(10) Tasa	7 Incomplete	26	32	XXXII
25.	Bhikkhu	(11) Bhikkhu	40 Complete	23	32	XXXIV
26.	Brāhmaṇa	(12) Brahmana	50 ,,	41	40	XXXV
			251	439	502	

APPENDIX II

TRANSLATION OF THE FIRST CHAPTER (THE ANITYA-VARGA) FROM THE LAST CHINESE TRANSLATION OF THE *Udānavarga*

Fa-chi-yao-sung-ching (*Dharmasaṃgraha Mahārtha Sūtra*)

The following abbreviations have been used in the study below:

C¹=*Fa-chiu-ching*, translated by Wei-chi-nan (*Vighna*) and others *circa* 224 A.C. Nanjio, 1365, Kioto ed. XXVI, 6h.; Shanghai Print, XXIV, 6c, pp. 94-107.

C²=*Fa-chiu-pi-yu-ching*, translated by Fa-chu and Fa-li, *circa* 290-306 A.C. Nanjio, 1353; Kioto ed. XXVI, 8b, Shanghai Print, XXIV, 6b, pp. 64-92, translated by S. Beal, 1878.

C³=*Chu-yao-ching*, translated by Fo-nien *circa* 398-399 A.C. Nanjio, 1321; Kioto ed. XXVI, 2, 3a. Shanghai Print, XXIV, 5, pp. 33-122, XXIV, 6, pp. 1-62.

C⁴=*Fa-chi-yao-sung-ching*, translated by T'ien-si-tsai, *circa* 980-1001 A.C. Nanjio, 1439; Kioto ed. XXVII, 2c, Shanghai Print, XXIV, 6, pp. 108-123.

The second Roman figure (C¹ 1) indicates the varga or the part. The last Roman figure represents the number of the verse. The *Prākṛt Dhp.* means the *Dhammapada* edited by Dr. Barua and Mr. Mitra of the Calcutta University and pages referred to herein are of this edition. The Sanskrit verses 23-42 are taken from *JRAS.*, 1912. For Tibetan translation Rockhill's *Udānavarga* and for the Tibetan Text Beckh's edition have been used. In some places we have given our own translation, where we have differed from Rockhill.

1. Anitya Varga

1. To be able to understand the worries (*kleśa*) it is necessary to produce a feeling of bliss (*ānanda*) in the mind. Listen to what I have collected,—the verses of the law (*dharma-gāthās*) proclaimed by the Buddha.

Agrees with C¹ 1.1; Tib. 1.1. Omitted in C², C³. In C⁴ there are four pādas with 4 words in each pāda; in C⁴, 5 words in each pāda.

2. In this way Buddha, the Blessed One, knower of all things (*sarvajña*), one who has love (*maitrī*) and compassion (*karuṇā*) to all creature, widely speaks real (true and essential) words.

Agrees with Tib. 1.2. Omitted in C¹ C² C³.

3. All saṃskāras are impermanent, these are liable to rise and decay, hardly are they born, and they are ended. Extinction (*nirodha*) is the greatest happiness.

Agrees with C¹ 1.2; C² 1.1; C³ 1.2; Tib. 1.3. All the Chinese versions agree; but C⁴ is a little different, for original see *Saṃ. Nik.*, vol. I, p. 158, also *Prākṛt Dhp.*

4. As when a candle burns, the objects removed are in the darkness; you do not make the course of knowledge to be a guide, but only *you are covered by kleśa* (?).

Agrees with C¹ XIX. 1; C² 1.8; Tib. 1.4. This is similar to verse 1 of Jarāvarga of Chinese. For Pāli *Dhp.*, see verse 146. Tibetan 1.4 is not very different from the Chinese above; but its exact original is not traced.

5. Man's body has a form (*ākāra*); it is scattered in all directions; bones of the body are like the colour of the pigeon; looking at it, is there any pleasure?

Agrees with Pāli *Dhp.*, 149; *Jātaka*, vol. I, p. 322; C³ 1.9. For Sanskrit version see *Divyāvadāna*.

6. As, for example, a man in the first night is conceived within the mother's womb; day by day he passes through many changes, goes on and finally never returns.

Agrees with C³ 1.10; Tib. 1.6; *Jātaka*, No. 510, vol. IV, p. 306; it does not occur in *Dhp.* But in the *Prākṛt Dhp.* it is found, p. 193.

7. In the early morning one sees beautiful things; when night comes they are not seen. Yesterday what was seen, this evening they are no more.

Agrees with C³ 1.11; Tib. 1.7; *Jātaka*, No. 461, vol. IV, p. 81; not found in *Dhp.*; but found in *Prākṛt Dhp.*, p. 203.

8. Glory and riches, splendour and prosperity are not permanent and not for ever; without discriminating between the noble and mean the king of death will crush all.

Omitted in C¹ C² C³ and Tib. is quite different. How does this verse come in the text?

9. Some there are who die while staying in the womb; some when first-born die, the prosperous and the poor do not escape death; old age (*jarā*) receives (all) with sweet mind.

Agrees with C³ 1.14; Tib. 1.9. The 3rd and 4th pāda of C⁴ differ from the Tib. last two lines.

10. As some are old and some are young, again some are middle-aged; constantly they are ravaged by death; why (do you) not feel fear?

Agrees with C^3 1.13; Tib. 1.10. C^4 is however different from Tib. In *Jātaka*, Nos. 461, 547 and 642 and *Prākṛt Dhp.*, pp. 196-197 the śloka occurs. The reading of the last pāda of the Prākṛt which is broken would be *te phala pakaba cavana*, and not *te tala* as was read by Barua and Mitra. In C^3 and Tib. it is fruit.

11. Life is like a ripe fruit, always afraid of a sudden fall; but what is born must have its death; who is able to avoid this?

Omitted in C^1, C^2; not found in Pāli *Dhp.*; but occurs in Sutta-nipāta, 34; *Jātaka*, 536. In Prākṛt we find the verse. In *Rāmāyaṇa* it occurs (*Rām.*, II 105. 17), cf. C^3 1.16; Tib. 1.11.

12. As the master-potter works at clay and makes earthen vessels, so existing things are absolutely crushed; man's life is like that.

Agrees with C^1 1.3; C^2 1.3; Tib. 1.12; not found in Pāli *Dhp.*, but in *Sutta-nipāta*, Sattasutta, 4.

13. As a man plays on the harp, good sound is produced; but if its string snaps, there is no more any sound; man's life is like that.

Not found C^1 C^2 C^3 and Tib. The verse 13 of Tib. 1 is quite different from the above. The Tib. 1.13 agrees with Pāli *Dhp.*, 347. Moreover the text of this verse in Beckh's original is again different from Rockhill's translation.

14. As prisoner is seized and hauled up before the market, his every movement is inclined towards the path of death; life is like that.

In C^3 1.19 the last pāda is translated: 'Man's life is like that'. Rockhill's translation of Tib. 1.14 is quite different from the above. But the original Tibetan (Beckh) agrees; only instead of Chinese 'Market' it is *badhya-bkūṅi (bsad-pa)*.

15. As a river flows hurriedly, it goes and never returns, man's life is like that; it departs but never comes back.

Agrees with C^1 1.4; C^2 1.20; Tib. 1.15; *Jātaka* No. 536, vol. VI, p. 26) and *Prākṛt Dhp.*, p. 200.

16. Afflictions collect in the body; life (is composed) of many *kleśas* and sorrows; life indeed is like this; it is waited upon by old age and death.

Not in any version.

17. Merit (*puṇya*) that is done, for a long time catches happiness (bliss) in the world, but it is as when a stick is struck quickly on water, for a moment (thus water) opens and again it gathers.

Agrees with C^3 1, part 2. V.1; Tib. 1.16.

18. As a man taking staff in his hand leads the cow for grazing, man's life is like that; the life-puruṣa goes out.

Agrees with C¹ I.5; C² I.4; C³ II. 3; Tib. I.17. Pāli *Dhp.*, Daṇḍavagga, 7; *Prākṛt Dhp.*, p. 199.

19. A man designing to fit himself in virtue day and night must not do faults and wrongs; having human body one must think with one heart on life's end.

C³ II. 5 reads differently in pādas c-d: "day and night it quickly passes as lightening; man's life quickly passes like that". But the Tibetan version is quite different (see Rockhill, I.18).

20. One not sleeping feels that the night is long; to the tired person the road is long; to the fool the saṃsāra is long; look and listen (to understand) the Saddharma.

Agrees with C¹ XIII. 13; C³ II.6 (text same as C³); Tib. I.19.

21. Having son and having wealth, the miser meets with destruction; a fool who cannot look unto himself (i.e. who cannot know his self), how can he trust on his having wealth and sons?

Agrees with C³ XIII. 4; C² XIII, 1; Tib. I. 20; Pāli *Dhp.*, Bāla-vagga, C¹ differs a little from C¹ which agrees almost word for word with the Pāli.

22. Hundreds and thousands—innumerable men and women having gotra and riches with collection of goods and great wealth and property—none of these remain undestroyed.

Agrees with C³ I.6; C² I.5; C³ II.9 (all same text); Tib. I.21.

23. Wealth and nobility without the holy wealth are constantly watched upon by impermanence (*anityatā*), as for example, a blind man is not able to discriminate by himself.

No parallel.

24. What is accumulated reverts to dissolution; what is high necessarily falls down; what is born comes to an end; creatures are like this.

Agrees with C¹ I.8; C² I.7; C³ II.10; Tib. I.22. C¹ C² C³ approach closer to Tibetan; the last two pādas of C⁴ are a little different.

24A. From here we have the fragments of the Sanskrit version of the Anityavarga. The v. 23 of Sanskrit agrees with the Tib. I.23. There is no Chinese translation of this in C⁴. But we find the translation in C¹ and C³. The translation of the Chinese would be:—

"All beings mutually struggle in order to destroy lives; they go to places where they are fallen, according to their own merits of *pāpa* and *puṇya*."

The translation of the Sanskrit verse 23 is as follows:—

"All creatures will die, life indeed ends with death; having reaped the fruits of merit and demerit (*puṇya* and *pāpa*) they will find fulfilment according to Karma."

The śloka also occurs in *Mahāvastu*, vol. II, pp. 66 and 424. For Pāli version see *Saṃ. Nik.*, 1, 97; *Nettipakaraṇa*, 94.

25. Those who practise evil go to hell; those who cultivate good must be born in heaven; if one is able to cultivate good, with the destruction of the infections (*āsravas*) one obtains Nirvāṇa.

In Sanskrit v. 24, it is *svargatim* and in Pāli (*Saṃ. Nik.*, 1, 97) it is *suggatim*. The Chinese trans. is 'Heaven', while the Tibetan is 'happiness'. 'Sva' was read as 'Su' by copyist. It is found in C^3 II 15, also cf. Pāli *Dhp.*, Pāpa-vagga, 11.

26. The Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, the Pratyeka-buddhas, the Śrāvakas are destined to cast away the body, how much more the (*sattvas*) creature (should cast away their saṃskāra-kāyas)?

Only found in Tib. I. 25.

27. There is no place in the sky, no place in the ocean, not even if one goes to the mountain cave—there is no place in the world, where one can stay free from death.

Agrees with C^1 I.19; C^2 I.12; C^3 II.16; Tib. I.26 (Roekhill), 24 (Beckh); Sanskrit v. 25; Pāli *Dhp.*, Pāpa-vagga, 13.

28. All the (*saṃskāra-vastus*) creatures having present, past and future at the end return to death.

Same in C^1 C^2 C^3. Agrees with Tib. I.27(R), 25(B); Sanskrit v. 26; Pāli *Udāna*, v. 2, p. 48.

29. The wise, who is able to get rid of bondage, who is constantly with perfect reflection (*samyak smṛti*), who is discriminating, who always contemplate on the way that leads to *anāsrava*, he is called a sage.

No corresponding verse in any version.

29a. Note. The Tibetan v. 28(B 26) agrees with Skt. 27: these have C^4 version: but there is agreement with C^3 II.19 and C^1 I.10. The translation of the latter is thus done:—

"Old age shows sorrow and pain; at death mind vanishes, enjoyment of family binds one down as in a prison, if avarice for the world is not uprooted."

The translation of the Tibetan is thus rendered:—

"Seeing old age as well as affliction, the mind disconnected, the intellect dead, the (wise) abandons home that is like a prison; how can the common people of the world cast off desires!" (Cf. Rockhill, 1.28).

30. (As) a prisoner, who is tied up, is not able to fulfil what he desires and also like the decaying old carriage, which not before long will see destruction.

"The brilliant chariot of kings are destroyed, the body also approaches destruction, but the virtue of good never approaches destruction (*jarā*), thus do the good say to the good" (*SBE.*, V, IX, p. 42).

Tibetan version practically agrees with the above, the last two pādas would read thus:—"but the best of men who teaches others this best of all good laws, shall not know old age," cf. Rockhill. The corresponding Chinese is met with in C^3 II. 18. It reads thus:—

"Old age approaches the body, just as the old carriage (is approached by destruction): Dharma can remove sorrow; it is proper that one should learn with might."

No corresponding verse in any version.

30a. The Skt. v. 28, Pāli *Dhp.*, Jarāvagga, 6, and the *Prākṛt Dhp.*, p. 214—all agree perfectly with one another.

31. Rūpa changes and is transformed into Jarā; attachment to family is like staying in prison. Those who are not awakened, death comes and ravishes them; fools cannot know.

Compare this with C^3 II.20; C^1 I.11; Skt. v. 29; *Saṃ. Nik.*, V, p. 217; *Prākṛt Dhp.*, pp. 187-188 all agree. The translation of Skt. is given here.

"Shame to the Jarā, thou art mean and blind (*jaḍā*, which is however written as *jarā* in Pāli), thou disfigurest the colour (*varṇa*), beautiful appearances are crushed by thee."

The Tibetan is also a little different from the above Skt. and Chinese.

"Thou art foolish and despicable, and dost not know that which is right, for that body (*rūpa*) in which thou delightest will be the cause of thy ruin." (Rockhill).

32. Although one lives a hundred years, he is also followed by death, attacked by old age and disease, grief reaches the uppermost at the end.

Agrees with C^3 I.12; C^3 I.12; C^3 III.1; Tib. I. 31; (Beckh 29); Skt. v. 30; *Saṃ. Nik.*, V, p. 217; *Prākṛt Dhp.*, p. 188.

33. Old age brings bitterness to the body which one clings to, day and night there are worries, there are thousand sorts of sorrow and distress; it is like fish that goes to burning fire.

Not found in any other Chinese version. The Tibetan and the Skt. versions agree, but they are a little different from the above Chinese; instead of *'burning fire'* it is *'hot water'* in Skt. and Tib.

34. A river never stops; quickly it flows and never returns; to protect and love the body leaking pus, although one might have attachment to it, he cannot stop it.

The first two lines agree with C^3 I.4; Tib. I.33 (Beckh 31); Skt. v. 32. Skt. Tib. and C^3 all agree in details.

34a. The Skt. v.34 agrees with Tib. I.34 (B.32); but these have no translation in C^4. Rockhill says that this verse is not given by Prajñāvarman (*circa* 9th century A.C.) in his commentary to the *Udānavarga;* it seems that this verse was unknown to him just as it was unknown to the Chinese translator (*circa* 1000 A.C.).

However this śloka is found in C^1 and C^2. The English translation would be:—

"This day is passed; life must follow (it) and perish, as a fish (perishes) in shallow water; what joy is there in it?"

The translation of the Sanskrit verse 33 would be:—

"They, whose life is diminishing by day and night, are like fish in shallow water; can they have joy there."

It agrees with Pāli *Jātaka*, No. 538, VI, p. 26; also with *Prākṛt Dhp.*, p. 194.

34b. The Skt. v.35 agrees with Tib. I.35 (Beckh. 33) but these have no translation in C^4. This agrees with Pāli *Dhp.*, Jarā-vagga, 3; and *Prākṛt Dhp.*, p. 189. The C^3 I.14 and C^2 III.7 agree with each other and seem to be translation of the one text here.

35. Body is composed of four great elements; it is impermanent, how can it stay long? When earthly seed is scattered and destroyed, of what use is the empty spiritual understanding?

C^3 III.8; Tib. I.36 (B. 34); Skt. v. 35; Pāli *Dhp.*, Citta-vagga, 6, and *Prākṛt Dhp.*—all agree. But C^4 I.35 is different.

The translation of the Skt. and Pāli is:—

"Before long, alas! this body will lie on the earth, despised, without understanding, like a useless log."

The translation of the C^3 III.8 would be:—

"This body will not remain long; it will revert or go back to earth; without divine knowledge, bones alone remain."

35a. What is the use of this body, which is constantly emitting putrid smell, always suffering from disease, undermined by age and death.

Skt. v. 36; Tib. I.37 (B 35); C¹ I.15; C² III.9—all agree. The śloka of the *Prākṛt Dhp.* (p. 211) is more explicit and bigger.

"What is the use of this body, which is constantly emitting putrid smell, always suffering from disease, undermined by age and death."

36. This body is greatly dissolving; it is pus-leaking, constantly aching and troubling. Fools are deceived by grief and sorrow; they are not satisfied and they seek extinction (*nirodha*).

Skt. v.37; Tib. I.38 (b 36); Pāli 1st line from *Saṃ. Nik.*, 1, p. 131. 5 and 2nd line from *Theragāthā* V. 32; *Prākṛt Dhp.*, p. 211, all agree more or less. The Pkt. verse has 6 pādas; the pādas 3 and 4 have no corresponding pādas in any version.

37a. There is no Chinese corresponding to the Skt. v.39; neither there is any Tibetan translation in the Kanjur ed. of the *Udānavarga;* Rockhill does not translate it. It is however found in the Tanjur, which occurs there as verse 40, and agrees completely with the Sanskrit, which also agrees with Pāli and Prākṛt. The translation would be:—

"Death comes and carries off that man honoured with children and flock, his mind distracted, as a flood carries off a sleeping village." (*Dhp.*, 287).

38. Father, mother, brother, wife and son are attached to you, (they are) not always connected with you, there is one who can help you.

Found in C¹ I.17; C² I.17; C³ I.8; Tib. I.41 (39); Skt. v. 40; Pāli *Dhp.*, Magga-vagga, 16.

39. Thus all creatures praise and covet pleasure; what is not permanent is overwhelmed by old age and disease: ignorance breeds sorrow.

Skt. 41; Tib. I.42 and C¹ I.20—all agree; but different from C⁴ I.39 above. Skt. and Pkt. are similar but not identical.

40. Therefore always engrossed in meditation and contemplation (*dhyāna* and *samādhi*); anxious to realise the end of birth and death the bhikṣus overcoming the Māra with his army, go to the other side of birth and death.

Skt. v.42, Tib. I.43 (B 41) and C¹ I.21 agree with this verse. The corresponding Pāli verse occurs in *Itivuttaka*, 11, 9, p. 41. We have fragments of this śloka in the Tokharian version. This is the last verse.

PRABHAT KUMAR MUKHERJEE

Prātiśākhyas and Vedic Śākhās

Before entering into any discussion about the origin, nature and scope etc. of the Prātiśākhyas it would be proper to examine the term about the meaning of which there seems to exist some misunderstanding. The word consists of three parts: *prati*, *śākhā* and the formative element. Of these, the exact meaning of *śākhā* should be determined first of all.

The śākhā, as is well-known, relates to the different Vedic schools; but we do not know whether the śākhā refers to the one u n d i v i d e d Veda or to e a c h of the different Vedas, such as, Ṛk, Sāman, Yajus (Black and White) etc. Let us first consider the case of an undivided Veda. From the story occurring in the Mahābhārata and some Purāṇas that Kṛṣṇa-dvaipāyana Muni divided the Veda into four parts[1] we may infer that the Vedic mantras existed once as an undivided corpus. The fact that particular mantras are found in more Vedas than one hints that the mantras were collected under different names chiefly with a view to their ritual use. For example, the collection of mantras made for the use of the H o t ṛ was called Ṛk and that for the use of the A d h v a r y u was called the Yajus while the U d g ā t ṛ's collection was called the Sāman. Now the principle according to which the particular mantras could be put under different labels was the same as that which has been traditionally at the root of the division of the Vedas into śākhās. For, from Mahādeva's commentary on the Hiraṇya-keśī Sūtra we learn that one of the reasons which gave rise to śākhās was the manner of reading the Vedas.[2] This being the case we can well say that from one

1 For details see Śaśibhūṣaṇa Vidyālaṅkāra, *Jīvanī-kośa*, (जीवनीकोष) Calcutta, 1341 B.E., pp. 1090 f. (article on 'Vedavyāsa').

2 शाखाभिदेऽध्ययनभेदाद्वा सूत्रभेदाद्वा । See Max Müller *Ancient Skt. Literature*, London, 1859, p. 127.

original Veda came out first of all śākhās like Ṛk, Sāman, Yajuṣ etc.[3] For, the uttering of Vedic mantras by different classes of priests was different; the Hotṛ recited the Ṛcas with his normal voice, the Adhvaryu muttered the Yajūṃṣi silently while the Udgātṛ chanted Sāmans loudly.[4]

But the threefold śākhā, if we are allowed to postulate this, must have existed at the very beginning of the period which witnessed the growth of Vedic ritualism, or roughly in the period preceding the Brāhmaṇas. From this period onwards the Vedic people, that is, the Aryans together with the pre-Aryan ethnic element which they might have absorbed, began to scatter themselves in widely separated regions of the Indian continent where aryanization followed. This diffusion of the Vedic people and their culture and religion gave rise, in course of time, to difference in pronunciation of the mantras. It is probably this difference that brought forth different śākhās in the generally accepted[5] sense and they were, in fact, **śākhās of śākhās or secondary śākhās.** Prātiśākhyas relate to all such śākhās in existence at the time of their composition or final redaction. But separation among the different branches of the Vedic people resulted not only in the difference of pronunciation of the mantras but also a variation of their sacrificial and social laws and customs. Thus the śākhās came to relate also to a difference in such matters,[5] though Prātiśākhyas had nothing to do with such śākhās.[6]

Now the exact sense of śākhās having been determined we shall proceed to ascertain the sense of the term *Prātiśākhya*. According

3 Max Müller also writes; "The word (i.e. *śākhā*) is sometimes applied to the three original Saṃhitās, the Ṛgveda-saṃhitā, Sāma-veda-saṃhitā and Yajur-veda-saṃhitā, in relation to one another and without reference to subordinate śākhās belonging to each of them." (*Ancient Skt. Literature*, pp. 123, 124). Yāska's use of singular number with reference to the Vedas deserves notice (I. 20). Prof. Sarup however takes this differently. See his transl. p. 221.

4 Max Müller, *op. cit.*, pp. 122, 471 f.; *Pūrva-mīmāṃsā Sūtras* (II. 1. 35-37).

5 See above, foot note 2. 'Sūtra' in Mahādeva's comm. means *Kalpasūtras* i.e. *Śrauta-*, *Gṛhya-* and *Dharma-Sūtras*.

6 The word 'śākhā' used hereafter in this article will mean, unless otherwise qualified, a phonetic śākhā only.

to Max Müller who wrote in 1859, 'Prātiśākhya.....does not mean, as has been supposed, a treatise on phonetic peculiarities of each Veda, but a collection of phonetic rules peculiar to one of the different branches of the four Vedas *i.e.* to one of those different texts in which each of the Vedas had been handed down for ages in different families and different parts of India.'[7] This view has been subscribed to by Whitney in his edition of the *Atharvaveda Prātiśākhya* (1862)[8]. Since then almost all the scholars have followed this view.[9] But such an opinion seems to have been expressed on very inadequate grounds. For, Mādhava, quoted by Jñānendra Sarasvati in his gloss on the *Siddh. Kau.* (P. IV. 3. 59), explains Prātiśākhya as *pratiśākhaṃ bhavam*. And Anantabhaṭṭa too in the introduction to his commentary to the Śukla-Yajus Prātiśākhya defines the word similarly and shows, after an elaborate discussion, that Kātyāyana's work relates to all the fifteen śākhās which developed out of the Śukla Yajurveda.[11] From the testimony of Durga also we learn that the Prātiśākhya related to more schools than one. For in his commentary to the Nirukta (I. 17) he says:

किं पार्षदानि ? स्वचरणपर्षदेव यैः प्रतिशाखं नियतमेव पदावग्रह-प्रगृह्यक्रमसंहिता-स्वरलक्षणमुच्यते तानीमानि पार्षदानि प्रातिशाख्यानीत्यर्थः .[12]

Those Pārṣada books by which in a Pariṣad of ones own Caraṇa, the peculiarities of accent, saṃhitā, krama-reading, pragṛhya vowels and separation of words are laid as enjoined for, and restricted to each śākhā are called Prātiśākhyas. Max Müller who quoted the above passage may be said to have misunderstood it. *Pratiśākhaṃ* which he translated as 'to certain śākhās' should be equivalent to 'to each śākhā.' It should be noticed in this connexion that Max Müller's translation of

7 *Op. cit.*, p. 119. 8 *JAOS.*, vol. VII, pp. 342, 580 f.

9 See Siddheshwar Varma, *Critical Studies in the Phonetic Observations of Indian Grammarians*, London 1929, p. 12, Winternitz, *Hist. of Ind. Lit.*, vol. I, Calcutta 1927, p. 284.

10 *Siddhāntakaumudī*, ed. Gadgil, Bombay 1904, p. 249.

11 Kātyāyana's *Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhya*, ed. Venkatarama Sharma, Madras University, 1934, pp. 2-5.

12 Max Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 131; S. Varma translates Mādhava's words as belonging to each individual (*prati*) śākhā (*op. cit.*, p. 12).

the passage is not in agreement with his definition of the term Prātiśākhya quoted above. However the fault lies principally with commentators like the author of the *Vaidikābharaṇa* whom Max Müller in all likelihood followed. For in the last named work which does not say anything about the exclusive phonetic character of śākhās in a Prātiśākhya, it has been suggested that the Prātiśākhyas relate to a group of śākhās.[13] This suggestion seems to give partial support to Mādhava's and Anantabhaṭṭa's testimony quoted above. For it does not restrict Prātiśākhyas to o n e o n l y of the m a n y śākhās.

The word *Pārṣada* which is a synonym for *Prātiśākhya* seems to give some clue to the solution of the problem whether Prātiśākhyas related to only one or all the śākhās of a Veda. In Nārāyaṇa's commentary to a passage (आचार्यं सपरिषत्कं भोजयेत् सब्रह्मचारिणश्च) in the *Gobhila-Gṛhyasūtra-bhāṣya* we find the following सह परिषदा शिष्यगणेन वर्तत इति सपरिषत्कः तं। समानं तुल्यकालं ब्रह्मचारित्वं येषां त इमेऽन्यशाखिनोऽपि सब्रह्मचारिणः सवयोऽभिधीयन्ते.[14] From this passage we learn that students belonging to different Vedic schools could take their lessons from one Ācārya who together with his pupils constituted a Parṣada or Pariṣad. Thus Pārṣada sūtras evidently related to such Pariṣads comprising different schools of a Veda. Hence it seems justifiable to conclude that Pārṣada sūtras or Prātiśākhyas related to each one or all the śākhās of a Veda.

By taking what seems very much to be a wrong view of about the meaning of the word Prātiśākhya or the scope of a work so named, Whitney felt some uneasiness over naming the Prātiśākhya of the Kṛṣṇa-Yajur-Veda as the Taittirīya Prātiśākhya.[15] The very fact that this Prātiśākhya mentioned the Black Yajus schools like Mīmāṃsaka and Ahvaraka as well as Taittirīya made it very inconvenient for him to attach the Prātiśākhya to the last named school (Taittirīya) only. But still he considered it prudent to adopt the name *Tait. Pr.* for the work, though it did not quite satisfy his great critical acumen. For he confesses that "we are far from fully comprehending as yet the

13 On the *Tait. Pr.*, IV. 11; Siddheshwar Varma, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

14 Max Müller, *op. cit.*, pp. 130-131.

15 See p. 427. Whitney's ed. of this Prātiśākhya was published in 1871.

origin, nature and relation of the 'schools' of Vedic study and their accepted texts or *çâkhâs*.'"[16] This, however, was not the attitude of Whitney a few years earlier when he edited the *Atharva-veda Pr.* and had recourse to conjectures of varying degrees to explain away the discordance between the theory current in his time about the nature and scope of Prātiśākhyas and the characteristics of the Pr. in hand. He attached this Pr. to the Śaunaka school of the *Atharva-veda* and troubled himself about the problem why in certain points it was not in complete agreement to the Veda of this school. He little dreamt that the Pr. in question related also to other Atharva Śākhās which in all likelihood perished or were till then untraced.[17] Hence in his edition of the *Atharvan Pr.* Whitney writes, "It is.....peculiarity of the authors of our treatise to give their rules a wider scope than the vocabulary of the Atharva requires, in many instances contemplating and providing for combination of sounds which are found nowhere in the body of Vedic scriptures, and for which accordingly the commentator is obliged to fabricate illustrations (p. 583)." Now whatever may be said about the genuineness of examples given by the commentator who was possibly very late, it cannot be said that the author of the Prātiśākhyas based their rules on non-existing materials. In view of the tradition that Vedas, in different periods, came to be lost and had to be recovered, it will not be difficult to assume that some of the śākhās with their texts perished beyond recovery.[18] Even if his allegation against the commentator in some rare cases may not be untrue, Whitney himself has admitted that "there are certain number of sentences among those given by the commentator which have more or less clearly the aspect of genuine citations from a Vedic text; and although some might be regarded as instances of carelessness on his part quoting by memory from another source than his own Veda, we cannot possibly extend this explanation to them all: it must remain probable that in

16 Whitney, *Tait. Pr.*, p. 427.

17 The Paippalāda śākhā of the Atharva Veda discovered after Whitney's ed. of the *Atharva Pr.* should be remembered in this connexion.

18 Hopkins, 'The Great Epic of India', p. 5.

part at least, they were contained in some hitherto unknown *çâkhâ* of the Atharva-veda."[19] From these passages one will easily realise the untenable nature of the meaning given to Prātiśākhya by Whitney, his predecessors and followers.[20]

Max Müller, in his introduction to the *Ṛk-Prātiśākhya* (1870) does not care to examine in details the deviations of the Prātiśākhya from the available Ṛgveda text (of Śākala recension). This may be said to be due particularly to his strong belief that Prātiśākhyas were concerned with one śākhā of a Veda. Hence, he very summarily disposes of the question of relationship between the *Prātiśākhya* and the *Ṛgveda* (Śākala) text by saying that, "in all essential points our own best manuscripts of the text agree with the data in the Prātiśākhya, we may prudently conclude that the text of the Ṛgveda we possess is the same as seen by the authors of the Prātiśākhya more than 2000 years ago."[21] Along with this should be remembered what he himself wrote in this connexion eleven years earlier.

In the *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature* (1859) Max Müller wrote: "There is not a single Ms. at present existing of the Ṛgveda in which rules of our Prātiśākhya are uniformly observed, and the same applies to the Mss. of the other Vedas."[22]

Burnell, too, in his introduction to the *Ṛk-tantra-vyākaraṇa* (Mangalore 1879), considered by him to be a Prātiśākhya of the Sāmaveda, thought that Prātiśākhyas belonged to one of the many śākhās of a Veda. He attached the *Ṛk-tantra* to the Kauthumī śākhā alone and made some conjectures as to why this Prātiśākhya could not be connected with Jaiminīya, Talavakāra or Rāṇāyanīya śākhās and he assumed that Prātiśākhyas connected with these śākhās had been lost. But all these assumptions seem to be uncalled for. For example, characteristics of some Sāma śākhās such as the cerebral *l* and short *e* and *o* were

19 *JAOS.*, VII. p. 583.

20 e.g. Prof. Keith believes with Whitney that the *Taitt. Pr.*, relates to the Taittirīya Mantrapāṭha alone. See *The Veda of the Black Yajus School*: p. xxxviii.

21 *IHQ.*, vol. III, 1927, pp. 611-612: Introduction to *Ṛv. Pr.*, translated into English by B. K. Ghosh.

22 Pp. 136, 137.

in all probability phonetic developments occurring or recognized later.[23] There can be nothing against such an assumption. For there is the traditional view that the difference of śākhās arising from difference in uttering mantras is without any (historical) beginning;[24] and from this we may deduce that even after the Prātiśākhyas were written new differences in pronunciation could arise between several groups of Vedic people and did actually arise and thus the process which brought into existence different śākhās was practically without an end.[25] It

23 Patañjali's opinion regarding the shortening of *e* and *o* in the Sātyamugrīya and Rāṇāyanīya śākhās of the Sāma-veda deserves special notice in this connexion. For he is unwilling to recognize such a deviation from the tradition though the Parisad gave it sanction. He says, पारिषदकृतिरेषा तत्रभवतां नैव लोके नान्यस्मिन् वेदेऽर्धं एकारोऽर्धं ओकारो वास्ति (on the Śivasūtra ऐऔच्).

24 अध्ययनभेदाच्छाखाभेदोऽनादिः quoted by Max Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 127. See also pp. 117-118; प्रवचनभेदात् प्रतिवेदं भिन्ना भूयस्त्य शाखाः । says Madhusūdana Sarasvatī in the Prasthāna-bheda.

25 Mr. Suryakanta Sastri in his Introduction to his new ed. of the *Ṛktantra* follows Burnell in assigning the work to the Kauthumī śākhā (pp. 2-6). But Mr. Sastri has also given some fresh arguments in support of Burnell's theory. These, however, are by no means unassailable. That the Jaiminīya text of the Sāmaveda did not give the peculiarities provided for in the Sūtrās 53, 94, 112 and 114 can be explained also by the assumption that the phonetic changes in question might have arisen later or the Prātiśākhyas being manuals of pronunciation had not much influence with the scribes, and discrepancy between the written text and its pronunciation can well be assumed to have existed in early times also. From the emphatic manner in which the use of written texts of the Vedas has been discouraged we can well infer this. For the *Nāradīya-Śikṣā* says:

पुस्तकप्रत्ययाधीतन् नाधीतङ् गुरुसन्निधौ ।
राजते न सभामध्ये जारगर्भो इव स्त्रियः ॥ (II. 8. 19),

and the *Yājñavalkya-Śikṣā* has the following:

गीती शीघ्री शिरःकम्पी तथा लिखितपाठकः ।
अनर्थज्ञोऽल्पकण्ठश्च षडेते पाठकाधमाः ॥ (198).

The long quotation which Mr. Sastri has given in support of his connecting the Ṛktantra with the Kauthuma śākhā alone of the Sāmaveda, is not at all convincing. According to this quotation the Kauthuma śākhā seems to include Nārada, Lomaśa, Gautama and Naigeya schools. He ought to have explained this fact.

will be found on a closer study of the various Prātiśākhyas and śikṣās that the difference of pronunciation among Vedic śākhās owe their origin to the forces which tended to develop the Old Indo-Aryan to the Middle Indo-Aryan and the latter to the New Indo-Aryan dialects.[26] But Whitney, Max Müller and Burnell however viewed the matter differently and so did Weber before them.[27]

The Prātiśākhyas belonging as they do to the second age of the study of the Śikṣā Vedāṅga had a much wider scope than the manual of the subject that was produced in the first age.[28] From a study of the contents of the Prātiśākhyas we find that the scope of the śikṣā as given in the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* (I. 2) applies to a considerable extent to the Prātiśākhyas which should be called secondary śikṣās.[29] When judged by the standard set up by the Taitt. Up. for śikṣā (phonetics) the Prātiśākhyas may be found wanting in certain respects. For example, the treatment of *sāma* and *bala* is non-existent in them. But it can well be assumed that as these two topics were exclusively matters of oral instruction the Prātiśākhyas did not discuss them.

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26 Bloomfield and Edgerton, *Vedic Variants*, vol. 2, *Phonetics*, Chapt. I. especially §§ 20-43. See also Max Müller, *Ancient Skt. Lit.*, p. 117.

27 Weber, *Indische Studien*, IV, pp. 67 f.

28 The scope of such a manual has been discussed in the introduction of a critical edition of the *Pāṇinīya-Śikṣā* (with its two commentaries) by the present writer. This work will be shortly published by the Calcutta University.

29 According to the *Taitt. Up.* śikṣā treats of the following: *varṇa* (speech-sounds), *svara* (pitch-accent), *mātrā* (quantity), *bala* (stress), *sāma* (utterance in a medium tone), and *saṃhitā* (euphonic combination).

MISCELLANY

Some exaggerated Statements in Inscriptions re. Invasions of Bengal

It is a well-known fact that the composers of royal *praśastis* described the conquests and achievements of their royal patrons in glowing and very exaggerated terms. Some inscriptions record invasions of Aṅga, Vaṅga and Kaliṅga by some petty kings who, it seems, could not have undertaken any expedition to these distant countries on their own accounts, nor does it seem that they accompanied any powerful king in his victorious expedition. Therefore it is natural that doubts should be expressed about these exaggerated descriptions of the court-poets. Our doubts are further confirmed by the fact that the statement of the conquest of Aṅga, Vaṅga and Kaliṅga was sometimes used as a poetic ornamentation. Thus it is claimed in the inscriptions of the Vijayanagara king Kṛṣṇarāya that the rulers of Aṅga, Vaṅga and Kaliṅga waited upon Vijayanagara kings.[1] It needs hardly be said that it was practically impossible for a Vijayanagara king to hold any sway over Aṅga, Vaṅga and Kaliṅga in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Again it is stated in the Chitrogaḍh Stone inscription[2] dated in V.S. 1485 that the king Mokala of Mewad subdued the Aṅgas, Kāmarūpas and Vaṅgas. These are vague general statements and should be summarily dismissed.

The Pithapuram Pillar inscription[3] of Prithivīśvara dated in S.E. 1082 records that Malla I of Dhandapura, son of Kīrttivarman II, subdued the Gaṅgas, Kaliṅgas, Vaṅgas and Magadhas. The rulers of this family were chiefs of Velanāḍu. The fifth descendant of Malla I, Kulyavarman II was a contemporary of the Eastern Cālukya king Vikramāditya (1015-22 A.D.) and Malla may be roughly assigned to the first half of the 10th century A.D. He might have accompanied a Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch. Otherwise the subjection of these countries by this chief should be regarded as a hollow statement.

1 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XII, p. 132; vol. XIV, p. 170.
2 *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 409. 3 *Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 32.

Kalacurya Bhillama (one of whose inscriptions is dated in 1189 A.D.) is said to have made "a severe pain in the head of the Mālavas, a thunderbolt to that mountain Varālas, a lion to the tall elephants of Kaliṅgas, the roar of a cloud to the flocks of those swans of Gurjaras, Colas, Gauḍas and Pāñcālas, a Kāla to the brilliant kings of Aṅgas, Vaṅgas and Nepālas."[4] It is not known from any other source that in the last half of the 12th century any king of Kuntala was so powerful as to defeat all these kings. Curiously enough in the inscription of his son Jaitugi no victory is ascribed to the father but Jaitugi himself is said to have conquered the Gurjaras, Pāṇḍyas, Colas, Lāṭas, Gauḍas and some of his officers invaded Mālava, Kaliṅga, Turuṣkas, and Nepāla.[5] All these exaggerated statements of both the father and the son cannot be taken as historical facts. Two more kings of Kuntala, Bijjala and his son Soma (the former is described as the founder of the Kalacurya kingdom), are said to have raided the Colas, Nepālas, Kaliṅgas, Pāñcālas, Gurjaras and to have received the homage of the Gauḍas, Pāṇḍyas, Mālayālas and Varālas.[6] It is asserted in the Godag inscription[7] of Vīra-Vallava II, dated in 1114 S.E. that this Hoysala king frightened the Aṅgas, Kaliṅgas, Vaṅgas, Magadhas, Colas, Mālavas, Pāṇḍyas, Keralas and Gurjaras. It is stated in the Mamadpur inscription[8] of Kanhara, dated in 1177 S.E. that his grandfather Simhana overcame the Gurjaras, Magadhas and Gauḍas.

In the absence of any corroborative evidence these bold and wide claims should be dismissed as baseless. It is quite possible that some of these chiefs might have accompanied their overlords and gained some victories which in their records are claimed as their own achievements. But it is also true that some of them are purely hollow statements.

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4 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XV, p. 33.
5 *Ibid.*, vol. V, p. 31.
6 *Ibid.*, vol. V, p. 257; vol XV, p. 317.
7 *Ibid.*, vol. VI, p. 92.
8 *Ibid.*, vol. XIX, p. 21.

The Antiquity of Paṇḍharpur

Paṇḍharpur is one of the most celebrated spots in Mahārāṣṭra. The absence of any reference to this renowned place of pilgrimage in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* leads us to infer that in the days of the epics it was not reckoned as a holy centre.[1] It does not figure among the well known traditional holy places, *viz.*, Ayodhyā, Mathurā, Māyā (Hardvār), Kāśī, Avantī, Purī, and Dvārāvatī, which were considered to be the *sapta mokṣa-dāyikāḥ*. From this it may reasonably be concluded that Paṇḍharpur sprang into fame in comparatively recent

1 The assertion that Paṇḍharpur was the same as Puṇḍarika, Puṇḍarikapura, Puṇḍarikakṣetra, Puṇḍarika-*tīrtha*, Pāṇḍupura, Tāpasāśrama, and the forest of Tāpasa, mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* and in other Hindu writings, is wholly untenable. Paṇḍharpur was not the same as the Puṇḍarika-*tīrtha* spoken of in the *Mahābhārata* on the following grounds:—(1) In the list of *tīrthas* given in the *Vana Parva*, after Kindāna-*tīrtha* comes Kalaśi-*tīrtha*, and then Ambājanma-*tīrtha* which was to the east of Saraka. "One should next proceed, on the tenth day of the lighted fortnight, to the *tīrtha* called Puṇḍarīka. Bathing there, O King, one obtaineth the merit of the Puṇḍarīka sacrifice. One should next proceed to the *tīrtha* called Tripiṣṭapa that is known over the three worlds." *Vana Parva*, Sec. LXXXIII, p. 258 (Roy). None of these *tīrthas* can be located on the western coast of India. On the other hand, they seem to be places in the north somewhere in the Kedāra region. (2) Paṇḍharpur is not called Puṇḍarikakṣetra either in popular parlance or in literature of contemporary times. On Puṇḍarika-kṣetra, and Pāṇḍupura, Dey gives the following references which are inaccessible to me: *Bṛhad Nāradīya Purāṇa*, Uttara. Ch. 73 where a *liṅga* of Mahādeva is said to have been established by Jaimini; *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*, Madhya, Ch. 9.

Paṇḍharpur was not the same as the forest of Tāpasa. The forest of Tapasa is located in the *Mahābhārata* in "the beautiful eastern country." It is mentioned *after* Prayāga thus:—"In this direction, O foremost of kings, lieth the excellent asylum of Agastya, O Monarch, and the forest called Tāpasa, decked by many ascetics." *Vana Parva*, Sec. LXXXVII, p. 290 (Roy). In the literature of Mahārāṣṭra, as my colleague Professor Dāṇḍekar assures me, Paṇḍharpur is never called Tāpasāśrama. We have, therefore, to locate the *Tabasoi* of Ptolemy, which has been supposed to refer to Paṇḍharpur, anywhere but in or near Paṇḍharpur. On Tāpasāśrama, read *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, XIV. v. 15; *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, ch. 49; *Vāyu Purāṇa*, ch. 45, v. 129; *Bombay Gaz.*, I. P. I., p. 511; Dey, *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediæval India*, pp. 147, 154, 161, 204. (2nd ed. 1927).

times. Indeed, this sacred spot, as epigraphical evidence proves, was only a *paḷḷi* or *haḷḷi* (village) in the first quarter of the sixth century A.D., and it continued to be so until the ninth century A.D. But in the first quarter of the thirteenth century A.D., it gained considerable celebrity partly due to the activities of a remarkable saint and partly due to the patronage bestowed on it by a well known Karṇāṭaka monarch.

The original name of Paṇḍharpur was merely Paṇḍara. It has been opined that this name cannot be traced to a Sanskrit origin, and that, therefore, it must be Kannaḍa. Paṇḍharpur is only a Sanskritized form of the word Paṇḍara. The name of the god Viṭṭhaḷa likewise "does not appear to be a Sanskrit name, nor, though several attempts have been made, can the word be correctly traced to any Sanskrit root. The name is probably Kanarese." The same writer asserts that Paṇḍhari was the old name of the village.[2] But epigraphical records prove that Paṇḍarādri was the original name, the locality round about it being called Paṇḍarapaḷḷi or village of Paṇḍara. This is inferred from the Pāṇḍaraṅgapaḷḷi copper-plate of king Avidheya, which has been edited by Dr. Krishna of Mysore. The plate records a grant made by king Avidheya to a learned brāhmaṇa named Jayadviṭṭha, of the villages of Paṇḍaraṅgapaḷḷi along with Anevari, Cāla, Kaṇḍaka and Duddapaḷḷi (their location being given in detail). We may note the qualifications of the donee: Jayadviṭṭha was "learned in philosophy, of the same *gotra* as Bhārgava, installed in the great office of *upaviḍ*, versed in the Vedic recitations, knower of the three *vidyās*, learned in the four *vedas*, most pious, who had the title preceptor of hundred brāhmaṇas, and whose speech was full of the eight qualities commencing with *vinaya*...." To him were granted the five villages named above, "with the eight kinds of wealth." The concluding lines of the same grant are the following:— "At the orders of the king, this was written by Devadatta, lord of

2 *Bombay Gazetteer*, XX, p. 423. Paṇḍara was a Kannaḍa name given to individuals. Thus, for example, in A.D. 1279 we have a Paṇḍara Lakṣmī Deva, see *Epigraphia Carnatica*, XI, Jl. 30, p. 87. Pāṇḍaraṅga is the 'valiant' person who burnt Kiraṇapura, the residence of Kṛṣṇarāja, as mentioned in the Maliyapaṇḍi grant of Ammarāja II or Vijayāditya VI., the Eastern Cāḷukya king. *Epigraphia Indica*, IX, pp. 48-50.

Paṇḍarādri (*Deva-dattena Paṇḍarādrīśena*), in the sixteenth year of the reign, named Bhādrapada, on the fifth day of the dark half of Kārtika."[3]

From the above the following may be deduced: Firstly, the donee was a man of exceptional learning. Secondly, he is named after the famous god of the locality—Viṭṭhaḷa-Jayadviṭṭha. Thirdly, the locality is called by its original name Paṇḍara as well as by its Sanskritized form Pāṇḍaraṅga but is expressly stated to have been a *paḷḷi* or village. And fourthly, Devadatta, the scribe, is called lord of Paṇḍarādri, thereby suggesting that Paṇḍara or Pāṇḍaraṅga (the form Pāṇḍuraṅga being not noticeable as yet) was already a place of some importance inspite of the locality around it being called a *paḷḷi*. It is possible that the name Paṇḍarādri was given to the hillock itself on which the renowned temple of Viṭṭhoba stands.[4]

Dr. Krishna has assigned the above copper-plate to the earlier part of November A.D. 516. His arguments are perfectly sound.[5] Since the donee Jayadviṭṭha is called after the god Viṭṭhaḷa of the locality, and since we cannot conceive of a learned man like him living in an insignificant village, we have to assume that Pāṇḍaraṅgapaḷḷi must have already existed as a place of importance before the first quarter of the sixth century A.D. Our surmise is strengthened by the epithet given to the scribe Devadatta. He was *īśa* (lord) of Paṇḍarādri. Evidently we have to suppose that it was a hill (fortress?) of some consequence. If this is admitted, then, the name Paṇḍara may be traced to the Kannaḍa word *paṇḍe*, wisdom, suggesting thereby that before the installation of the image of Viṭṭhaḷa, that spot was already known for its learned men. Whatever that may be, the fact that Jayadviṭṭha is called after the celebrated god of Paṇḍharpur proves beyond doubt that the image of the god must have already been installed at least two or three generations before Jayadviṭṭha's time, *viz.*, *circa* A.D. 400. We may reasonably

3 *Mysore Archæological Report* for 1920, pp. 198 seq.

4 Dr. Krishna writes that "as no hill of that name (Paṇḍarādri) is known, it (Paṇḍarādrīśena) may stand for Paṇḍarādhiśena." *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, *ibid.*, p. 198, n. (2)

5 *Ibid.*, pp. 202-205.

date, therefore, the importance of Paṇḍharpur to the middle of the fifth century A.D.

Sculptural evidence corroborates the above deduction. The image of the god is standing with its arms akimbo and hands resting on the hips, the left hand holding a conch and the right hand a *cakra* or discus. On the image are carved, but so slightly as to be hardly visible except on a close examination, a waist cloth, and round the waist a waistband or a *kamarband*, the end of which hangs on the right thigh. The ornaments consist of a necklace and in the long ears, earrings which touch the shoulders. It has been rightly remarked that the dress and ornaments of this image resemble the Udayagiri cave sculptures near Bhilsa which date from the beginning of the fifth century A.D.[6]

In the middle of the ninth century A.D., another famous Karnāṭaka monarch confirmed the grant recorded in the above Pāṇḍaraṅgapaḷḷi plate. This is proved from the short confirmatory grant engraved on the back of the third plate of the above Pāṇḍaraṅgapaḷḷi copper-plate. The ruler is called merely Sarbarasa, Lord of Kannavāḍa, Gaṅgavāḍa, Baḷeyavāḍa, Reṇāḍuḷa, and Siyaḷāru. The epigraph only adds that it was made by his order and engraved by Sembaja of Sintarge. Dr. Krishna, to whom we are again thankful for editing this confirmatory grant, has identified the Sarbarasa mentioned in it with Amoghavarṣa I Nṛpatuṅga Deva, the famous Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch whose kingdom stretched from the Kāverī to Central India. The absence of any *birudu* or title of Amoghavarṣa in the above grant, and the fact that he is called merely Sarva (Sarbarasa), which seems to have been his proper name, clearly indicate that that confirmatory grant must have been inscribed soon after he came to the throne in about A.D. 815-20.[7]

6 *Bombay Gaz.*, XX, p. 424; *Mys. Arch. Rep.* for 1929, p. 205; Smith, *His. of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon*, pp. 78-9. (Revised by K. de B. Codrington, 2nd ed., Oxford 1930). There is a sculpture of Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa or Pāṇḍuraṅga with arms akimbo but holding flowers or bags, in the south cell of the Lakṣmīnarasiṃha temple, constructed somewhere in the middle of the thirteenth century A.D., perhaps in the reign of the Hoysaḷa king Someśvara Deva or Narasiṃha III. *Mys. Arch. Rep.* for 1931, p. 4.

7 *Mys. Arch. Rep.* for 1929, pp. 209-210; Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, pp. 67, 71.

One of the most remarkable names connected with the shrine of Paṇḍharpur is that of Nāmadeva, who has been assigned to the thirteenth century A.D. Another well known devotee of the god Viṭṭhaḷa was the Mhār Cokhāmeḷa who is said to have lived in the same age (*circa* A.D. 1278).[8] No doubt these and the celebrated Jñāneśvara, who also belonged to the same century, spread the greatness of the god Viṭṭhaḷa all over the country.

But the patronage of kings was an essential factor in the evolution of a place from a mere *paḷḷi* into a famous place of pilgrimage of later days. The Karnāṭaka kings seem to have continued the tradition of bestowing their patronage on Pāṇḍaraṅgapaḷḷi. Here we may incidentally mention a ruler whose inscription has been noticed in the *Bombay Gazetteer*. In this work he has been wrongly stated to have been of the Devagiri Yādava line. Over two of the middle pillars in the temple is an old block 7′ 6″ long, 1′ 2″ broad and 9″ thick. The beginning and the end of this inscription are hidden by a part of the pillar capital. The letters are not deeply incised and as the slab forms a part of the roof and is in the dark, the whole inscription can hardly be read without taking out the stone. The following details are given in the *Bombay Gazetteer* concerning the king who made the grant recorded in the inscription:—

(*a*) His titles:—*Pṛthvīvallabha*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Sarva-rāja-cuḍāmaṇi*.

(*b*) He is said to have belonged to the Yādava line.

(*c*) The date is given as Saka 1159 (=A.D. 1237).

(*d*) The inscription narrates that Someśvara Deva conquered the country round about and encamped at Paṇḍarige on the bank of the Bhīmarathī.

(*e*) The inscription further records a gift to the god out of the yearly presents from the people of Hiriyagarañja which has been identified with Pūluñj, a village about fifteen miles east of Paṇḍharpur.

The writer of the above notes maintains that since Siṅghaṇa II of

8 *Bomb. Gaz.*, XX, p. 418.

the Devagiri Yādava line ruled from A.D. 1209 to A.D. 1247, the date of this inscription falls within his reign; that Someśvara was another name of Siṅghaṇa II or of his son Jaitugi II; and that at Pāluñj a well-engraved inscription of Siṅghaṇa II has been found.[9]

The inscription mentioned cannot be referred to the Yādava king Siṅghaṇa II at all. But it belongs to the Hoysala king Someśvara Deva. The following reasons will make our point clear:—

The controlling *birudu* in the above list is what the writer states as *sarva-rāja-cuḍāmaṇi*. This is, we presume, a wrong reading for *sarvajña-cuḍāmaṇi* which was a special *birudu* of the Hoysala king Someśvara Deva. It was not borne by the Yādava king Siṅghaṇa II whose *birudus* are thus given in a record dated A.D. 1217:—*samasta-bhuvanāśraya* (refuge of all the Universe), *śrīpṛthvīvallabha* (favourite of the goddess Earth), *mahārājādhirāja, rājaparameśvara, paramabhaṭṭāraka, Dvārāvatī-puravarādhīśvara* (boon lord of Dvārāvatīpura), *Yādava-kula-kamaḷa-kaḷika-vikāsa-bhāskara* (sun in causing the lotus Yādava-kula to unfold), *Māḷavī-malla* (wrestler with Māḷavī), *ari-rāya-śūra-śella* (?), *Gurjara-rāya-vāraṇāṅkuśa* (an elephant goad to Gurjara Rāya), *Teluṅga-rāya-śiraḥ-kamalotpāṭana-punaḥ-sthāpanāchārya* (plucker of the lotus head of Teluṅga-Rāya and re-establisher of him), *Pannali-giri-durga-vajra-pañjara-vidravaṇa-pravīṇa* (melter down of the cage of adamant the Pannali hill fort), *Ballāḷa-rāya-rājīva-vana-vidhvaṃsana-mattebha* (a rutting elephant in destroying the lotus garden Baḷḷāḷa Rāya), *śrīmat prauḍha-pratāpa chakravarti Rāya-Nārāyaṇa* Śrī Siṅghaṇa Deva.[10]

Someśvara Deva alone had the significant *birudu* of *sarvajña-cuḍā-maṇi*. But it must be said at the same time that he was also known by other similar *birudus* like *ru-bhaṭa-cuḍāmaṇi*, as in A.D. 1235, or like *samyakta* (*samyukta*) *cuḍāmaṇi*, as in inscriptions ranging from A.D.

9 *Bom. Gaz.*, XX, *op. cit.* The writer of this article was one Mr. Santaram Vinayak Kanthak, Assistant Surgeon, Paṇḍharpur.

10 *EC.*, VIII., Sb. 135, text, p. 55. See also Sb. 276, 391, 398, pp. 125, seq. 186, 188. These are but a few of the many inscriptions relating to Siṅghaṇa Deva II.

1236 to about A.D. 1245.[11] But of all these the *birudu sarvajña cuḍāmaṇi* or crest jewl of omniscience seems to have been the most correct form. This is proved again by epigraphs as well as by the testimony of his court poet Mallikārjuna. An inscription dated A.D. 1239 gives the following *birudus* to king Someśvara:—*śrīmat-pṛthvīvallabha, mahārājādhirāja, rājaparameśvara, paramabhaṭṭāraka, Yādava-kuḷaṃbaradyumaṇi* (sun in the sky of the Yādava kula), *sarvajña-cuḍāmaṇi* (crest jewel of omniscience).[12] Another record dated A.D. 1247 confirms the above *birudu*: it also calls the same ruler *sarvajña-cuḍāmaṇi*.[13]

Now, the fact of king Someśvara Deva having had the *birudu* of *sarvajña-cuḍāmaṇi* is further corroborated by the court-poet Mallikārjuna in his great anthology of Kannaḍa poetry called *Sūkti-sudhārṇava*. We are once again indebted to Dr. Krishna for bringing to the notice of scholars a fresh copy of this Ms. from the library of Mr. Rama Das of Belur, Hassan District. In the 24th verse of the introductory part of this anthology, Mallikārjuna claims that Someśvara Deva became famous in this world by the work of Malla or Mallikārjuna himself:—*kṛtiyaṃ nirmisi manna mādariḷeyoḷ śrī-Harṣanuṃ Bhoja-bhūpatiyuṃ sat-kavi vajra kaṣṭa-nṛpanuṃ sarvajña-Someśana-unnati vettam dhareg-indu Malla-budha-nindam.*[14]

It is beyond doubt, therefore, that the Hoysala king Someśvara Deva gave a gift to the god at Paṇḍharpur in A.D. 1236.[15] Twenty years

11 *EC.*, XI, Jl. 33, p. 235, Dg. 129, p. 188. The *birudu* in the original is given as *samyakta*. *EC.*, IV, Kr. 76, p. 316, Gu. 26, p. 16 in Tamil-Grantha characters; in Gu. 15, p. 95 it is given in the original as *samakta* which is evidently an error for *samyukta*. This epigraph has been assigned to *circa* A.D. 1245. See also *EC.*, VII, Sh. 87, p. 99. The word *samyukta* has been invariably spelt as *samyuktea*. It is interesting to observe that the *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍya Deva, under the Western Cālukya monarch Tribhuvanamalla, was called *samyukta-cuḍāmaṇi* in A.D. 1107. *EC.*, XI, Dg. 128, p. 187.

12 *EC.*, VIII, Sb. 492, p. 220.

13 *EC.*, IV, Ch. 67, p. 2. This is in Tamil-Grantha characters.

14 *Mys. Arch. Rep.* for 1931, p. 88. Mallikārjuna also calls the ruler *sarvajña-cakri-Soma-nṛpāla*. Narasimhachar, *Karnāta Kavicarite*, I, 371. On Mallikārjuna praising his patron read, *ibid.*, p. 373. (Ist ed.)

15 Rice mentions an inscription in Paṇḍharpur which states that the same Hoysala king made a gift to the god (Viṭṭhaḷa) at Paṇḍharpur in Śaka 1159 (A.D. 1236), *Mys. & Coorg.*, p. 105. The reference is given to *Bombay Arch. Report* for

after the place was considered to be one of the holy spots in western and southern India. This is proved by an inscription dated A.D. 1255 which calls it 'the great Pāṇḍuraṅga.'[16]

The name Pāṇḍaraṅga has survived till the nineteenth century. In the *Viṭhoba-carita* or *Viṭṭhaḷa-carita*, composed by Veṅkaṭeśa Bhaṭṭa of Kundāpūru in Tuluva, dated A.D. 1830, it is narrated how a brāhmaṇa child about to be sacrificed for the attainment of riches, was saved by the interference of Viṭṭhaḷa of Paṇḍarinagara.[17] Evidently to the people of the Karnāṭaka it was still known by its ancient name Paṇḍari (or Paṇḍara).

B. A. Saletore

1897-8. Unfortunately this Report is not accessible to me. But I believe that the inscription mentioned by Rice is identical with the one I have discussed above. If Rice's surmise is correct, it seems to suggest that since the Seuṇas or Yādavas continued to make incursions in the north-west of the Hoysaḷa Empire in the reign of king Someśvara (*Mys. & Coorg, ibid.*) the latter in order to propitiate the god made suitable grants to him.

16 *EC.*, V. Ak. 108, p. 157.

17 *Kavicarite*, III, p. 184. But unfortunately there is a printer's error on this page, and the story ends abruptly. For a succinct account of the story, see Kittel, in his Introduction to Nāgavarma's *Chandas*, p. lxxvii, Mangalore 1875. The *Bom. Gaz.*, XX, p. 422, contains an inscription dated A.D. 1272 which records a gift to the same god by a Śrīpati Daṇṇa...ki (Śrīpati Daṇṇāyaka?). In the same page we have an abstract of what the writer says to be a Marāṭhi inscription purporting to be a gift to the same god by Pandit Hemādri. The date is given as A.D. 1276. But the remarks are by no means convincing. The Hemādri referred to here may have been Hemādri, king of Kalyāṇ, mentioned in a record dated A.D. 1268, *EC.*, XI, Dg. 36, p. 45.

The Kharataragaccha Paṭṭāvalī compiled by Jinapāla

This rare and valuable Paṭṭāvalī was brought to my notice by my friend Mr. Agarchand Nahata. The work falls naturally into three parts. The first gives the lives of the Ācāryas of the Kharataragaccha. The second is a detailed and well dated account of the three Sūris—Jinacandra, Jinapati, and Jineśvara by Jinapāla, a disciple of Jinapati Sūri. It is a contemporary record and hence very valuable. The third part going up to V.S. 1393 is less detailed. But it resembles the second in being quite accurately dated. It correctly assigns, for instance, Qutub-ud-din Khalji, and Ghiyas-ud-din Ṭughalak to V.S. 1375 and 1379[1] respectively, and gives the right dates for some other rulers too. In the following lines the readers will find a few historical facts gleaned from the three parts of this important manuscript which remained lying concealed so long in one of the Jain *Bhāṇḍārs* of Bikaner.

The first ruler mentioned in the work is Durlabha of Anahillapaṭṭana.[2] He was a contemporary of Vardhamāna, the first *ācārya* of the Kharataragaccha. Some nine leaves later, we read about Naravarman,[3] the king of Dhārā. He was a great patron of learning, and a contemporary of Jinavallabha Sūri who died in V.S. 1167. Arṇorāja of Ajmer, and Kumārapāla of Gujarat[4] were the contemporaries of the next Ācārya Jinadatta Sūri. Madanapāla of Delhi[5] received with eclat his successor Jinacandra Sūri in V.S. 1222. Now who was this Madanapāla of Delhi? Was he not a Tomara and a descendant of Anaṅgapāla? Histories, no doubt, are silent about him, and there are also positive assertions to the effect that the kingdom of Delhi had been destroyed in 1150 A.D. by Vigraharāja IV, the king of Ajmer. But if the Paṭṭāvalī is to be relied on, we must reject the old theory of the conquest of Delhi by Vigraharāja IV, and date the disappearance of the Tomara kingdom at least later than V.S. 1223 (=A.D. 1166), the date of Jinacandra Sūri's death at Delhi.

1 Pp. 64(b) and 69(a).
2 P. 2(a).
3 P. 11(a).
4 Pp. 14(a) and 17(a).
5 P. 19(a).

Pṛthvīrāja Cauhāna has been mentioned more than once. He was regarded as a very powerful ruler. Even the redoubtable Jagaddeva Pratihāra, the commander of the Gujarat army, was desirous of being on friendly terms with the Cauhāna king.[6] In V.S. 1239 Pṛthvīrāja arranged a debate between one Padmaprabha and Jinapati Sūri in which the latter came off with flying colours.[7] Kaimāsa was the Cauhāna kings' Maṇḍaleśvara.. The work is silent about Canda Bardāi. But it mentions others, namely, Vāgīśvara, Janārdana and Vidyāpati as the Cauhāna's chief court paṇḍits and poets.[8] Pṛthvīrāja has been extolled twice or thrice for having defeated the Bhādānakas. We do not know who these Bhādānakas were. They had a large number of elephants in their army,[9] and must have been defeated before 1182 A.D., the year in which the debate mentioned above was arranged. Pṛthvīrāja seems to have been thus both a warrior and patron of letters.

In V.S. 1251 the Muslims captured Ajmer and for two months the author found disorder all around.[10] In V.S. 1253 the Muslims captured Śrīpaṭṭana also.[11] But the Jainas could still find respect and refuge at the courts of minor chiefs like Āsarāja (V.S. 1271),[12] the Rāṇaka of Daridreṇaka in the country of Bāgaḍa, and Pṛthvīcandra, the ruler of Nagarkota whose court paṇḍit was defeated by Jinapāla, the author of the first two parts of the manuscript.[13] In Gujarat Jainism flourished, and perhaps made even new conquests. In V.S. 1289 Jineśvara Sūri was received at Cambay by Vastupāla, the powerful minister of the Gujarat ruler.[14]

Rāwal Karṇa is mentioned as the ruler of Jaisalmer in V.S. 1340[15] (= 1283 A.D.). We might therefore reject as wrong the period 1241-1271 A.D. assigned to him by Sir Wolseley Haig and other historians. In V.S. 1355-56 the ruling prince at Jaisalmer was Jaitrasiṃha.[16]

6 P. 30(b).
7 P. 22(b).
8 *Ibid.*
9 P. 25(a)
10 ततः अजयमेरौविहारः । तत्र च म्लेच्छोपद्रवे महाकष्टं स्थितः ।
11 P. 41(a)
12 P. 41(b).
13 *Ibid.*
14 P. 46(a).
15 P. 55(a).
16 P. 58(a).

Mr. Puran Chand Nahar thinks that he ruled from V.S. 1332-1350.[17] He would, I think, modify his opinion in the light of the unambiguous statement of the Paṭṭāvalī.

Udaya Siṃha ruled at Pālanpur in 1341[18] He was succeeded by his son Sāmanta Siṃha. One Soma ruled at Sāmyāyana in V.S. 1339. Mahīpāla ruled over a part of Surāṣṭra in V.S. 1380,[19] and his son Rāmadeva at Taraṅgaka in V.S. 1393.[20]

The Paṭṭāvalī speaks of famines in V.S. 1377 and 1383. It gives also a good instance of *Śuddhi*. One Guṇacandra was carried away by the Turks. He managed to escape somehow, came back to his country and was accepted as a disciple by Jinadatta Sūri I.[21]

During Alauddin's reign the Jainas were badly persecuted by the Muslims. In V.S. 1370 (=A.D. 1313) they broke up a great Jain religious fair held at Jābālipura,[22] but thereafter the conditions improved. The Jainas now secured royal *firmans* and moved without any great fear from one part of the country to the other. They were received well by Muslim governors and allowed to preach undisturbed.[23]

The above are some of the important facts to be found in the Paṭṭāvalī and even these, however unimportant they may seem to some readers, will suffice to establish my contention that the work is of some historical value. In a future paper of mine, I hope to take up these Ācāryas' itinerary which, in my opinion, adds much new and interesting material to the historical geography of Medieval India.

DASARATHA SARMA

17 *Jain inscriptions*, part, iii, Introduction, p. 6.
18 P. 47(b).
19 P. 72(b).
20 P. 85(b).
21 P. 15(ab).
22 P. 61(a).
23 P. 64(b) and 69(b).

An Umā-Maheśvara Sculpture from Benares

(A Reply)

In the last issue of this Journal (*IHQ.*, September, 1935, p. 584), Mr. D. B. Diskalkar criticised my article—"A new Gupta sculpture", published in *IHQ.*, vol. IX, p. 588. Mr. Diskalkar intends to prove that the sculpture is the production of the Mathura School of Art, and was brought to Benares from Mathura. In support of his theory he remarks, "I am not in a position to examine the sculpture in original, but from my study of the Mathura sculptures I think that it is no doubt a Mathura sculpture carved on a white-mottled red sand-stone generally used for Mathura sculptures."

It is strange that Mr. Diskalkar could find out the nature of the stone used for the sculpture only by consulting the photograph supplied by me. On close examination of the sculpture I find it in Chunar sand-stone.

Mr. Diskalkar remarks—"One important point which Dr. Ganguly has not noticed in this sculpture is that of the *Ordhvaliṅga* of Maheśvara which is also seen in the Mathura sculpture noted above and in some more sculptures of Umā-Maheśvara preserved in the Mathura Museum." *Ordhvaliṅga* in the Umā-Maheśvara sculpture is very common in Northern India. Mr. Diskalkar intends to use this phenomena in support of his theory that Maheśvara is in amorous mood. But if he examines it more carefully he may encounter some technical drawbacks in his way.

Lastly Mr. Diskalkar finds fault in my statement that Maheśvara is in his joyful mood. He may be right in his contention if he finds it lacking that expression of joy, which peculiarly develops during amorous display. But my angle of vision is quite different here. I observe in it that particular expression of joy, which emanates from the appreciation of divine beauty.

D. C. Ganguly

On Gauḍapāda's Āgamaśāstra

In the course of an article entitled "The Māṇḍūkyopaniṣad and Gauḍapāda," published in the *Indian Antiquary* (vol. 62, pp. 181 ff.), I had occasion to point out that the collection of verses now known as *Gauḍapāda-kārikā* and divided into four sections called *Āgama-prakaraṇa, Vaitathya-prakaraṇa, Advaita-prakaraṇa* and *Alātaśānti-prakaraṇa*, bore originally the name of Āgama-śāstra; and I have also, on p. 182 (see also n. 7 there) and elsewhere too in the course of that article, given expression to the belief that the Āgama-śāstra in question consisted of these four sections only. A re-examination, however, of the following passage (cited on p. 182 *loc. cit.*) in the beginning of Śaṅkara's commentary on the *Māṇḍūkyopaniṣad* seems to indicate that this belief is incorrect and that the above-mentioned four sections formed but a portion of the *Āgama-śāstra*:

ओमित्येतदक्षरमिदं सर्वं तस्योपव्याख्यानम्। वेदान्तार्थसारसंग्रहभूतमिदं प्रकरणचतुष्टयमोमित्येतदक्षरमित्याद्यारभ्यते। अतएव न पृथक् सम्बन्धाभिधेयप्रयोजनानि वक्तव्यानि। यान्येव तु वेदान्ते सम्बन्धाभिधेयप्रयोजनानि तान्येवेह भवितुमर्हन्ति। तथापि प्रकरणव्याख्यानाय संक्षेपतो वक्तव्यानि। तत्र प्रयोजनवत्साधनाभिव्यक्त्येनाभिधेयसंबद्धं शास्त्रं पारम्पर्येण विशिष्टसंबन्धाभिधेयप्रयोजनवद्भवति। किं पुनस्तत्प्रयोजनमित्युच्यते। रोगार्तस्येव रोगनिवृत्तौ स्वस्थता। तथा दुःखात्मकस्यात्मनो द्वैतप्रपञ्चोपशमे स्वस्थता। अद्वैतभावः प्रयोजनम्।

In this passage, it will be observed, Śaṅkara says that he is going to comment on a quartet of prakaraṇas. This statement is incompatible with the belief that the Āgama-śāstra consisted of the four prakaraṇas in question; for, if such had been the case, Śaṅkara would have without doubt said that he was going to comment on the book Āgama-śāstra. Compare in this connection the following sentences in the introductions to his commentaries on the *Bhagavad-gītā*, *Chāndogyopaniṣad* and *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad* that consist respectively of 700 ślokas, and eight and six adhyāyas:

(1) तं धर्मं भगवता यथोपदिष्टं वेदव्यासः सर्वज्ञो भगवान् गीताख्यैः सप्तभिः श्लोकशतैरुपनिबन्ध। तदिदं गीताशास्त्रं समस्तवेदार्थसारसंग्रहभूतं दुर्विज्ञेयार्थम्।

तदर्थविष्करणायानेकैः विरुद्धपदपदार्थवाक्यार्थन्यायमत्यन्तविरुद्धानेकार्थत्वेन लौकिकैर्ग्रहणमुपलब्धवाहं विवेकतोऽर्थनिर्धारणार्थं संक्षेपतो विवरणं करिष्यामि ।

(2) ओमित्येतदक्षरमित्याद्यष्टाध्यायी छान्दोग्योपनिषत् । तस्याः संक्षेपतोऽर्थजिज्ञासुभ्य ऋजुविवरणमल्पग्रन्थमिदमारभ्यते ।

(3) 'उषा वा अश्वस्य' इत्येवमाद्या वाजसनेयिब्राह्मणोपनिषत् । तस्या इयमल्पग्रन्था वृत्तिरारभ्यते ।...सेयं षडध्यायैरुपरुद्धेऽनूच्यमानत्वादारण्यकम् ।

Saṅkara has not said that he is going to comment on *sapta-śloka-śataka*, *adhyāyāṣṭaka* and *adhyāya-ṣaṭka*, but that he is going to comment on the *Gītā*(-śāstra), the *Chāndogyopaniṣad* consisting of eight chapters, and on the *Vājasaneyi-brāhmaṇopaniṣad* consisting of six chapters. There can be no doubt that, in case the Āgama-śāstra had consisted of these four prakaraṇas only, he would have similarly said that he was going to comment on the Āgama-śāstra consisting of four prakaraṇas. His statement, instead, that he is going to comment on a 'quartet of prakaraṇas' indicates that these four prakaraṇas did not constitute the whole of the Āgama-śāstra but formed only a portion of it.

But, it may be objected, Saṅkara has abstained from using the word *Āgama-śāstra* here, not because this work contained more than the four prakaraṇas in question, but because it was his deliberate opinion that the work is not a *śāstra* (satisfying the definition *eka-prayojanopanibaddham aśeṣārtha-pratipādakaṃ śāstram*), but a *prakaraṇa* (satisfying the definition *śāstraikadeśa-sambaddhaṃ śāstra-kāryāntara sthitam prakaraṇam*). This objection, though plausible, seems to me to be untenable. For, the very fact that Saṅkara undertook the work of writing a commentary on Gauḍapāda's *Āgama-śāstra* shows that he held in high esteem the author and also the views expressed by him in the work. The stanzas *prajñā-vaiśākha-vedha-kṣubhita-jalanidher*.....and *yat-prajñāloka-bhāṣā*.....at the end of the commentary too show how highly Saṅkara reveres Gauḍapāda, while the commentary itself shows that Saṅkara has accepted without reserve all the views expressed by Gauḍapāda in the four sections. It is therefore, in the circumstances, very improbable that Saṅkara dissents from Gauḍapāda in one matter only, and regards as a prakaraṇa what Gauḍapāda regards as a śāstra.

Nor can it be urged here that the word *śāstra* is often used loosely in the sense of 'teaching', that Śaṅkara himself has so used it in the sentences *ācārya-pūjā hy abhipretārtha-siddhyartheṣyate śāstrārambhe* and *śāstra-samāptau paramārtha-tattva-stutyarthaṃ namaskāra ucyate* that occur in his explanation of the first and last verses of the *Alāta-śānti-prakaraṇa*, that it is not improbable that it has been so used in the title Āgama-śāstra, and that Śaṅkara's abstention from using the word *Āgama-śāstra* in the beginning of his commentary is due, not to a difference of opinion between him and Gauḍapāda, but to a keen desire on his part that the readers should understand clearly the nature of the work on which he was commenting. For, in the circumstances indicated, Śaṅkara would have written *vedāntārtha-sāra-saṃgraha-bhūtam idaṃ prakaraṇam om-ity-etadakṣaram-ity-ārabhyate*. Compare in this connection the sentence *prāripsitasya prakaraṇasyāvighnena parisamāpti-pracaya-gamanābhyāṃ śiṣṭācāra-paripālanāya ceṣṭa-devatāṃ namasyann arthād viṣayādikaṃ darśayati* that stands at the beginning of Jñānottama's commentary on Vimuktātman's *Iṣṭasiddhi*, which too is a prakaraṇa dealing with Advaitavedānta and consists of eight chapters; compare also the sentence *devatā-namaskāras tu samasta-vedāntārtha-sāra-saṃgrahasyāsya prakaraṇasyārthaṃ parāṃ devatām aupaniṣadaṃ puruṣaṃ saṃkṣepato darśayitum granthādāv eva kṛtaḥ* that occurs in Vimuktātman's commentary (p. 37) on the work.

There is not the slightest necessity for using the word *catuṣṭaya* after *prakaraṇa;* and Śaṅkara's use of that word therefore in the above-cited sentence shows plainly that the text commented upon by him was not a whole book, but only part of a book. That is to say, it becomes plain that the four prakaraṇas in question do not constitute the whole of the *Āgama-śāstra*, but form only a portion of it.

The benedictory verse *durdarśam ati-gambhīram ajaṃ sāmyaṃ viśāradam| buddhvā padam anātmanaṃ namas-kurmo yathā-balaṃ||* that occurs at the end of the fourth prakaraṇa (*Alāta-śānti-prakaraṇa*) and Śaṅkara's observation *śāstra-samāptau paramātma-tattva-stuty-arthaṃ namaskāra ucyate* should not be regarded as indicating that the *Āgama-śāstra* ends with this section and verse. As already observed above, *śāstra* here signifies 'teaching' and should not be interpreted as the work *Āgama-śāstra;* for, if one were to do so here, one would have to do

so likewise in the case of Śaṅkara's observation *ācārya-pūjā hy abhipretārtha-siddhyartheṣyate śāstrārambhe* on verse 1 and arrive thus at the conclusion that the *Āgama-śāstra* began with verse 1 of the *Alāta-śānti-prakaraṇa*! As a mater of fact, *maṅgalas* are enjoined not only at the beginning and end of works, but in their middle also; compare Patañjali's observation *maṅgalādīni maṅgala-madhyāni maṅgalāntāni hi śāstrāṇi prathante vīra-puruṣāṇi ca bhavanty āyuṣmat-puruṣāṇi cādhyetāraś ca maṅgala-yuktā yathā syuḥ* in his commentary on 1.3.1.

It is not necessary therefore to look on the benedictory verse *durdarśam ati-gambhīram*.....as marking the end of the *Āgama-śāstra*; it can conceivably mark the end of a prakaraṇa that occurs in the middle of that work also. Compare in this connection the benedictory verses *jñānaṃ jñeyaṃ tathā jñātā yasmād anyan na vidyate/ sarvajñaḥ sarva-śaktir yas tasmai jñānātmane namaḥ// vidyayā tāritāḥ saṃo yair janma-mṛtyu-mahodadhim/ sarvajñebhyo namas tebhyo gurubhyo 'jñāna-saṃkulam//* which occur at the end of prakaraṇa 17, and the benedictory verse *vedānta-vākya-puṣpebhyo jñānāmṛta-madhūttamam/ ujjahārālivad yo nas tasmai sad-gurave namaḥ//* that is found at the end of prakaraṇa 18,[1] of the *Upadeśasahasrī* (Padya-prabandha) which consists of 19 prakaraṇas.

It thus becomes plain from the foregoing that the four prakaraṇas in question formed a portion only of the *Āgama-śāstra;* and the following are some of the questions that arise in our mind in connection with this work that has not come down to us in full:

(1) Did the four prakaraṇas in question occur together, in the same order, in the *Āgama-śāstra*, or were they separated from one another by other prakaraṇas?

(2) Did the first of these prakaraṇas (the *Āgama-prakaraṇa*) stand at the beginning of the *Āgama-śāstra* too, or did it occur elsewhere in that work?

(3) Has Śaṅkara or any other author quoted in his works any

1 It is of interest to note that, like the *Alāta-śānti-prakaraṇa*, these two prakaraṇas too have benedictory verses at the beginning.

passage(s) from the prakaraṇas of the *Āgama-śāstra* that have not come down to us?

The answers that we give to these questions can be only tentative.

(1) When pointing out the purpose of the four above-named prakaraṇas, Śaṅkara has written as follows in the introduction to his commentary on the *Māṇḍūkyopaniṣad*:

तत्र तावदोंकारनिर्णयाय प्रथमं प्रकरणमागमप्रधानमात्मतत्त्वप्रतिपत्त्युपायभूतम्। यस्य द्वैतप्रपञ्चस्योपशमेऽद्वैतप्रतिपत्ती रज्ज्वामिव सर्पादिविकल्पोपशमे रज्जुतत्त्वप्रतिपत्तिः तस्य द्वैतस्य हेतुतो वैतथ्यप्रतिपादनाय द्वितीयं प्रकरणम्। तथाऽद्वैतस्यापि वैतथ्यप्रसङ्गप्राप्तौ युक्तितस्तथात्वदर्शनाय तृतीयं प्रकरणम्। अद्वैतस्य तथात्वप्रतिपत्ति-प्रतिपक्षभूतानि यानि बादान्तरायणवैदिकानि तेषामन्योन्यविरोधित्वादतथार्थत्वेन तदुपपत्तिभिरेव निराकरणाय चतुर्थं प्रकरणम्।

A consideration of these sentences seems to show that these four prakaraṇas occurred together, one after the other, in the *Āgama-śāstra*, in the order in which they are found.

(2) The words *dvitīyam* and *caturtham* that occur in the colophon *Śaṅkara bhagavataḥ kṛtau Gauḍapādīyāgamaśāstra bhāṣye Vaitathyākhyaṃ dvitīyaṃ prakaraṇam* and*Alāta-śāntyākhyaṃ caturthaṃ prakaraṇam* at the end of Śaṅkara's commentary on the second and fourth sections do not help us in finding an answer to the second question as they can refer either to the order of the prakaraṇas chosen by Śaṅkara for commenting, or to that in which these prakaraṇas occurred in the original work. The following considerations show however that the Āgama-prakaraṇa occurred at the beginning of the *Āgama-śāstra*:

(a) It is customary on the part of Śaṅkara, when commenting on texts that comprise portions only of books not including the beginning, to make a few observations at the commencement about (1) the contents of the portion that has preceded, and (2) their relation with the contents of the portion that he is going to comment upon; compare in this connection the introduction to his commentaries on the *Bṛhad-āraṇyaka*, *Taittirīya*, *Aitareya* and *Kena Upaniṣads* (which are all portions of different Brāhmaṇ texts). No such observation have been made by him in the introduction to his commentary on the *Māṇḍūkyopaniṣad*, which indicates that there was nothing in the *Āgama-śāstra* that preceded the Āgama-prakaraṇa.

(b) On the other hand, Śaṅkara (as we have seen above), in the passage first cited above from his introduction, propounds the question, "What are the *sambandha, abhidheya*, and *prayojana* (subject, purpose and relation) of his quartet of prakaraṇas" and answers it by saying, "Since these are prakaraṇas of the Vedānta-śāstra, they have the same subject, purpose and relation as the Vedānta itself. There is thus no need (for the author) to mention them; but a brief mention of them must be made by one who wants to comment on the prakaraṇas." It is shown by this answer that the Āgama-prakaraṇa stood at the beginning of the *Āgama-śāstra*. For, it is only at the commencement of a work that the author is expected to mention the *sambandha, prayojana*, and *abhidheya;* and an apology for his not having done so is in place, only when the passage that is being discussed stands at the beginning of a book.

(3) Regarding the third question, the quotations in Śaṅkara's commentaries on the *Bhagavad-gītā* and the nine 'major' Upaniṣads[2] are exclusively from the texts known as *śruti* and *smṛti*.[3] In his commentary on the *Brahma-sūtra*, Śaṅkara, when criticising the doctrines of other schools of thought, quotes in addition from well-known text-books of those schools.

He also quotes frequently the *Brahma-sūtras* themselves, and also from Jaimini's *Pūrva-mīmāṃsā-sūtras, Nyāya-sūtras, Vaiśeṣika-sūtras, Pāṇini's Vyākaraṇa-sūtras* and a *Svapnādhyāya*. The following verses too are cited by him in his commentary on 2.1.9; 1.4.14; and 1.1.4[4] with the introductions *atroktaṃ vedāntārtha-sampradāya-*

2 His commentary on the above-mentioned four sections of the *Āgama-śāstra* contains, besides quotations from *śruti* and *smṛti* texts, quotations from these sections themselves.

3 In this class Śaṅkara includes not only the works known as *Smṛti*, i.e., *Manu-smṛti, Dharma-sūtras, Gṛhya-sūtras* and *Śrauta-sūtras*, but the *Mahābhārata, Bhagavad-gītā, Purāṇas* and other similar works also.

4 In the commentary on this sūtra, occurs the following quotation also, namely, *pravṛtti-nivṛtti-vidhi-tac-chesa-vyatirekeṇa kevalavastu-vādi vedu-bhāgo nāsti* from some text-book of the Mīmāṃsaka school.

vidbhir ācāryaiḥ, *tathā ca sampradāya-vido vadanti*, and *api cāhuḥ* respectively:

1. अनादिमायया सुप्तो यदा जीवः प्रबुध्यते ।
 अजमनिद्रमस्वप्नमद्वैतं बुध्यते तदा ॥
2. सृष्टिर्या चोदितान्यथा ।
 उपायः सोवतारात्र नास्ति भेदः कथञ्चन ॥
3. गौणमिथ्यात्मनोऽसत्त्वे पुत्रदेहादिबाधनात् ।
 सद्ब्रह्मात्माहमित्येवं बोधे कार्यं कथं भवेत् ॥
 अन्वेष्टव्यात्मविज्ञानात् प्राक् प्रमातृत्वमात्मनः ।
 अन्विष्टः स्यात्प्रमातैव पाप्मदोषादिवर्जितः ॥
 देहात्मप्रत्ययो यद्वत् प्रमाणत्वेन कल्पितः ।
 लौकिकं तद्वदेवेदं प्रमाणं त्वात्मनिश्चयात् ॥

The first of these passages is verse 16 of the Āgama-prakaraṇa, and the second, verse 15 of the Advaita-prakaraṇa. To judge therefore from the similarity of the sentences that introduce them, it seems probable that the third passage too is a quotation from Gauḍapāda's work. That is to say, since we know of no other work of Gauḍapāda, it is probable that these verses are cited from the portion of Gauḍapāda's *Āgama-śāstra* that has not come down to us.

As a matter of fact, one of the commentators on the *Brahma-sūtra-Śaṅkara-bhāṣya*, namely, Nārāyaṇa Sarasvatī, explains in his *Vārttika*, Śaṅkara's introductory words *api cāhuḥ* by adding the words *asmina arthe sampradāya-vido Gauḍapādācāryāḥ* after them (see p. 1245 of Mm. Anantakṛṣṇa Śāstrī's edition of *Brahma-sūtra-Śāṅkara-bhāṣya* with nine commentaries, vol. I, Part 2); and ordinarily, this would be sufficient evidence to show conclusively that the kārikās in question are derived from Gauḍapāda's book [i.e., his *Āgama-śāstra*]. The observations, however, made by the Mahāmahopādhyāya in his introduction, about the identity of this commentator would make out that he lived in the 15th or 16th century A.D., that is to say, at a time when it is very doubtful if complete copies of the *Āgama-śāstra* were extant. And secondly, the epithet *sampradāya-vidaḥ* used by Nārāyaṇa Sarasvatī which is, without doubt, borrowed from Śaṅkara's above-cited

introduction to the verse *mṛl-loha-visphuliṅgādyaiḥ*.....in his commentary on the Brahma-sūtra, 1.4.14 leaves room for the suspicion to arise that Nārāyaṇa Sarasvatī's statement too is based on a process of inference analogous to the one adopted above by us. On the whole, then, though I think it probable that the above verses are cited by Śaṅkara from the portion of the *Āgama-śāstra* that has not come down to us, I do not think that, at this stage, we are entitled to consider it as certain.[5]

Similarly, it is not improbable that other early writers on Vedānta, and particularly on Advaita-vedānta, have sometimes cited passages from the portion of the *Āgama-śāstra* that has not come down to us; and a careful search of such texts will, I have no doubt, bring some of them to light.[6]

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5 The attribution of the third of these kārikās to Sundara-pāṇḍya's *Vārttika* in Mādhava's commentary on the *Sūta-saṃhitā* (3. 4. 11-12) does not militate against this view; for it is possible that Ācārya Sundara-pāṇḍya may have himself borrowed this kārikā, mediately or directly, from the *Āgama-śāstra*, or, in case Gauḍapāda himself had borrowed it, from the original source. Compare in this connection the observation of Mr. V. A. Ramaswami Sastri in *Indian Historical Quarterly*, X, 448, n. 45.

6 When however, as is possible, the passages are cited without the mention of Gauḍapāda's name and with introductions like *atrokṭam*, *atrāhuḥ*, etc., it is naturally impossible to refer them to Gauḍapāda's work.

Gaulī

The word *gaulī* occurs in the following passage (line 36-44) of story no. 32 of the metrical recension of the *Vikrama-carita* (p. 229 of Prof. Edgerton's edition, vol. 27 of the Harvard Oriental Series):

तयोः संलपतोरेवं यथेष्टं प्रश्नपेशलम् ।
तत्र गौली क्वचित् काचिदुच्चैरुदरवत्तदा ॥
ततो राजा तमप्राक्षीद्गौली किं वदतीति सः ।
नद्यामुत्तरवाहिन्यां नाभिदघ्नजलान्तरे ॥
शवः कश्चित्समायातीत्याह.गौलीति सोऽब्रवीत् ।
ततः क्षणान्तरे कापि शिवा चुक्रोश कुत्रचित ।
भूयापि पृष्टः प्रोवाच पुरुषः स महीभुजा ॥
स्वर्णटङ्कायुतवती महती कापि नीविका ।
कटिप्रदेशे तस्यैव शवस्यायाति संयता ॥

"As they were thus conversing agreeably with pleasant questions, at that time somewhere a certain Gaulī [=the more usual Gaurī, a name of Śiva's consort] cried out with a loud voice. Then the king asked him: "What does the Gaulī say?" And he answered: "The Gaulī says that in the north-flowing river a corpse is approaching, in water up to the navel." A moment later, in another place, a certain Śivā [=Gaulī] cried out; and being asked by the king the man said: "A great loin-cloth containing ten thousand gold coins is coming down (the river), tied about the hips of that same corpse."

Edgerton's translation, H. O. Series, vol. 26, p. 248).

Gaulī thus is another form of Gaurī, according to Prof. Edgerton, and denotes the consort of Śiva, even as does the word *śivā* used in the same passage.

Now, this word *gaulī* (with cerebral *ḷa* however instead of dental *la*) occurs also in story I.6 of the amplified version of the *Southern Pañcatantra* which has been described by Prof. Hertel in vols. 60 (pp. 769-801) and 61 (pp. 18-72) of the *ZDMG*. In 60,777, *loc. cit.* (line 26), Hertel has written '*gauḷī* Bezeichnung eines Vogels, I.6', but has reported, a few lines later on, the opinion of Prof. Hultzsch that

gauḷī = Tamil *koḷi* 'hen'; and similarly, in 61.26, loc. cit., he has accordingly translated the expression *gauḷi-vākyam* as 'die Stimme einer Henne.'[1]

These interpretations are all incorrect. *Gauḷī* or *gauḷi* is a word in current use in the Kannaḍa language to denote the common house-lizard. The chirpings of this lizard are believed to prognosticate all kinds of events, and there exists more than one book in Kannaḍa on *Gauḷi-śāstra*. Since the versions in question of the *Vikrama-carita* and *Pañcatantra* belong, admittedly, to South India, and since the context too in both passages favours it,[2] there can be no doubt that *gauḷī* has this meaning of 'house-lizard' in them. The correct translation therefore of lines 36-44 cited above is:

"When they were thus conversing agreeably with pleasant questions, a house-lizard somewhere there chirped loudly. The king then asked him, "What does the house-lizard say?" He replied, "The house-lizard says that, in the north-flowing river, a corpse is approaching in water that reaches up to the navel (that is, in water that is navel-high)." A moment later, in another place, a jackal cried out; and being asked again by the king, the man said, "A large stock of money consisting of ten thousand gold coins is coming, tied about the hips of the same corpse."

Śivā = jackal, and not *gauḷī* or Gaurī; and *nīvikā* = stock of money, and not 'loin-cloth'. Compare regarding both words *Amarakoṣa*, 3.3.211: *strī-kaṭi-vastra-bandhe 'pi nīvī paripaṇe 'pi ca| śivā Gauri-pheravayoḥ*.

A reminiscence of Kannaḍa usage is seen in the following two passages also of the *Vikramacarita*, where the word *nitya* has (as in Kannaḍa) the meaning 'daily, every day (*prati-dinam*)':

1. It is narrated in this story that a king, when wandering, disguised, at night, in the streets of his capital, overhears one person asking another about the meaning of the *gauḷi-vākya* just heard and the latter's reply, 'The king of our town is now standing at our door. When he proceeds further, a misfortune will befall him.'

2 The verb *udaravat*, it may be noted, is inappropriate in connection with deities and human beings, but is, on the other hand, quite apposite in connection with animals, birds etc.

P. 143; *SR.*, 18.7.3 5.; tac chrutvā rājā tasmai kuṇḍala-dvayaṃ dattvā bhaṇati bho brāhmaṇa etat kuṇḍala-dvayaṃ nityaṃ suvarṇa-bhāraṃ ekaṃ dāsyati/

P. 148; *SR.*, 19.5: putrād api priyatamaṃ niyamena dānaṃ
manye paśor api viveka-vivarjitasya/
datte khale 'pi nikhilaṃ khalu yena dugdhaṃ
nityaṃ dadāti mahiṣī sasutā 'pi paśya//

Edgerton's translations of these passages read as follows:

"Hearing this the king gave him the two rings, and said: "O Brahman, this pair of rings will give you a load of gold all the time."

"I firmly believe that, even to a beast without reason, a gift is dearer even than her own young ones; for, take notice, a buffalo-cow, if you give her just some oil-cake, will always, as everybody knows, give down all her milk, even if she has a calf."

But, in regard to the first, a comparison of *SR.*, 18.6.9 10 (p. 143): *bho rājan etat kuṇḍala-dvayaṃ prati-dinaṃ ekaṃ suvarṇa-bhāraṃ prayacchati* shows that *prati-dinam* in the latter corresponds to *nityam* in the former, and that therefore *nityam* should be interpreted as 'daily'. Further, *kuṇḍala* denotes, not 'ring', but 'ear-ring' (hence the mention of a 'pair' of them), and *bhāra* signifies not 'load', but 'two thousand palas' weight', compare *Amarakośa*, 2.9.87: *tulā striyāṃ pala-śataṃ bhāraḥ syād viṃśatis tulāḥ*. Similarly, *nityam* = daily, in the second passage too.

Edgerton's rendering of the following passage, too, of the *Vikramacarita* (*SR.*, VI. 6-7) is likewise defective:

kamala-mukula-mṛdvī phulla-rājīva-gandhī
surata-payasi yasyāḥ saurabhaṃ divyam aṅge/
cakita-mṛga-dṛg-ābhe prānta-rakte ca netre
stana-yugalam anarghyaṃ śrīphala-śrī-viḍambi//

tila-kusuma-samānāṃ bibhratī nāsikāṃ yā
dvija-guru-sura-pūjā-śraddadhānā sadaiva/
kuvalaya-dala-kāntiḥ kāpi cāmpeya-gaurī
vikaca-kamala-kośākāra-kāmātapatrā//

These verses, as also the one that follows them, are cited by the redactor of *SR.* from Kokkoka's *Ratirahasya* (1. 11-13; p. 7 f. of the

Benares edition of 1912 printed at the Tārā-yantrālaya); and Edgerton, who was not perhaps aware of this fact, has chosen incorrect readings in 6a and 7b from the majority of his manuscripts, discarding the correct readings *phulla-rājīva-gandhaḥ* and *devīja-yaṛu-sura-pājāṃ sraddadhānā* that are found in his manuscripts M and J. The meaning of 6a and b is thus not, "She is delicate as a lotus bud, with the perfume of a full-blown lotus; in her body, rich in the delights of love, is a divine fragrance" as given by Edgerton, but, "She is delicate as a lotus-bud; in her seminal fluid is the fragrance of the full-blown lotus, in her body, a divine fragrance." Likewise, Edgerton's rendering of 7d too as "whose form, like the sheath of a full-blown lotus, is as a parasol to save from the heat of desire' is incorrect. Compare in this connection Kāñcīnātha's scholium (p. 8 of the above-mentioned edition), which gives the correct meaning of this pāda.

A. VENKATASUBBIAH

REVIEWS

A HISTORY OF PALI LITERATURE by Bimala Churn Law, with a Foreward by Wilhelm Geiger, London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1933. 2 vols. I: xxviii, pp. 1-342, II: vii, pp. 343-689.

The year 1933 brought to the readers interested in Buddhist literature two important books in English: the English translation of the German original of the standard work on Indian literary history: the second volume of "A History of Indian Literature" by Prof. M. Winternitz which deals (pp. 1-423) with "Buddhist Literature," and as the second work the two volumes by Dr. B. C. Law. It would be unjust to compare the two works. Though they have to treat for a great part the same material, they differ in the scope as well as in the aim, as indicated already by their respective titles. The "Buddhist Literature" covers not only the works written in Pāli, the language of the Hīnayāna Canon and a rich post-canonic literary activity of commentators but also the semi-Sanskrit and pure Sanskrit texts of the different schools of Buddhism in its Mahāyāna-form. Dr. Law, however, has concentrated his work on the Pāli literature only and has "attempted," as he says himself, "for the first time to supply the need of a detailed and systematic history of Pāli literature." His two volumes represent in fact an exhaustive treatment of the vast and difficult subject.

The problem starts with the definition of the linguistic character of Pāli. There exists hardly any part of the Indian peninsula from which scholars have not tried to convince us that Pāli has taken its origin. Dr. Law defines Pāli as based on a western form of the Indian Prakritic dialects particularly the form which tallied with the dialect of the Girnar version of Aśoka's Rock Edicts and to some extent with the Śaurasenī Prākrit as known to the grammarians. Though Dr. Law is right in denying the instances of Māgadhism as a proof that Pāli has been based on Māgadhī only, he would have to submit himself to the opinion expressed by him (p. xxv): "All attempts to ascertain the

dialect.....have proved futile." The fact that Aśoka has found it necessary to use for each corner of his empire a special language, a vernacular, suggests the richness and differennces of them; on the other hand, we know nothing about the language of the royal chancellery which may have been, as instances in the development of other languages allow us to suppose, the standard language. Further, the interval between that form of the middle-Indian standard language and the literary conception of the Canon is unknown, notwithstanding the inner development of Pāli, if such a language existed already, from the beginning of Buddha's activity till the committing of the texts to writing. From this reason it is in fact illusory to ascertain in clear words the character of Pāli.

Considerable space is devoted by Dr. L a w to the question of the Chronology of the Pāli Canon (vol. I, pp. 1-42). Summing up the results of his enquiry Dr. Law gives the following table of the chronology of the Pāli Canonical literature: 1. The simple statements of Buddhist doctrine now found in identical works in paragraphs or verses recurring in all the books. 2. Episodes found in identical works in two or more of the existing books. 3. The Sīlas, the Pārāyaṇa group of sixteen poems without the prologue, the Aṭṭhaka group of four or sixteen poems, the Sikkhāpadas. 4. Dīgha, vol. I, the Majjhima, the Saṃyutta, the Aṅguttara, and earlier Pātimokkha code of 152 rules. 5. The Dīgha, vols. II and III, the Thera-Therīgāthā, the collection of 500 Jātakas, Suttavibhaṅga, Paṭisambhidāmagga, Puggalapaññati and the Vibhaṅga. 6. The Mahāvagga and the Cullavagga, the Pātimokkha code completing 227 rules, the Vimānavatthu and Petavatthu, the Dhammapada and the Kathāvatthu. 7. The Cullaniddesa, the Mahāniddesa, the Udāna, the Itivuttaka, the Suttanipāta, the Dhātukathā, the Yamaka, and the Paṭṭhāṇa. 8. The Buddhavaṃsa, the Cariyāpiṭaka, and the Apadāna. 9. The Parivārapāṭha. 10. The Khuddakapāṭha.

Regarding that table it seems strange to classify the texts according to the order in which they are arranged to-day, Cp. Dīgha, I, II, III. And for the Jātakas I would not subscribe that all of them belong to the same period. Whether Mrs. Rhys Davids is right with her reconstruction of the Sakya religion or not, so far she is undoubtedly

right that the scriptures of today do not represent the original status, an assertion which few, if any, of students of Buddhism have made at all. Again, to put the Dhammapada and the Vinaya texts after the Dīghanikāya needs some more arguments before that chronology can be accepted.

The main contents of the two volumes, however, are really an exhaustive description of the canonical and non-canonical works. Chapter II, covering pp. 43-335, deals with the analysis of each single part of the Tipiṭaka. To every student of Buddhism, for short information, this elaborate indexing of the texts will be of great convenience. In Chapter III (vol. I, pp. 336-42) the author deals with the seven Abhidharma treatises of the Sarvāstivāda School. Less known texts or items are treated in vol. II. First, the author gives the contents of the Nettipakaraṇa and the Peṭakopadesa, then he deals with the Milindapañha from the literary and cultural point of view. But Dr. Law does not give the reader any reason for his assertion that this work, the Milindapañha "had originally been written in Northern India in Sanskrit or in some North Indian Prakrit by an author whose name has not, unfortunately enough, come down to us." There is no doubt about the *terminus a quo*, that is to say, the time of the hero of the work, the Bactrian Greek king Menandros, roughly spoken, the second cent. B.C. On the other hand, the Chinese translations or rather redactions of the 4th and 5th cent. A.D. and the mentioning of the work by Buddhaghosa (5th cent. A.D.) presuppose the existence of the work in the time between these *termini*, but the latter's quotations refer only to the parts, supposed to be genuine, books I-III. It is quite contradictory to the evidence of the literary development in the last centuries B.C. and the first two centuries A.D. that a work of Sanskrit origin should have been translated into Pāli. And further the verses would require something more than a translator, he had to be a poet too. For readers, interested in the Milindapañha, I would like to add to the useful bibliographical remarks by Dr. Law that a complete German translation of the work has been published by that well-known German Buddhist Nyāṇatiloka in two volumes, Munich 1919, under the title: *Die Fragen des Milinda*. Further, an exhaustive Bibliography of the Milindapañha, comprising the Chinese trans-

lations as well as European editions, etc. was contributed by S. Behrsing, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, VII, 1934, pp. 335-48, 517-39.

In some way, pioneer work has been done by Dr. Law in analysing the not always amusing commentaries by Buddhadatta, Buddhaghosa, and Dhammapāla. Buddhaghosa formed already the subject of a special book by Dr. Law; nevertheless he has spent considerable space to the contents of his work, by this way enabling the reader not only to get an idea of the man and his immense activity, but also to get handy information of the contents of the commentaries.

Chapter VI deals with the Pāli chronicles—Dīpavaṃsa, Mahāvaṃsa, Buddhaghosuppatti and others, to mention only the more important, like Mahābodhivaṃsa, Thūpavaṃsa, Dāṭhāvaṃsa, Gandhavaṃsa, Sāsanavaṃsa. Chapters VII-IX bring the contents of manuals to the knowledge of the reader, like the Saccasaṃkhepa, Abhidhammatthasaṃgaha, Nāmarūpapariccheda, Paritta and others. Under the title "Pāli literary pieces" in Ch. VIII Dr. Law comprises works like Anāgatavaṃsa, Jinacarita, Telakaṭāhagāthā, Pajjamadhu, Rasavāhinī, Saddhammopāyana and Pañcagatidīpana, metrical compositions the origin of which falls between the 11th and 15th century A.D. Professor Winternitz's work mentions further the Jinālaṃkāra by Buddharakkhita, a poem of 250 stanzas, written in the year 1156, the Buddhālaṃkāra by Sīlavaṃsa of the 15th cent. The works on Pāli Grammar are treated in Ch. IX along with those on lexicography and prosody. The Grammar of Kaccāyana, the Pāṇini of Pāli, has as early as 1869 been edited by Ernst Kuhn in Germany as a thesis.

Some words may be said on the two Appendices, the former of which contains historical and geographical data taken from the different scriptures, thus, at least in the latter materia, touching the contents of another useful production by Dr. Law, his *Geography of Early Buddhism*, London 1932. The other Appendix is concerned with "Pāli tracts in the Inscriptions", opening with the much discussed mention of Buddhist texts in Aśoka's Bhābhrū inscription. Then Dr. Law calls attention to the inscription of the 3rd year of Kaniṣka, on a standing Bodhisattva image at Sārnāth Museum, corresponding to the contents of Mahāvagga, I, 7, 6. By no way seeme

it clear whether these Pāli lines belong to the same time as the inscriptions published in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, pp. 175 ff.

Dr. Law's two volumes represent a welcome addition to the not too numerous treatises on Buddhist literature. By his indefatigable efforts to contribute to the knowledge of Buddhist literature and culture, in ethnography and geography, as shown by his many previous books, Dr. Law is entitled to the thanks of his colleagues. By this new work he has done more: he has given his collaborators not only a handy survey of the Pāli literature, but has, what seems to be more important, made it easy for any reader to pick out what may be of any interest to him from the store-house of Pāli literature.

O. Stein

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Acta Orientalia, vol. XIV, part ii.

FRIEDRICH WELLER.—*Bemerkungen zur raghdischen Vajracchedika.*

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute,
vol. XVI, parts iii-iv (April-July, 1935).

RAJENDRA CHANDRA HAZRA.—*The Dates of the Smṛti-chapters of the Matsya-purāṇa.* Different dates between 400 A.C. and 1250 A.C. have been assigned to the different chapters of the *Matsya-purāṇa.* The *Purāṇa* is taken to have been composed by a Vaiṣṇava residing near the river Narmadā. A list of verses quoted by the Nibandha writers from the *Purāṇa* is appended to the article.

H. D. VELANKAR.—*Kavidarpaṇa.* This treatise on metres in Prākṛt is being edited.

ABEL BERGAIGNE.—*Some Observations on the Figures of Speech in the Ṛg-veda.* Translated into English by A. Venkatasubbiah from the original French.

H. R. KAPADIA.—*Methods adopted by Jaina Writers for recording their own names and those of their gurus in the works composed by them.*

Ibid., vol. XVII, part i (October, 1935).

S. K. DE.—*A Note on the Text of Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta.* The *Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta* ascribed to Līlāśuka Bilvamaṅgala is found in different recensions in the Bengali edition of the Rādhāraman Press of Murshidabad and the Devanagari edition of the Śrī-Vāṇīvilās Press of Srirangam. By examining these recensions, the writer comes to the conclusion that the second and the third sections found only in the Srirangam edition were later additions culled mainly from other poems attributed to Bilvamaṅgala.

S. M. KATRE.—*Treatment of Ṛ in Pali.*

RAJENDRA CHANDRA HAZRA.—*Influence of Tantra on the Smṛti-nibandhas.*

HEMARAJA PANDIT.—महाभारतसम्बन्धे कथन विचारः (Some Reflections on the *Mahābhārata*).

ADEL BERGAIGNE.—*Syntax of Vedic Comparisons.* Translated by A. Venkatasubbiah from French.

P. K. GODE.—*Harikavi alias Bhānubhaṭṭa, a court-poet of king Sambhāji, and his works.* The paper supplies information about Harikavi, who wrote under the patronage of Sambhāji in the 17th century, and analyses the available Mss. of the poet's works—the *Sambhurājacarita*, the *Subhāṣitāvali*, and the *Haihayendracarita* with its commentary. The historical materials found in those works have also been put together.

H. R. KAPADIA.—*The Jaina Commentaries.*

Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient, XXXIII, 1933, fasc. 2.

PAUL MUS.—*Barabuḍur, les Origines du Stūpa et la Transmigration.* The author here continues his study on *Barabuḍur*—this being the fifth part of the comprehensive work. *Apropos* of Barabuḍur the author discusses innumerable problems of Buddhist cosmography and cosmogony in the widest sense. The immediate objective of the author is to prove that although the origin of the stūpa is to be ultimately traced to the tumulus yet various other factors entered into the picture to determine the evolution and the final form of the stūpa.

Ibid., Tome XXXIV, 1934, fasc. 1.

PAUL MUS here continues his study from the previous number of the Bulletin. This portion is devoted to the origin of the Mahāyana Buddhism. B.K.G.

Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, vol. VIII, part i (1935).

H. W. BAILEY & E. H. JOHNSTON.—*A Fragment of the Uttaratantra in Sanskrit.* A portion of the Sanskrit *Uttaratantra* showing a leaning towards the Mādhyamika tenets of Buddhism, and attributed to Sthiramati and Asaṅga by the Chinese and Tibetan traditions res-

pectively has been edited here from a Ms. in Brāhmī script deposited in the India Office.

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY.—*Two Vedāntic Hymns from the Siddhāntamuktāvali.* Translated with annotations.

AMARNATH RAY.—*Bhāgavata Purāṇa and the Kārikās of Gauḍapāda.* The writer, who believes that the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* was composed between 550 and 650 A.C., quotes parallel passages from that Purāṇa and the Kārikās of Gauḍapāda to show that the former has borrowed words and ideas from the latter.

Calcutta Oriental Journal, vol. II, nos. 7-8 (April-May, 1935).

SIVA PRASAD BHATTACHARYA.—*Kāvyaprakāśasaṅketa of Rucaka.* Rucaka's commentary on Mammaṭa's *Kāvyaprakāśa* has been edited here.

Ibid., vol. II, no. 9 (June, 1935).

KOKILESWAR SASTRI.—*Divine Purpose of Śaṅkara Vedānta.*

K. R. PISHAROTI and V. K. R. MENON.—*Vāstuvidyā.* This treatise on architecture is being translated into English with notes. The present instalment containing chapter vii suggests the proper time for the construction of a dwelling house, proposes different names for the buildings with reference to the number and disposition of the wings and determines the sizes of these wings.

Y. MAHALINGA SASTRI.—*Kavirākṣaṇīyam. Kavirākṣaṇīya*, a minor Kāvya using double entedre throughout is full of wise maxims and witty observations on human nature. It is being explained in this continued paper.

S. SIVARAMAMURTI.—*Artist's Materials.* The article deals with the the different materials used in ancient India for the purpose of producing pictures.

P. K. GODE.—*Who was the guru of Anandabodha? Vimuktâtman* or *Ātmavāsa?* According to the writer Ātmavāsa was the teacher of Ānandabodha, the author of the *Nyāyamakaranda.*

.—*Authorship of Sarasvatīvilāsa, a digest of civil and religious law.* That *the Sarasvatīvilāsa*, which is attributed to Pratāparudra, a ruler of Orissa, is really a work of Lolla Lakṣmīdhara is known from the latter's statement in another work.

.—*A commentary on the Ṛtusaṃbhāra of Kālidāsa by Amarakīrtisūri and its probable date—16th century.*

KSHITIS CHANDRA CHATTERJI.—स्त्रीप्रशंसा— *A chapter from Varāhamihira on the defence of womanhood with an original commentary.*

Ibid., vol. II, no. 10 (July, 1935).

SIVA PRASAD BHATTACHARYA.—*Rasābhāsa in Alaṃkāra Literature.*

P. K. GODE.—*The Identification of Vīrabhānu, the Patron of the poet Bānukara.* Vīrabhānu is identified with the king of that name belonging to the Vaghela dynasty in the 16th century A.C.

DASARATHA SARMA.—*The Authorship of the Vedabhāṣyas.* The writer attempts to prove that Mādhava wrote at least portions of the Vedic commentaries that are now generally ascribed to his brother Sāyaṇa.

KSHITIS CHANDRA CHATTERJI.—परिमलसमुल्लसिता स्वरमञ्जरी. The *Svaramañjarī*, a work on Vedic accents by Narasiṃha Sūri is being edited with a commentary called Parimala by Girināṭha.

Ibid., vol. II, no. 12 (September, 1935).

UPENDRANATH VIDYABHUSHANA.—*Position of Women in Ancient India.*

DWIJENDRANATH GUHA.—*Sāyaṇācārya.*

P. K. GODE.—*A Commentary on the Naiṣadhīyacarita by Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa and its probable date—between A.D. 1431 and 1730 or the first half of the 16th century.*

.—*A commentary on the Vāgbhaṭālaṃkāra by Rājahaṃsopādhyāya and its probable date—about the 2nd half of the 14th century (between 1350 and 1400 A.D.).*

Ibid., vol. III, no. 2 (November, 1935).

KSHITIS CHANDRA CHATTERJI.—*A Rule of Pāṇini.* Various views that have been put forward by the old grammarians of the Pāṇini school to avoid interdependence of the two rules of Pāṇini in the matter of forming the pratyāhāras are discussed here.

UPENDRANATH VIDYABHUSANA.—*Position of Women in Ancient India.*

P. K. GODE.—*The Date of Padyāmṛtataraṅgiṇī of Bhāskara—Saṃvat 1730 (12th June, 1673).*

.—*Rasakaumudī, an anonymous work on alaṃkāra and its probable date—latter half of the 18th century.*

—Bühler's mistaken identity of Vidyādhara, the author of the Sāhityagyridgādhari, a commentary on the Naiṣadhīyacarita, and of Cāritravardhana, the author of commentaries on Raghuvaṃśa, Kumārasambhava etc. The writer shows that Vidyādhara and Cāritravardhana were different persons and they wrote two different commentaries on the *Naiṣadhīya*.

MALATI SEN.—*Kāvyālaṃkārasūtravṛtti of Vāmana with a commentary in original Sanskrit.* The editing of the chapter V, section 2 of the work is continued in this issue of the journal.

Calcutta Review, vol. 57, no. 2 (November, 1935).

HAR BILAS SARDA.—*Emperor Visaldeva.* This is an account of the career of the Chauhan ruler Visaldeva IV, also called Vigraharāja, who ascended the throne of ajmer (then called Sapadlakṣa) about 1152 A.C.

BENAY KUMAR SARKAR.—*The Political Philosophy of Rāmdās, the Guru of Shivāji the Great.*

Indian Culture, vol. II, no. 2 (October, 1935).

STEN KONOW.—*Notes on the Śakas.* It is an attempt to determine the position of the Śakas in India at the time of Pātañjali and after.

C. SIVARAMAMURTI.—*Art Notes from Dhanapāla's Tilakamañjarī.* Various references to the concepts of art are culled from the *Tilakañjarī*, a prose romance of Dhanapāla, the Jain writer of the 10th century A.C.

PRAKAS CHANDRA LAHIRI.—*Treatment of Rīti and Guṇa in the Dhvanyāloka.*

RAJENDRA CHANDRA HAZRA.—*The Apocryphal Brahmapurāṇa.* The writer is of opinion that the available *Brahmapurāṇa* is not the original one but merely an Upapurāṇa of that name and that it was compiled not earlier than the 10th century A.C.

GOLAP CHANDRA RAYCHAUDHURI.—*The Siege of Chitor, 1533-35 A.D.*

NALINI NATH DASGUPTA.—*The Bengali Commentators on the Amarakosa.*

GIRIJA PRASANNA MAJUMDAR.—*Furniture.* Siṃhāsana, bedstead, seats and fans are the articles of furniture described in this instalment of the paper from Sanskrit and Pāli literature.

.—*Conveyances.* The note deals, with the means of transport in ancient India by land, water and air as are found referred to in literature.

S. K. De.—*The Theology and Philosophy of Bengal Vaiṣṇaciśm.*

Batakrishna Ghosh.—*Pischel on Characteristics of Prakrit Languages.*

B. C. Law.—*Aspects of Nirvāṇa.*

Jain Antiquary, vol. I, no. 2 (September, 1935).

K. P. Jain.—*Who was the Founder of Jainism?* The writer takes Ṛṣabha to be the founder of Jainism in the present cycle of time.

B. B. Datta.—*Mathematics of Nemicandra.*

Journal of the Annamalai University, vol. V, no. 1 (November, 1935).

.—*Jagannātha Paṇḍita.* Differences of opinion regarding literary criticism as found in the works of Apayya Dīkṣita and Jagannātha Paṇḍita have been pointed out in this instalment of the paper.

B. N. Krishnamurti Sarma.—*The Date of Śrī Madhvācārya and some of his immediate Disciples.* The writer opposes the theory that Madhva flourished during 1199-1257 A.C. and supports the period 1238-1317 A.C. set up by himself for that Vaiṣṇava teacher. He also takes as correct the traditional order of succession among the disciples of Madhva, viz., Padmanābha, Narahari, Mādhava and Akṣobhya.

Journal of the Assam Research Society, vol. III, no. 3 (October, 1935).

Kaliram Medhi.—*The Kalitas.* The paper gives an account of the Kalitas inhabiting the valley of the Brahmaputra in Assam and suggests that these people were the earliest Aryan settlers in India.

Dhirendranath Mukherji.—*The Date of Bukhtiyar's Invasion of Assam.* The date has been ascertained to be the 17th March, 1806 A.C.

K. L. Barua.—*The Ancient Tripura Kingdom in the Kapili Valley.*

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society,
vol. **XXI,** part ii (June, 1935).

Sarat Chandra Roy.—*Report of Anthropological Work in 1933-34.*

RAHULA SANKRITYAYANA.—*Vārttikālaṃkāra.* The Pratyakṣa section of Prajñākaragupta's *Vārttikālaṃkāra* which is a commentary on the *Pramāṇavārttika* of Dharmakīrti has been edited here.

Ibid., vol. XXI, part iii (September, 1935).

W. F. DE HEVESY.—*Munda Tongues Finno-Ugrian.*

GORAKH PRASAD.—*Astronomical Evidence on the Age of the Vedas.* The writer discusses the astronomical significance of a number of references found in Vedic literature, and maintains that the Vedas cannot be later than the third millennium before Christ. He asserts against all objections that the passage in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* containing the rule for the orientation of altars refers to the Kṛttikās (Pleiades) rising in the eastern direction, which was a phenomenon of 2500 B.C. To the *Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra* he assigns 1330 B.C. and to the *Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa* the 12th Century B. C.

K. K. BASU.—*Some old Accounts of Bhagalpur.*

Journal of the Greater India Society, vol. II, no. 2 (July, 1935).

WILH. GEIGER.—*Contributions from the Mahāvaṃsa to our knowledge of the Mediaeval Culture in Ceylon.*

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH.—*Veda and Avesta.* The close relationship between the languages of the *Veda* and the *Avesta* is being pointed out in this continued article.

Journal of Indian History, vol. XIV, part ii (August, 1935).

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR.—*The Early Pallavas.*

M. GOVIND PAI.—*Genealogy and Chronology of the Vākāṭakas.* The regnal period of the kings of the Vākāṭaka dynasty has been conjectured to be A.C. 172—A.C. 510 and the genealogy of those kings (from Vindhyaśakti to Hariṣeṇa) has been appended.

C.S.K. RAO SAHEB.—*A Note on the Mughal Military Terms: Zat and Sawar.*

ABDUL AZIZ.—*The Imperial Treasury of the Greater Mughals.* This instalment contains notices of semi-precious stones and other substances like ivory, shell, horn and snake-stone.

C. S. Srinivisachari.—*The Historical Material in the Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai* (1736-1761).

N. Kasturi.—*Tippu Sultan's Confederacy against the British* 1790.

Journal of Oriental Research, vol. IX, part iii (July-September, 1935).

N. Venkataramanayya.—*Tāṇḍivāḍa Plates of Pṛthvī Mahārāja.* The plates record the grant of a village by Pṛthvī Mahārāja of a hitherto unknown ruling family of the Telugu counjtry. It is likely that the grant has been issued from Piṣṭapura (Pīṭhāpuram) before the town fell into the hands of the Cālukyas in 630 A.C.

V. Raghavan.—श्रीमद्भगवद्गीता भागवतच— (*The Gītā and the Bhāgavata*). This instalment of the paper in Sanskrit quotes passages to show parallelism between the *Gītā* and the *Bhāgavata*.

C. Sivaramamurti.—*Conventions in the Art of Painting.* The paper deals with the special features and characteristics required, according to the Sanskrit treatises, for the representation of different situations and emotions in painting.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, (October, 1935).

A. C. Banerji.—*Chola Invasion of Bengal.* An attempt has been made to trace the route, taken by the Chola army under a general of Rājendracola I, for invading Bengal at the time of Mahīpāla I. Relying mainly on the Tamil records, the writer discusses the acceptibility or otherwise of the identification of some of the names of places and persons connected with the invasion.

C. S. Krishnaswamy and Amalananda Ghosh.—*A Note on the Allahabad Pillar of Aśoka.* The purpose of the note is to show that Aśoka himself set up at Allahabad his well-known pillar. The views that the pillar was removed from Kauśāmbī either by Firoz Shah or by Akbar to its present place are, according to the writers, not tenable.

K. P. Jayaswal.—*The Punch-marked Coins: A Survival of the Indus Civilisation.* Regarding the affinity existing between the symbols found on the Mohenjo-daro and Harappa seals and those on the punch-marked coins, it is pointed out that five years before the appearance of Dr. Fábri's paper on the subject in the *JRAS.*,

Dr. Pran Nath noticed the resemblance and published papers relating to the topic in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*.

Journal of the University of Bombay, vol. IV, part i (July, 1935).

A. S. Gadre.—*Two Unpublished Fragmentary Valabhi Grants.* Only the first halves of two records of grants made by the Valabhi kings Dhamsena II and Siladitya IV are published here. They contain the genealogy of the rulers up to the donor kings and mention the places from which the grants were issued.

Ratilal N. Mehta.—*Exchange Conditions in the Jātakas.* It gives an account of the condition of trade carried on by land and sea in ancient India as traceable in the Buddhist Jātakas. It is divided into these sections, viz., inland trade, sea-borne trade, transport, systems of transaction, prices, currency, credit, and weights and measures.

Mahabodhi, vol. 43, no. 9 (September, 1935).

B. C. Law.—*Magadha of the Orient.*

Rahula Sankrityayana.—*Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna compared.*

Ibid., vol. 43, no. 11 (November, 1935).

Nalinaksha Dutt.—*The Religieux of Ancient India.* The religieux of ancient India of the 6th century B.C. have been divided into four classes, viz., (1) the Brāhmaṇas who officiated at sacrifices and held discussions on the doctrines of the Veda, (2) the anchorites who led a monastic life and practised austerities, (3) the parivrājakas who wandered about and joined religious discourses in the different parts of the country, and (4) the religious orders or Gaṇas that followed the precepts of some common religious teacher.

Muslim University Journal, vol. II, no. 3 (June, 1935).

Otto Spies.—*An Arab Account of India in the 14th Century.* It is a translation of the chapters on India from al-Qalqashandī's *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*.

Philosophical Quarterly, vol. XI, no. 1 (April, 1935).

S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI.—*Pūrṇaism in Indian Philosophy—the Wholism of Ancient India. Pūrṇa*, as explained by Śaṅkara, is the whole in the sense that it comprehends everything. Pūrṇaism is the view that regards this Upaniṣadic Pūrṇa as the ultimate reality implied in all empirical knowledge and in all finite existence.

Ibid., vol. XI, no. 2 (July, 1935).

T. R. CHINTAMANI.—*The Philosophy of Parāśarabhaṭṭa.* Parāśarabhaṭṭa, whose *Viṣṇusahasranāmabhāṣya* is well-known, was an associate of Rāmānuja. Besides some minor treatises, Parāśara also wrote *Tattvaratnākara*, now known only from references found in Vedānta Deśika's writings. This note brings together all the available extracts from that work and discusses its probable contents.

HARI MOHAN BHATTACHARYYA.—*The Conception of the Soul in the Nyāya System.*

Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, vol. XVI, no. 1 (July-October, 1935).

C. SIVARAMAMURTI.—*Proverbs of the Painter.* The short epigrammatical expressions in Sanskrit (called *nyāyas*) based on the activities of an artist such as *ālekhya-pradīpa nyāya, unmīlita-citra nyāya,* are codified and explained here.

K. R. PISHAROTI.—*Bālacaritam.* The second and third Acts of Bhāsa's *Bālacarita* are translated into English in this instalment.

K. RAGHAVACHARYULU.—*Some South Indian Poetesses.*

N. K. VENKATESAN.—*The Upaniṣads of the Atharvaveda.*

N. CENGALVARAYAN.—*Music and Musical Instruments of the Ancient Tamils.*

Sahitya Parisat Patrika, (vol. XLII, nos. 1-2).

JADUNATH SARKAR.—*Mughal Pathan Conflict in Bengal,* 1575 A.D.

YOGESH CHANDRA ROY.—*Caṇḍīdāsa,* A comprehensive study of the problems concerning the age, locality and works of the famous Vaiṣṇava poet of medieval Bengal who is supposed to have flourished in the district of Bankura about the middle of the 14th century

and whose *Kṛṣṇakīrtana* is stated to consist of poems of more than one poet.

Bimanbihari Majumdar.—(i) *Date of composition* of the *Caitanya-candrodaya* [of Kavikarṇapūra], (ii) *Date of composition of Dāna-keliKaumudi* [of Rūpagosvāmin]. The dates arrived at are respectively 1540 and 1541 A.D.

Jogendranath Ghosh.—*Dates of the Sena Kings* [*of Bengal*]. An attempt to fix the dates of Sena rulers on the basis of new interpretations and emendations of verses from which the dates are usually derived.

Jadunath Sarkar.—*Account of the attempts at rescuing literature and history in Mahārāṣtra.* This gives an account of the work done by modern scholars in publishing old records of Marathi history.

Cintaharan Chakravarti.—*A number of hitherto-unknown works about Caitanya.* An account of Mss. of three works in Sanskrit pertaining to Caitanya, the great Vaiṣṇava Saint of Bengal, e.g. (1) Sanskrit translation of the *Caitanya Bhāgavata* of Vṛndāvanadāsa, (2) *Caitanya Mahābhāgavata* of Nṛsiṃha, and (3) *Caitanya Cintāmṛta* of Rūpadāsa. C.C.

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Kālidāsa's Mālavikāgnimitra : a Study*

I

§1 *Plot and Background*

Love is the main theme of Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra* as also of his other plays. For the background to his plot the poet utilises two historical events, viz. (1) the conquest and resettlement of Vidarbha (which in size is more a country than a province) by Agnimitra; and (2) the completion of the Horse-sacrifice at Pāṭaliputra, the capital of the Śuṅga Empire, by his father Senāpati Puṣpamitra.[1] And this second event is accomplished by reason of a Śuṅga victory over the Yavanas, which is reported in the play, and, presumably, was decisive enough to drive the enemy out of North India for a time.

§2 *Vidarbha Conquest*

(a) War of Succession : Escape of the Princess

The Vidarbha of the play is a rich kingdom extending southwards from the central Narmadā valley and the Vindhya Mountains up to the central portions of the Godāvarī valley. Its eastern and western boundaries are uncertain. With the central portions of these two rivers as the northern and southern boundaries, the country may be taken to have been conceived by Kālidāsa as irregularly quadrilateral in shape (see Note 20). On the death of its aged king (the father of the heroine of our play), it falls a prey to the usual war of succession. A rival (Yajñasena of the same royal house) defeats the son (Mādhavasena) and imprisons him. But Agnimitra had been approached before

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1 Or Puṣyamitra as the name is spelt on coins. But Bāṇa and Kālidāsa before him having used "p", this form of the name is more current.

Patañjali's commentary on *śūdrāṇam aniravasitānām* has been interpreted to indicate that the country was cleared of the *yavana* invaders, who, according to him, is said to have besieged Sāketa and Mādhyamikā; *puṣyamitram yājayāmaḥ* is another of his illustrative sentences.

this reverse, with an offer to him of Mālavikā's hand. And the minister (Sumati) manages to escape with his widowed sister and the heroine, and safely crosses the Vindhyas with a caravan of traders proceeding to Vidiśā. Before they are quite clear of the hills, however, Bhīl free-booters suddenly fall upon them, Sumati is cut down, and Mālavikā is seized. The widowed sister, left alone and suddenly reduced to helpless poverty in an unknown region hundreds of miles away from home, becomes a *parivrājikā*, religious mendicant wandering from place to place and maintaining herself on alms. Many of those who survived must also have been proceeding in groups to their original destination. She soon reaches the place, and without much delay her uncommon learning, piety, accomplishments, and thorough familiarity with the ways and manners of courts and places, secure her a high position in the household of Dhāriṇī, the chief queen.

(b) Mālavikā reaches Vidiśā.

Mālavikā meanwhile comes into the hands of Vīrasena, the commandant of Agnimitra's stronghold on the southern border. How and when this happens, the poet leaves altogether to our imagination. The Bhīl leader might have had a secret understanding with a personage so powerful as the warden of the principal place of arms in the Vindhyas; and immediately on the success of a raid it might have been his duty or custom to present to him some of the choicest acquisitions. Or as such roving and lawless bands are a standing pest, Vīrasena himself might on this occasion have fallen upon them before they could get away, and thus transferred to himself and his king the most valuable portion of their booty. Either way, Mālavikā's durance by the Bhīls must have been very brief, perhaps not more than a day. But the poet tells us merely that from the Bhīls she came into Vīrasena's hands, and that he, struck by her beauty and intelligence, and altogether ignorant of her antecedents, sends her as a present (i.e. as a slave) to his half-sister, the Vidiśā queen consort. When the *parivrājikā* is lucky enough to enter the service of the same patron, she finds Mālavikā there, already handed over to the *ācārya* for a thorough training in the triple accomplishments of song, dance and acting. And both the *parivrājikā* and the princess breathe not a syllable to any one as to their past, nor

allow any one even to suspect that they knew each other before their meeting here.

(c) The Conquest and Resettlement

On hearing (probably from Vīrusena) that Yajñasena had won the war and imprisoned Mādhavasena, Agnimitra demands curtly that his brother-in-law-to-be be released and sent up to Vidiśā with all honour and along with the members of his family. Yajñasena resents both the tone and the contents of this demand, and says so, but offers nevertheless to comply, if in exchange his own brother-in-law (a prisoner at Vidiśā) were released and sent to himself with all honour. Agnimitra, confident of his superior might, treats such a spirited reply as an insult. His armies advance, overthrow Yajñasena, imprison him, release the rival, and overrun the whole land, thus gaining all their objectives in about a year (see Sec. 4). The Vidarbha palaces and treasuries (and cities also in all probability) are looted, and caravan-loads of treasures, including experts in arts and crafts, are brought over to enhance the wealth and glory of the conqueror.

It is from two lady musicians, thus brought over as part of the rich booty, that in the last Act of the play the first intimation comes of who Mālavikā and Kauśikī were. And the whole story of their misfortunes as sketched above follows, the poet making Kauśikī relate it in pithy and moving sentences. By choosing her as the narrator he also does what he can to cover up the flaw in the plot already noted, as she could not be expected to mention what she had not witnessed herself or heard about. From the moment the princess was captured by the Bhīls, she gave her up as lost, until to her surprise and joy she found her again at the Vidiśā palace. Perhaps the poet also assumed that his readers would have no difficulty in supplying the missing link themselves, or that they might not even notice that there was any hiatus in the story.

Agnimitra resettles the conquered kingdom by ordering that it be spilt into two with Wardhā for boundary between Mādhavasena ruling one part and Yajñasena the other. This touch is intended to impress us with the far superior might of the conquering hero, whose trust in his new relative Mādhavasena is not greater than

his suspicion of the defeated and humbled Yajñasena; whose generosity to his recent foe is no less than to one who is his blood-relation and at the same time an enemy of Yajñasena. By this the poet intends to make Agnimitra as a master of "policy."[2] And this moving and brilliant series of events in the background is further linked up with the main plot in this way that Agnimitra also establishes a similar dyarchy (*dvairājyam*) in his harem, by compelling the chief queen to recognise Mālavikā as a *devī* or anointed consort.

§3 *History or Fiction?*

The conquest of Vidarbha by Agnimitra has been treated more or less as a historical fact by all who have studied the play up to this time.[3] But to me the entire episode appears to be a deliberate invention of the poet.

2 Kālidāsa's use of the words '*prakṛtyamitra*,' '*pūrvaparakṣa*,' and '*anātmasāja*' in Act I reminds us of the *Arthaśāstra* and the *Kāmandaka Nīti*, discussing the policy of a state with reference to its neighbours. See *Arthaśāstra*, chs. 97-99. *Kāmandaka*, chs. 12-15. For details, see Law's *Inter-state Relations in Ancient India* (Calcutta Oriental Series).

3 V. Smith, *Early History of India* (4th), pp. 211 and 212 n[3]. And I may also note here that in translating Puṣpamitra's letter (Act V) Smith accepts the wrong reading 'rājasūya' sacrifice; nor is his rendering of 'rājaputra' by the modern word 'Rajput' to be commended. See *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, pp. 223, 519, 531 etc. In this book we find some hesitation, Agnimitra's conquest being only tentatively accepted as "no doubt merely an episode in the struggle, in which" ultimately not Vidiśā and the Śuṅgas but Pratiṣṭhāna and the southerners 'were finally triumphant." See for the geography Note 9.

R. G. Bhāṇḍārkar, *Early History of the Deccan*; Section IV (B. O. Research Institute edition of the Collected works, vol. III). This cautious scholar takes the correct view that the Rāṣṭikas, Peṭenikas, and Aparāntas of Aśoka's 5th Edict are mentioned therein just because they were not within the Empire but friendly peoples on the borders (p. 21). But he too takes our play as a decisive authority for the conquest of Vidarbha by Agnimitra as an historical fact; and in the very condensed summary he gives of Kālidāsa's plot, two of his minor statements are not quite faithful to the original (p. 22).

We may infer from the same work, the same section, that Vidarbha was for the first time annexed to and swallowed up within his extensive Kingdom or Empire by Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi of the Andhrabhṛtya dynasty. And from section VI of the same work we find that, according to R. G. B. this king reigned at Dhanakaṭaka (with a viceroy at Paiṭhān) from 133 to 154 A.C. or nearly three centuries after Agnimitra Śuṅga. V. Smith dates him about a generation

§4. *The Sanskrit Play, a work of artistic invention.*

Both as a fact and in the accepted theory of the drama as a literary form, the Sanskrit dramatist is remarkably free to invent as he chooses, even in the plays called 'historical.' To the orthodox Hindu nothing is more sacred and more historical than the main story of the great Itihāsas, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. And these stories have so maintained their hold on the heart and the imagination of the people, that dramatists of the first rank have drawn upon them century after century. And this long series of Sanskrit plays based upon the two epics is so well known to scholars, reference to it as a whole is quite sufficient in support of my contention that Sanskrit playwrights held themselves absolutely free to alter even sacred history and insert their own inventions into it, as appeared necessary to them in the service of their artistic creation. By way of illustration I may refer to two plays out of this series, *viz.*, (1) Bhāsa in the *Pañcarātra* has delineated such a sequence of events as would have rendered quite impossible even the great Kurukṣetra catastrophe, ending in the wholesale destruction of so many *akṣauhiṇīs*, and (2) Bhavabhūti in the

earlier. These dates, however, are no better than experts' guesses from inadequate data. K. P. Jayaswal has recently brought various hints, statements, references and records, so far discovered to a focus, and identified this Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, the 8th Andhrabhṛtya and the father of Pulomavi I (who overthrew the Kāṇvas, 46 B.C. to 8 B.C.), as the leader of the Mālava host that earlier broke the power of the Śakas north of the Vindhyas and in Rajputana, 58-57 B.C., only a century after Agnimitra and Puṣpamitra routed Demetrius out of North India. And this decisive and historical victory of 58-57 B.C. was the starting point of the Mālava Gaṇa Era, which, for centuries past, we have called the Vikrama Era. K. P. Jayaswal sees some references to this event also in the Yuga Purāṇa chapter of the *Garga Saṃhitā*.

Divan Bhadur K. H. Dhruva's article on this Yuga Purāṇa chapter in the *Garga Saṃhitā* [*JBORS.*, vol. XVI, (1930)]. Compare with Mr. Dhruva's "amended" text the original as edited by K. P. Jayaswal in the same *Journal*, vol. XIV, (1928). The latter has collated Kern's text with two mss., and those are the only mss. available. The original is so corrupt, decayed, and scrappy, with syllables, words and phrases dropped in or out, it cannot be relied on for any primary fact at all, unless some other sources corroborate it. Still wherever the old text as it is yields some sense, that little fragment becomes an addition to our scanty knowledge, having some authority behind it, which light from some other source or sources might strengthen. Mr. Dhruva's version, however, with

Mahāvīra-carita has invented a version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* story, such as to free Kaikeyī from all blame, and to completely vindicate Rāma's action in the Vāli episode. With concrete instances on record by the greatest dramatists of such extreme freedom of invention, no further space need be taken up on this aspect of the question.

The *Nāṭyaśāstra* theory is equally explicit. The Shakespearian or romantic plot wherein chains of incidents contrasted or complementary in colour (i.e. *rasa*) are woven together into a complex but unified whole, is altogether outside the scope of the Sanskrit theatre. Heroes like Coriolanus or Macbeth are equally beyond its limited horizon. In holding the mirror up to Nature,[5] the Sanskrit drama aims at a far simpler unity and restrains itself to means and contrasts both fewer and less various. Plot, character and *rasa* are

the metre and the grammar of the original corrected and the unmeaning and broken syllables smoothed out, gives us intelligible, connected and plausible lines, which cannot have any authority behind them excepting that of Mr. Dhruva himself. And even he can only say that he cannot make sense out of the original except only in this particular way. To translate an old text into smooth intelligible lines somehow, cannot make history. However, I give here some of Mr. Dhruva's conjectures and results without any further comment.—See p. 64 of the volume cited. All the dates are B.C.

Puṣpamitra born, 213.
Agnimitra born, 190.
Puṣpamitra slew Bṛhadratha, 188.
Demetrius beaten back from Pāṭaliputra, 176.
The first horse sacrifice, 175.
Khāravela becomes King, 173.
His first invasion, 165. His second invasion, when Puṣpamitra "acknowledges his supremacy," 161.
Maurya-saciva, mentioned in the play, taken prisoner, 159.
Menander invades India, 157.
Surprised in his camp, defeated and slain in battle, and the second horse-sacrifice begun, 156.
Agnimitra conquers Vidarbha, Vasumitra's victory on the Indus, and the completion of sacrifice, 155. [Thus according to K. H. D. the sacrifice mentioned in our play is the second.]
War for a Greek princess. Puṣpamitra demanded to marry her to Vasumitra; Puṣpamitra died; Agnimitra defeats the Greeks and succeeds his father, 152.
[213–152=61. 188–152=36]

[5] See Ganadāsa's first stanza, Act I, st. 4.

the three strings in this instrument, which the artist tunes up to be in mutual harmonious accord throughout. There is to be but one principal series of events. Subordinate or supplementary episodes and incidents are not prohibited, but they should be few, brief, such as might show off the hero to advantage, or such as would remove parts in the traditional or historical version inconsistent with the representation of the hero, who in the play must throughout be of a high noble exemplary character. And the dramatist is held perfectly justified, if, to sustain this exemplary character he indulges in suitable omissions from, or appropriate additions to, the accepted version. Nay, the Śāstra advises him to do so. And the denouement or conclusion of the play, the Śāstra insists, must be *adbhuta*—a word which clearly bears two senses, one technical and the other ordinary. In its technical sense the end should produce the *adbhuta rasa* in the audience. The concluding portion of the story should be newly invented, making tradition or history itself clear, more edifying and inspiring. That is the ordinary sense of the word *adbhuta*. Moreover, in artistic construction, the beginning, the middle and the end have all to coalesce into a harmonious whole, so that this requirement of novelty in the concluding portion is sufficient to secure novelty of content for the plot as a whole. The most striking instance of this is the *Śakuntalā*. Duṣyanta's remorse, and his final recovery of, and reconciliation with, Śakuntalā, after the remorse has made him worthy, and with the gods themselves helping him to win it as a noble reward which is his due, elevates the entire story to a level not dreamt of by the prehistoric author of the orginal, as we find it in the *Mahābhārata*. Lastly, within this unity of the play as a whole, the theory requires each of the Acts also to be a lesser but well-rounded unity, with a proper beginning and continuous progress towards a proper end. Incidents brought together to form an Act might have occupied an indefinite period of time, but they should be so woven together as to render their representation as occurring in the course of a single day probable. This unity of time for each separate Act, Sanskrit dramaturgy insists upon. There is no objection, on the other hand, to the events of one morning being spread, as in our play, over two Acts (see Acts I and II). But an example of two incidents separated in fact by about a year being represented as taking place on the same morning in immediate succes-

sion, also occurs in our play. The order to attack Vidarbha given in the beginning of Act I, must have been given about a year before the day on which Gaṇadāsa and Haradatta approach the king with their joint request that he should graciously give a decision as to which of them is the superior. For the events started by this latter request reach their legitimate conclusion in the course of the next two months of the spring season. It is inconceivable that the overthrow of Yajñasena and the complete subjugation of such a large territory as Vidarbha should also require no longer time than just these two months. Nor is this what the poet means us to understand. The order to attack was given as soon as Yajñasena's reply reached Agnimitra. The latter's original letter to him about Mādhavasena must have been sent as soon as he had heard of that young prince's misfortune (probably from Vīrasena). And Mālavikā reaches Vidiśā after this and the *parivrājikā* later still; both have been there some months before the group-painting including Mālavikā is painted; and this rivalry of the two *ācāryas* is the last in this chain of events in serial succession. As soon as Yajñasena won and Mādhavasena became his prisoner, Sumati, Kauśikī and Mālavikā fled with a caravan, i.e., before the rainy season, perhaps while that season was so far off that they quite expected to reach their destination without being overtaken by it. Thus it is clear that the order to invade Vidarbha must have been given by Agnimitra about a a year previous to the time when the two *ācāryas* quarrelled. And yet Kālidāsa, while in the play itself he gives some of the above indications of the lapse of time,[6] nevertheless brings these two incidents together, as if they took place immediately in succession on the same morning. And the theory expressly allows the author to have such latitude of invention, alteration and arrangement.[7]

6 See Act V, speech 108 (S. P. Pandit's edition of the play), where the *parivrājikā* repeats the prophesy about Mālavikā's future—*saṃvatsara-mātram, prekṣyabhāvam anubhūya.*

7 For Sanskrit dramaturgy see A. B. Keith, *Sanskrit Drama*, Part III, which gives full references to the original texts, viz. Bharata, *Nāṭyaśāstra;* Dhanañjaya, *Daśarūpa;* Vidyānātha, *Pratāparudrīya;* Mammaṭa, *Kāvyaprakāśa;* Viśvanātha, *Sāhityadarpaṇa* &c. See also G. C. O. Haas's edition of the *Daśarūpa* with translation (New York, 1913), especially Bks. I and III. Haas too gives full references to the principal texts.

§5 *The Conquest— an historical improbability.*

It has been said above that there is no clear evidence whatever in support of this conquest of Vidarbha. Now I go further, and try to show that what little we have so far succeeded in gleaning about Vidarbha and its eastern and western neighbours in the second century B.C., renders such a conquest from the north highly improbable.

East of this territory was Kaliṅga; west of it was Āndhra. Kaliṅga was at this time under Khāravela, Āndhra under Śātakarṇi. Both these aspired to the imperial dignity; the first performed the Rājasūya sacrifice; the second performed two Aśvamedhas, like Puṣpamitra. Neither was weaker than Agnimitra Suṅga. If there had been a war of succession in Vidarbha, neither would have remained with folded hands while a power from the north interfered; still less allowed that power to partition the territory between two vassals. Śātakarṇi's queen Nāganikī, we know, was a Rāṣṭrika princess. And Khāravela, we know, marched through the districts of the Mosalas (or Mūṣikas), the Bhojakas, and the Rāṣṭrikas making them acknowledge his superiority, but dealing with them in such a mild and friendly way as to make them faithful allies whom he could trust not to seize the opportunity afforded by his long absence on northern expeditions to molest his subjects and encroach upon his dominions. It is not at all unlikely that he drew large numbers of the most adventurous youths from amongst these *gaṇas* to swell the armies with which he invaded Northern India, covering a great extent of the Uttarāpatha in his second expedition. And this leads on to and is closely connected with another circumstance, equally significant. Kālidāsa envisages Vidarbha as a kingdom. So does the *Mahābhārata* in that Nalopākhyāna which narrates events that were ancient history when Yudhiṣṭhira the Pāṇḍava flourished, and that was, according to the best informed and most judicious students of our extremely uncertain and confusing chronology, at the end of the fifteenth century B.C.[12] But in the

12 Well-informed people down to the second century B.C. (e.g., in the second century B.C. the pandits of Khāravela's court who for his inscription gave the date at which flourished Ketubhadra, the Kaliṅga prince mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* as killed in the Mahābhārata battles; and both earlier and later, the

Mahābhārata the passages are remarkably few in which forms of government and political organisation other than monarchical are noticed. And we have all been taking it for granted quite unconsciously, so universal has been the assumption, that all governments in Ancient India

chroniclers of the Purāṇas, who attempted summary account of kings and dynasties of more than local consequence from the beginning up to the end of the fifth century A.C.) placed the Mahābhārata War in the last quarter of the fifteenth century B.C.,—in 1424 B.C., to be exact. This, we may call the first fairly reliable date in the pre-historic period of Ancient India. But from about the second century B.C., propagandists bent upon a revival and magnification of the Vedic religion and a reconstruction of society accepting the supremacy of the brāhmaṇas, deliberately attempted various falsifications and "ideal reconstructions." As the Manu Smṛti and the Siddhāntas spread and gained in authority, their artificially (or, we may say, ideally) calculated date of *3102 B.C.* for the death of Śri Kṛṣṇa and the beginning of the Kali Yuga came to be adopted as "sacred truth." See K. P. Jayaswal in *JBORS.*, vols. I & III, the articles on the Śaiśunāka and other chronology, and the chronological summaries in the Purāṇas, and for the Khāravela Inscription later volumes of the same Journal noted further on.

F. E. Pargiter failed to perceive that the confirmation of the Paurāṇic reckoning for the length of time from the Mahābhārata War by the round number given in the Hāthigumphā Inscription of Khāravela is not merely a coincidence. It establishes a unanimity among the learned on the point for several centuries and beginning from a point earlier than the Manu Smṛti and the Siddhāntas, which succeeded in artificially establishing a second (and wrong) unanimity still kept alive in our calendars and in the *saṃkalpas* with which we begin ceremonies all our lives. This line in the Hāthigumphā Inscription about Ketubhadra was deciphered and interpreted before Pargiter finished his work in March 1922. It is quite an independent and an astonishing confirmation of the Paurāṇic estimate. Failing to avail himself of it, Pargiter merely tried to test the Paurāṇic reckoning by probabilities as to (a) the number of generations or successive reigns, and as to (b) the probably average length of each reign. See also Note 20. That the entire list of the Purāṇas is free from gaps even for the remoter periods, is an assumption unwarranted by anything in the Purāṇas and indeed very unfair to them. From Manu to Śri Kṛṣṇa the gaps in the Paurāṇic lists are necessarily very numerous. It is but natural that they should be numerous even from Śri Kṛṣṇa to the Śaiśunākas. The totals for dynasties are admittedly more reliable than the lists; and the least reliable of all their items is the number of years given to each king in the lists. The date he thus arrived at for the Mahābhārata battles viz. the middle of the tenth century B.C. (*Anc. Hist. Tradition*, pp. 177-183) is worthless. For the Hāthigumphā Inscription of Khāravela, see the articles on it in *JBORS*, vols. III (1917), IV (1918), XIII (1927), and XIV (1928).

must be monarchies and nothing else. However, the truth is slowly dawning upon us that there were in large parts of Ancient India and for many centuries political organisations other than monarchical. There were tribal aristocracies, republics and cruder forms of *gaṇa* states in which the power rested with larger and smaller bodies (*samitis*) of leading men, *rājanyas* not kings. Nor were these bodies, deliberative and executive, co-ordinated to one another on the same pattern throughout Ancient India. Various patterns were in vogue in different times. The Śaiśunākas, the Nandas, Alexander, Candragupta Maurya, Aśoka, the Yavanas, the Kuṣāṇas, the Śuṅgas, the Āndhras, Samudra-Gupta and even later powers, foreign invaders or local monarchies expanding to more or less extensive empires, had each and all, we find, to deal with *gaṇa* states, the majority of which were petty formations comparable to the city-states of Ancient Greece and Mediæval Italy, but several amongst them, every now and then, were also spread over a fairly extensive area, like the pre-Buddha Vajjis or the post-Aśokan Mālavas.[13] And from the Śaiśunākas to Samudra Gupta is a period of over ten centuries. The Buddhist literature is full of references to *gaṇa* states. And what little we happen to know of Vidarbha in the second century B.C. makes it not at all probable that that extensive region was a unified kingdom. It has been unhesitatingly accepted by some leading Aśokan scholars that the territory formed a part of the empire of Aśoka. The Aśoka inscriptions clearly affirm that the Rāṣṭrikas and the Bhojakas were *gaṇas* on the borders of the empire, not subject peoples within it.[14] And if so, they continued in the same independent status until Khāravela in the second and fourth years after his coronation marched through their districts at the head of an army too strong for these petty states. It was not a conquest; it was a demonstration of force. And when the communities perceived that Khāravela did not mean to reduce them to subjection or covet any part of their lands, they gladly grasped the hand of friendship he extended. His demonstration had this further value for

13 See K. P. Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*.

14 For R.G.B., see Note 2, (a). For K.P.J., see *JBORS.*, vol. II (1916), the article on "The Empire of Bindusāra." The crucial passage is *idha rājaviṣayaṃ hi*, in the thirteenth Rock Edict.

them, that if their strong neighbour on the west, Sātakarṇi, or any other neighbour was so powerful and ambitious as to mean any harm to them, they could turn to Khāravela to help them in maintaining their independence. What is thus true of Rāṣṭrikas and Bhojakas is also true of Mosalas (Mūṣikas in the Khāravela inscriptions). And so far as we can see from our very scanty materials, these three formed the Vidarbhas. There might have been in the second century B.C. other inhabitants of Vidarbha territory, Satiyaputtas, and others. Some of these might have already been absorbed in the Kaliṅga or Śatakarṇi kingdoms; the rest had either coalesced with the Rāṣṭrikas and others, or still continued as comparatively smaller independent *gaṇas*, which hardly called for a separate recognition of their existence.[15] This then is also a factor we must take into consideration. The two factors together make the probability of Vidarbha in the second century B.C. as a kingdom with a war of succession that was followed by a conquest and a partition into vassal kingdoms by a northern power like Agnimitra Suṅga of Vidiśā, even less worthy of credence than if we confined our attention to either factor by itself.

Lastly,[16] the impropriety of the two proper names, Irāvāti and Mālavikā, *as they are used in the play*, is quite obvious. One might have expected the Vidarbha princess to bear the first name, and the local beauty the king picks up from amongst the maids of the harem and makes his queen, might have borne the second. It almost looks

15 Suppose the brief statements in the Khāravela Inscription capable of a different interpretation from the above. My interpretation gives Khāravela the least possible constitutional authority over the region, consistent with a large measure of friendly influence. But even that is inconsistent with a conquest by Agnimitra. Any other interpretation would necessarily assign to Khāravela greater authority over and some responsibility for these districts, and in proportion as it did so, it would be even more inconsistent with a conquest by Agnimitra.

16 For from another point of view I too realize that after all there might be nothing in this unexpected or peculiar naming beyond what I call later on (Sec. 12), "pandering a little to Mālava tastes." The Vidūṣaka feigning on the stage, the effects of a snakebite, and a young beauty walking a little unsteadily because she has indulged in a drop too much, are such clear instances of the poet's readiness to humour "the pit," that one might suspect him of popularity-hunting in his selection of the heroine's name also.

as if there was a historical lady, Mālavikā, a younger queen and born a Mālava, who wielded such influence over Agnimitra in his declining years, and kept up such intrigues within the empire (possibly in the interests of her own son), her memory lingered on for centuries in popular song and story. Of course such a conjecture too has no value whatever unless we have some independent evidence in its favour, however slight. But if there was such a lady, really of humble origin, a romantic centre of folktale and song (like Rūpamatī of the first Mughal century), Kālidāsa has here taken her name and fame and merely transferred them to an imaginary princess of a Vidarbha royal house, also invented by him as flourishing in the second century B. C. And his motive for doing so was just to confer the needful dignity, elevation and romance upon his theme.

§ 6 *The Aśvamedha.*

The third argument in support of my contention is, that the conquest of Vidarbha is a poetical invention and an artistic necessity (see sec. 8). Let us first examine Kālidāsa's details about the other episode, the overthrow of the Yavanas by the Suṅga armies, and Puṣpamitra's *Aśvamedha*.

The Yavanas were wicked unscrupulous vandals, but they were tough warriors and as assailants bold and adventurous. The Purāṇas give them the significant epithet of *duṣṭa-vikrānta*. Their menace grew rapidly soon after the death of Aśoka. By the time of Bṛhadratha, the last Maurya, they had advanced into the Ganges barrier, and were pressing on eastwards. The Maurya forces, composed principally of more or less independent volunteer bands owing primary allegiance to their own *gaṇa* states or monarchs, were difficult to muster in full force and still more difficult to keep together after the immediate necessity had passed. They were far different from and far weaker than the standing mercenary armies of Candragupta or of Aśoka, which formed the spearhead of the enormous hosts following the banner of these victorious far famed emperors. They were much more like the levies of allied Rājput chieftains of the Middle Ages. Nevertheless, when the Yavana foe had advanced so far, the very existence of the capital and of Aryan culture and religion was threatened, and the general realiza-

tion that a supreme effort was necessary, enabled the principal Mitra chieftain Puṣpamitra, who happened to be Bṛhadratha's trusted commander-in-chief, to bring together an army sufficiently coherent and powerful, and put a decisive check upon the enemy. This great battle of which even the name has not survived, must have taken place somewhere on the high road from Panipat to Pāṭaliputra. For the Yavanas it must have been a rout, which compelled them for the moment to retire at the top of their speed. But Bṛhadratha himself was murdered soon after, all the grown up members of the Maurya family had either been killed before him or by him, or were rotting in prison or elsewhere seeking safety either in distant lands or as ascetics pledged to renunciation, and Puṣpamitra whom all looked up to because of his proved military worth, and who must have commanded, besides, the most powerful unit of striking forces thoroughly loyal to his own person, was the only possible successor. Thus even after a glorious victory, the Maurya empire ended ingloriously as the result of a well-aimed attack. The Suṅga empire began at the same moment, but Puṣpamitra was a statesman as well as a soldier, and knew what people would feel in their hearts about himself, as the real murderer of his master and patron. He seized the reins of power, accepted the duties of protecting, reorganising and strengthening the empire, but contented himself as long as he lived with his old and humble title of Senāpati, leaving to the *gaṇas* and the subordinate confederate kingdoms the greater freedom which they had once again recovered for themselves, during the unsettled decades after Aśoka. His organisation of the empire the Purāṇas call *vai-rājyam*, that is to say, an empire without an emperor anointed. We learn he had eight sons and these, perhaps with one or two sons-in-law and one or two grandsons as they came of age and showed capacity, were his working assistants, the real heads of the provinces of the empire, which claimed suzerain control over Himālayan tracts and peoples in the north, the whole of the Gangetic plain up to and beyond the Jumna in the west, and to the borders of Assam, Aṅga and Vaṅga in the east. To the south it certainly included the dependencies of Kāśī and eastern Mālava to the Vindhyas, which might have formed two provinces, the more western with Vidiśā as the capital being entrusted to Agnimitra, who appears to have been

the second of his eight sons, Jyeṣṭha or Sujyeṣṭha being the eldest. Muttra and Ayodhyā too appear to have been separate Mitra principalities at this time.

Some years elapsed after the great battle aforesaid and the region inside the Ganges horse-shoe, perhaps also the Doab, was cleared of the Yavana invader. We do not know at all what the ancient family name Śuṅga or Baimbika (see Act IV st. 14) signified. Mitra, the name of the clan or the tribe seems to indicate a Persian origin; they might have come over to India in very remote times. For their place was high amongst the Sāmavedins even from the times when the *brāhmaṇa* section of Vedic literature was being systematised. And the Mitras were kings or leading *rājanyas* in *gaṇa-saṅghas* scattered all over the empire from west to east. They appear also to have been endogamous at least with regard to the first or the principal wife. At any rate it is clear that the Mitras, though Sāmavedins, had developed into soldier-statesmen in these troublous times as did the Andhras and the Bhāraśivas in the south. They led the Vedic opposition and revolt against the persecution of the Brāhmaṇic society.[17]

Puṣpamitra found in this seething, indignant and widespread revolt against Buddhism and a Buddhist imperial house the most conveniently to his ambition. He continued to fight against the Yavana invader, and started a state-aided fight against Buddhism. He had fervent support from great scholars like Patañjali. One redaction of the *Manu-smṛti* appears to have been made during the Śuṅga period. The *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* were taken in hand and suitably edited versions of these universally popular epics were spread broadcast. Learned brāhmaṇas, brāhmaṇa temples, institutions and endowments began to receive support once more even more than what Aśoka had provided for the encouragement of Buddhism. The keynote in the literary and propagandist activities was the exaltation of the Brāhmaṇa caste.

17 V. Smith (*EHI.*) gives a picture of the persecution perfectly true as far as it goes; but it stops short of the worst features. Haru Prasad Śāstrī carried the matter a step further, see his "Causes of the dismemberment of the Maurya Empire," *JASB.*, vol. VI (1910). See also Dr. B. T. Bhattāchārya's article in *JBORS.*, vol. VI (1920).

Puṣpamitra led the Brāhmaṇa revolt against Buddhism. The greatest triumph of Buddhism had been the suppression of the great and spectacular Vedic sacrifices, each of which involved a holocaust of victims. The greatest of them, the Rājasūya and the Aśvamedha, could only be undertaken by a king aiming at, if not already possessed of, imperial paramountcy. This then was the idea Puṣpamitra seized upon as the natural evolute out of his newly won but still precarious position. After Aśoka, the Yavana advance had been fast and furious. He alone checked it. Bṛhadratha was murdered, he was the only head possible of an empire in such straits. He alone had cleared the Gangetic horse-shoe of the foe. He was the champion of Brāhmaṇic revival. He was practically a king. With his sons and others controlling and governing the provinces of the empire under his guidance, he was virtually a *samrāṭ*. At least no one else in North India could aspire to a rank so exalted, while he was there to oppose him. And an Aśvamedha would not only be a fitting climax to his rise, the spectacle would not only prove to the masses and to all India the complete triumph of revived Brāhmaṇism, it would also wash away from his family the stain of having instigated or of having been privy to, or at least of turning to self-aggrandisement, the murder of his sovereign and benefactor:[18] so that the way would be clear for his successor to be crowned and anointed and to perform the Rājasūya sacrifice also. He performed two Aśvamedha sacrifices. The date or probable period of either we cannot yet fix definitely. The above summary, however, makes it clear how such an act was the inevitable outcome of his position and successes.

The most probable period for the first of his two Aśvamedhas appears to be when he had cleared the Gangetic delta and proceeded to clear the south and west also of the dreaded foe. He started the sacrifice, took the vows, and released the horse to ramble at will for a year to the south of the Ganges and the south and west of the Jumna. The river Sindhu mentioned in the play is very probably the small western stream of that name, the Black Sindhu, a petty tributary of the Chambal, not far from the north-western boundary of middle Mālava or the

18 See *Manusmṛti*, XI, st. 75 and 83. The *Harivaṃśa* asserts that the Rājasūya was performed by one of Puṣpamitra's successors.

kingdom of Vidiśā.[19] Lastly, we learn from the history of the Yavanas in their own homelands that internecine war broke out about this time there in rival leading families, and this soon reached the proportions of a national conflagration, so that the Yavana leaders in various parts of North India had to hurry back homewards and they could not attempt to recover their position in India for a time. The most probable date for this conjuncture appears to be 175-170 B.C., which fits into the chronology of Puṣpamitra's reign (188-185 to 152-149 B.C.) and the Khāravela inscriptions.[20]

§ 7 *The Play deviates from History.*

According to our play, the Vidarbha conquest is achieved immediately before the Śuṅga imperial forces won the decisive victory over the Yavanas. According to our play, not a single company out of Agnimitra's armies took part in the battle, which was fought not far

19 Another little Sindhu, east of this, falls into the Jumna direct. See the Cambridge History maps and Note 20.

20 See *Cam. Hist. of India*, vol. I, ch. 17. The rival yavana houses are those of Euthydemus and Eukratides. Demetrius, "the great Emetrius the King of Inde" as Chaucer immortalises him, was son and successor of the first. These Yavana invasions could not have begun before 197 B.C., and they virtually ended by 175 B.C. so that this first Yavana period (after Alexander the Great) was a matter of about twentyfive years. Demetrius on his coins wears a head-dress of elephant skin. His father's coins show the hero Herakles with a lion skin on his thigh.

For the Kāli Sindhu see *Cam. Hist. of India*, vol. I, p. 520 and map 5 in the volume. The Vidiśā kingdom (Akara in the map) is to be taken as extending south-west to north-east. Vidarbha in this map is altogether to the west of the Wardha, but in our play nearly a half of it lay also to the east of the river; and in the Khāravela inscription the mūṣika capital is at the junction of two streams, and this united stream flows west until it falls into the Wardha. This inscription supports Kālidāsa's conception of the province.

Pratiṣṭhāna of the Godāvarī, the capital of Śātakarṇi is west of the south-western extremity of Vidarbha.

The map also shows Tosali (modern Dhauli), Khāravela's capital.

V. Smith (*EHI.*) and Rhys Davids (*Buddhist India*) in their maps show the Rāṣṭrikas too far to the west. Pargiter's map (*AIHT.*) places the Andhras too far to the east.

For the Śuṅgas see also K. P. Jayaswal's various articles in the *JBORS.*, and Hara Prasād Śāstrī, '*Who were the Śuṅgas*', *JASB.*, vol. VIII (1912).

from his north-western border; for almost all his troops had been sent off hundreds of miles to the south to subjugate Vidarbha. According to our play, not only was Agnimitra himself absent from the imperial muster guarding the sacrificial horse, not one of his brothers or other senior members of the imperial Mitra family was present either. For in the play we have Agnimitra's son Vasumitra as the Commander-in-Chief, and a young and untried prince of only eighteen or twenty could not fill so exalted a position, if any of his seniors had been with the army. Can we accept any of these three details as historical?

We can explain to some extent why Kālidāsa was tempted to indulge in such improbable details.

If he had adhered to historical facts and represented Agnimitra as present with the Śuṅga forces against the Yavana, most probably as Commander-in-Chief, he could not at the same time represent him as the love-distracted hero trying to bring about a marriage between himself and his beloved lady in spite of the opposition of two queens. For the Sanskrit drama, we have already noted, is not a romantic structure where we can have two strings in the plot, two rôles for the hero, both principal. And a stigma would attach to Agnimitra's absence from the imperial host engaged in decisive and critical operations on which depended the fate and fortunes of the empire as a whole, unless all the other senior members of the house were somehow in the same boat as himself; and unless so gross a deviation from fact was completely disguised. All that the poet has cared to give us for his deviations, even assuming he was more or less conscious of their extent,—are just a single romantic simile, and a single excuse. Both occur in Puṣpamitra's letter (Act V) announcing the victory and inviting his son Agnimitra to grace the completion of the great sacrifice[21] by his presence

21 P. performed two *aśvamedhas*. Examine the style and tone of this letter. Does the writer appear to be one who had already performed an aśvamedha before and was now merely repeating the act? Of course, since Kālidāsa could only refer in his play to one of the two, it was his business to write as if it was the first, even though as a matter of mere fact it might have been the second. So that we cannot use this letter as evidence supporting by its style and tone the view that this particular aśvamedha was P.'s first and not second.

in the company of his queens. The simile is enshrined in one brief sentence in which the writer places himself on the cloud-capped mythical pedestal of the almost divine Sagara.[22] "*so 'ham iddānim Aṃśumateva Sagarah pautreṇa pratyāhṛtāśvo yakṣye*" (Now then, the horse thus recovered by force by my grandson, as Aṃśumat did his grandfather's, I too will fulfil the sacrifice as did Sagara). And the excuse needs three or four words only:—"You with the mind freed from anger (*vigatarōṣacetasā bhavatā*)" should accept my invitation.

§ 8 *Artistic necessity.*

The Buddhist *vs.* Brāhmaṇa conflict in religion, culture, social status and organisation, ethical ideals and polity, in fact in all that makes life worthwhile, was a conflict that persisted over a thousand years and passed through phase after phase on Indian soil and in Indian minds and hearts. Vedic Hinduism against which Buddhism first rose up as a protest was killed. Buddhism in its primary form of what the great Śākya Siddhārtha Gautama had taught with rare consistency throughout a long ministry of self-dedication to the good of humanity, was killed likewise. But the contest did not terminate.

Kālidāsa, we have assumed, belongs to the early Gupta period, a period of great undertakings, lofty enthusiasms, overflowing energy and enterprise, marvellous successes, and besides, a large surplus of population, northern and southern, crossing the seas to pour into the lands and islands situated south-east. And the leading men of this age saw in the Śuṅgas their own precursors; their venerable ancestors they seemed, who had the same problems, similar ideas and aims, and attempted just the solutions which they still longed to garner after five centuries. The Gupta Age magnified the Śuṅga-Kāṇva Age. Kālidāsa wanted to glorify the Śuṅgas and the Kāṇvas, and knew that his audience would fully sympathise. Believers themselves in the great Vedic sacrifices, which they revived, the Guptas revered with a feeling akin to awe the Śuṅgas who defied Buddhism in its prime and performed the very first sacrifices in that imperial capital Pāṭaliputra,

22 With Sagara began the Tretā Yuga of the original Indian cycle of four Yugas.

vrātya in its origin,[23] *bauddha* in the days of its glory, where Vedic sacrifices had not been heard of for centuries, in all probability, never performed at any earlier date.

Thus it is that to arrive at Kālidāsa's intention as an artist, we have to look at Agnimitra through the poet's eyes. Even to him Agnimitra is not of course the equal of those mythical demigods or *rājarṣis*, Purūravas and Duṣyanta and the predecessors of Rāma in the *Raghuvaṃśa;* but a great historical hero he certainly is, and he wants to delineate him as such in his work. It is on this hypothesis that I read and interpret the entire play.

If Agnimitra be a great hero, Puṣpamitra of course is greater still, almost as great as the legendary Sagara. The great Aikṣvākus brought the sacred Ganges down to the earth. The great Suṅgas restored to the earth the sacred Vedas and Vedic sacrifices. But note that out of this conception itself there arises a flaw in the very framework of the plot. Vasumitra almost the equal of Aṃśumat is equal to almost any exploit even as a mere boy. But the Suṅga age is not legendary. It is an historical era; it is the second century B.C., the century of Patañjali. If at the date of the play Vasumitra be at least eighteen years old, Agnimitra his father must be not less than thirty-five. And thirty-five is not an ideal age for a Romeo in a love play; especially when the Juliet of the play is in the first bloom of youth. Bhāsa had a much easier plot to handle in the *Svapna-Vāsavadattā*, where the disparity of age between the hero and his junior queen is hardly perceptible nor is the junior queen his heroine. And to take later instances, even in Śrī Harṣa's two plays with a similar plot, the hero is not necessarily so old as is Agnimitra here.

How does Kālidāsa deal with this? He simply ignores it. There is only one very poor jest by the Vidūṣaka in Act IV as to the hero's appearance, viz., the speech to which St. 8 (*Kārtsnyena°*) is his reply. Again, Mālavikā's youth and her heavy misfortunes made it natural for the poet to idealise her love as a passion pure and spiritual:

23 The vrātya Aryans differed from the Madhyadeśa Aryans principally in this, that even the ordinary sacrifices and saṃskāras of the Madhyadeśa householder's life, they did not consider obligatory.

see the song she sings in the rivalry of the Ācāryas, Act II St. 4. Union or death, that is her one longing, she has nothing else to live for: see Act III her soliloquy, and her asides in the dialogue with her friend under the *aśoka* tree. And artistic balance required that the hero's passion should not be far inferior in quality. The intensity of the hero's utterances has to be judged from this point of view. Did Kālidāsa himself realise the incongruity? If he did, it was also his business not to let us perceive it, so that any question in such a form is futile. Compare the intensity of Duṣyanta's love with what we find here. It never occurs to us to ask what might be Duṣyanta's age. In *Śakuntalā* we see the poet at the height of his powers. Here we have before us the work of a mere youth. Even if the poet realised that Agnimitra's years required him to depict intense passion in him in some other mode or style, it is very doubtful whether at that stage of his art he could have succeeded in doing so. But it seems to me no such question bothered the youthful poet; he simply adopted the course very natural to him and portrayed a man of thirtyfive or more as if he were almost his own age.

The love-story consists of three consecutive episodes, (1) the rivalry of the *ācāryas*, (2) *Aśoka dohada* and (3) the Vidūṣaka's dodge in getting possession of the *nāgamudrā* (cobra-headed seal), which enables him to release the heroine from the cell to which she has been condemned. When the queen tauntingly censures her husband in Act I, many go over to her side and hold that the king was really to blame. That, however, is to misread Kālidāsa and misjudge Agnimitra. His reply, st. 20, is a complete vindication. Is he to be held culpable for desiring to see in person an unknown damsel, whose charms on accidental glance at her picture show to be extraordinary? Is he to blame for not requesting the queen direct? She did not even tell him her name. She redoubled her precautions, making it impossible for him to see her except by some stratagem. Is he to blame for the particular stratagem employed? It was not his idea at all. He left it altogether to the Vidūṣaka to devise something, nor is there anything to censure in the device itself. Kālidāsa depicts Gaṇadāsa as too ambitious to let the accident of his obtaining so gifted a pupil slip by, without deriving some gain in reputation from it for himself. Note that he deli-

benately makes Gaṇadāsa older than Haradatta,[24] in order to emphasize this trait in him. Is the Vidūṣaka to blame for merely taking advantage of this ambition or this rivalry The king's reply to Dhāriṇī is just this:—"ambition and rivalries *will* crop up in this world, and people placed as we are must deal with them in ways which the rivals themselves accept as appropriate and equitable." What is there unkingly in this? As to the queen's taunt, "how pleased should I be if I find you paying more attention to state affairs,"—the poet rightly ignores it, since he has just enabled the audience to see how this great king has initiated an immense state affair, viz. the conquest of a kingdom so large and rich as Vidarbha.

We need not take up space with an equally detailed analysis of (2) and (3). It would be sufficient to indicate very briefly what in these parts of the structure is not quite in harmony with our modern tastes and ideas. Such a point in incident (2) is Act III st. 19, viz. the King's direct request for *sparśāmṛta*. Here, it seems to me, we should not allow our judgment to run away at the initial shock. We should make some allowance for (a) the conventions in Sanskrit literature, (b) for the fact that in this very stanza we find the lover using the term *anasyaruci*, and (c) the further fact that the immediate consequence we see is how excessively angry it makes Irāvatī. For the height of her rage is itself a recognition by the poet that the king's speech even after the two lovers had fully realised that their hearts yearned for each other, was an exhibition of unusually bad form. That Mālavikā was a slave-girl of Dhāriṇī's, or in palace phraseology a mere *parijana*, aggravated this in Irāvatī's eyes into a serious misdemeanour. Nor can the Vidūṣaka's hit, "remember your own past, your own case furnishes a perfect precedent," be pleaded in defence of the king. This plain speaking serves the immediate purpose of snubbing Irāvatī, but drives her to uncontrollable fury. It is a personal affront by an accomplice, and no justification for the fault of the principal

24 And this little detail serves the purpose of dramatic economy also, for it enables Kālidāsa to omit from the play an exhibition of Haradatta's pupil along with Gaṇadāsa's.

culprit. The king's unseemly behaviour in the past cannot excuse similar conduct in the present.

To proceed: (1) In the first incident the king succeeded in his immediate object but his success was limited by the greater precautions of the queen from that very moment. (2) In the second also we have the same method of multiple consequences advancing the story but again one stage only. The queen's accidental fall from the swing gives the Vidūṣaka another opportunity. His chosen *dūtī* delivers the king's message to the heroine in the hearing of the king himself. No doubt remains of Mālavikā's own love for the king which he had begun to suspect (and also to hope for) from the tenor of her song in Act II. Moreover the two lovers meet and exchange a few words at a place where they imagine there is no one else. But that is the limit of their success at this stage. For all this has also been seen and heard by that one person above all who is capable of being the greatest marplot, and she too happens to be there because of the king's promise to her. She carries her very natural complaint to the proper quarter, and so we have the heroine consigned to an underground cell, as a disciplinary act forced upon the queen by incident (2). Thus, so far, we have nothing against the king, except, of course, Act III st. 19, already noted. No one will count his behaviour towards Irāvātī at the end of incident (2), as not fully justified by the circumstances, or not strictly in accord with the conventions of Hindu society and Hindu literature about a jealous and irate wife, who in the height of jealousy and passion, however justifiable or natural, herself trangresses the bounds of propriety she has strictly to observe in all circumstances whatever, towards her lord and master. These bounds might themselves be far too narrow and unfair. The literature and art of past ages can only be put to the test of the conventions and conceptions of its own epoch and region: Agnimitra ought not to be judged by ideas and standards not equally applicable to nor even heard of by gallants of his own day and society. The woman's status and rights under a system of polygamy can never be as satisfactory as under monogamy. And even in communities almost entirely monogamous, freedom of divorce mainly for the male sex only, or equally for both the sexes, would bring in material differences.

But as soon as we come to incident (3), we moderns receive another small shock. Can he be a hero or a great king who sanctions and becomes an active partner in an unworthy trick against his chief queen, the mother of his heir, the absolute ruler of his harem, whom he himself respects and is proud of? And note that in this part the poet is at pains to improve and elevate the impression he has so far stamped upon our minds about Dhāriṇī and Irāvatī. So much the worse is the resultant impression upon our mind of Agnimitra's behaviour towards them.

Moreover, apart from these two blemishes, which I hope I have not minimised, and taking the love story as a whole, which is the main string or *ādhikārika vastu*, is it any wonder, if turning it over and over, right and left, up and down, in detail and in sum, the poet should have felt rather dubious? The hero in the Sanskrit drama must be a noble distinguished exemplary figure worthy of respect. And Agnimitra Suṅga of the second century B.C. the poet also wished to depict as a great king, one of the greatest, worthy of the reverence of posterity. How was he to achieve this, unless he added to the main theme subsidiary episodical matter that would specially bring out and impress upon the audience those indispensable traits for which the love theme gave him no scope at all? And lastly, if such material history had not recorded in his career, or if what was recorded therein could not be made to fit into the main plot, he was absolutely free to invent what he needed and shape the whole as he pleased, until his artistic instincts were satisfied. With this ample freedom to invent and dovetail, it was not for him to complain of flaws, defects and crudities in history or tradition. Whatever raw material he picked up, it was for his invention to supply the missing links, and it was for his art to produce a rounded whole, noble and elevating in its total impression upon the audience. This is my argument about the artistic necessity, supporting the two earlier arguments I have sketched above. And I have only to add here the truism that all events and incidents and episodes woven into a plot, have to be accepted as literally by the audience, even when they know them to be, in whole or in part, merely the invention of the poet's artistic imagination.

PART II

§ 9. *The Parivrājikā.*

Kālidāsa has a few peculiarities or mannerisms. His fondness for certain metres is fairly well known. A little deeper lie the special ways in which he uses figurative language, his choice of certain *alaṃkāras* for certain purposes, his peculiar skill in suggesting spatial breadth, atmosphere and colour with some of them, or emotional depth or intensity with others. Deeper still lie his peculiarities of structure. One of the most important is that in his plays the first words of a character indicate what the poet wants us to look upon as his (or her) leading trait. And the words used by a character as he (or she) comes up, about the person on the stage whom he (or she) is approaching, or by that person about this new arrival, give what the poet wants us to look upon as the atmosphere about the particular individual as also the attitude people in this little selfcontained world of the drama will bear towards his (or her). This may seem a rather crude elementary method of characterization, or of the poet taking the audience into his confidence.

As Dhāriṇī and her friend are coming up (Act I), the Vidūṣaka calls the latter the king's *pīṭhamardikā*, which intimates to the audience the rôle she will fill in the play. It is natural for the Vidūṣaka, the king's *kāryāntarasacivu* to select this feature of Parivrājikā's utility to the king in such *kāryāntaras* for special mention. It is equally natural for the king to think of her and of the queen in another way. As they are entering, he uses a simile for the pair, st. 14: "here they come," he says, showing his great respect for his consort, "the Veda-trinity personified, and her austere friend *adhyātmavidyā* (religious philosophy, we may even say, the goddess of religious philosophy) personified." Can we imagine the poet or the king using such a comparison for an ascetic professing any religion other than his own or such a reverential description for a religion like Buddhism? Or look at Act V, where we have Kauśikī's own account of herself and her brother. Can any one infer from that passage that Sumati was not a Vedic brāhmaṇa but a Buddhist, or that his widowed sister differed from him in creed and was a Buddhist, or that she accepted Buddhism after he was cut down by the Bhīls? Is there a single

word anywhere in the play to support the view that in her the poet has given us a Buddhist character?

The above shows indubitably that the Parivrājikā is a brāhmaṇa lady ascetic but from H. H. Wilson downwards scholars, with the single exception of Hara Prasād Śāstrī,[25] have been calling her a Budhidst. The late Mr. M. R. Kale wrote: "There is little room for doubt that the *parivrājikā* was a Buddhist nun, although no word corresponding to Buddha or Buddhism is to be found in the play. A widow who puts on red garments, and takes to the life of a wandering mendicant after the death of her husband, is not and was never acknowledged as following the Brāhmaṇical religion."[26] But we should not always think of our past absolutely in terms of the social structure, the ethical ideas, institutions and atmosphere in which we are born. This is certain that male and female ascetics of the brāhmaṇic order continued to exist in our society in very large numbers and for centuries. We have indubitable evidence for their continued existence in Buddhist writings, in the *Arthaśāstra*, the *Kāmasūtra* and other literature, and in deeds of gift to maṭhas and colleges. Moreover, to refer to a play of uncertain date but probably later than Kālidāsa, in the *Kaumudīmahotsava*[27] we have a character who in her earlier life was a nurse in a royal household and as a *parivrājikā* in later life holds a position in rājanya household similar to what Kālidāsa has assigned here to Kauśikī; and this *parivrājikā* is certainly a Brahman devotee. Such *sādhvīs* of Brāhmaṇic faith may have rapidly decreased in numbers from the time the new post-Buddhist or (what we know better as) the Purāṇic organisation of Hindu society

25 See his brief paper on the play, 1907.

26 See his ed. of the play, Bombay 1918, Introduction p. xxxix, footnote 1. After the death of her husband, Kauśiki came back to her brother. It is probable it was during the years of her second stay in the family of her birth that she extended and deepened her studies. She becomes a *parivrājikā* only when the Bhīls fall upon the caravan and her brother dies fighting. What else was she to do, left alone and helpless amongst strangers hundreds of miles away from her own country?

27 The *Kaumudī-Mahotsava* is published (Madras, 1929) by Mr. Rāmakṛṣṇa Kavi and S. K. Ramanātha Śāstrī, as No. 4 of the Dakṣiṇa Bhārati Grantha Mālā.

favoured and propagated by works like the *Manusmṛti* and by the Śuṅga, Kāṇva and Gupta leaders became more and more the fashionable and accepted organisation. But Kālidāsa and the courts and people of his day were still familiar with Brāhmaṇic *sādhvīs;* and there is no justification whatever for labelling the *parivrājikā* in our play a Buddhist.

§10 *Multi-focal Scenes.*

Our Sanskrit classics have come down to us in copies where doubtful readings abound, and our difficulties of settling the text appear to grow with the number of (apparently) good and authoritative manuscripts we happen to come across. In such circumstances we receive invaluable help from the peculiarities of literary and dramatic structure. A reading in a verse not conforming to the metre is clearly wrong; for we know Sanskrit poets are exemplary in their handling of metres. Or take *alaṃkāras* like *śleṣa, paramparita rūpaka,* or *virodha.* A reading strictly conforming to the *alaṃkāra* is necessarily to be preferred to variants which are loose in wording. Now, a scene with more than one focal point of interest is a structure peculiar to the drama and with definite characteristics of its own. And proper attention to this technical matter will sometimes enable the student to reject some of the speeches and verses in the scene as what the author could not have written at that point; as what some one at a later date must have interpolated, because he was too engrossed with some detail to appreciate the movement and effect of the scene as a whole. The duplication of the verses at some points in the bifocal scene of *Śakuntalā,* Act I, in the so-called Bengali recension, is a good illustration (see my *Text**). Nor is a decision based upon such technical grounds to be held of little value as resting merely on 'internal' evidence or upon the 'subjective' impressions of only a particular type of reader. An impartial review of the extant dramatic literature will reveal that Indian playwrights had mastered the technique of what I call multi-focal scenes as early as the days of Bhāsa.

The focal point in a scene is the point of maximum interest in it, which it is the art of the competent dramatist to present in the fullest light, the point occupied by the principal character of the scene. But

a scene often has more principal characters than one. In fact, a play without several such scenes will turn out to be only moderately attractive on the whole. Virodha and cross-purposes, a tug of war between opposed wills and aims pulling contrary ways, the rising of emotion to a climax, conflict and co-operation,—these bestow immortality upon a play, when the manners and customs portrayed have sunk into the hoary past, and even the languages of the characters are dead and gone. A play often presents scenes with two principal characters or more. A scene is to be technically styled bi-focal, tri-focal or multi-focal, only when one of the focal points (or principal characters) of the scene is *concealed* from the view of the other principal character or characters. The audience sees all the focal points and principal characters, and when the other principal character or characters of the scene do not see nor are aware of the presence of at least one principal character, then and only then we have a scene which technically deserves to be called *bifocal* etc. Thus scenes which present a short dramatic performance before their own principal characters (e.g. *Hamlet*, Act III Sc 2: *Uttaracarita*, Act. VII), have of course more focal points than one, but since the original characters of the play and the characters of the subsidiary dramatic presentation are in full view of one another, such scenes do not come within our definition. We have a similar case here in Act II. Mālavikā is introduced as an examinee before Kauśikī, Dhāriṇī and Agnimitra, and the relative merit of the two *ācāryas* is the issue in dispute. Her singing dance and acting here are of the same status, one may say, as those of a professional actress coming before the king and his court. It is in essence a subsidiary play within the play. This scene therefore is not of the variety we have defined.

§ 11. *Act III.*

But take Act III of this play from the point where Mālavikā is seen approaching the *aśoka* tree. Lost in her own melancholy musing, some of which we hear (32)[28] as she advances, her eyes do not observe

[28] The numbers have been allotted by S. P. Pandit to the speeches in serial order in his edition (Bombay Sanskrit Series No. VI, Bombay, 1869).

anything but the footpath along which she is coming, nor does she notice that the king and his henchman are there only a few yards further, gazing intently at her all the time. So what I call a bifocal scene begins from the moment the Vidūṣaka, who has been expecting her, identifies her from her gait. Nor does the arrival of Bakulāvalikā change the technical character of the scene. Note the arrangement of the speeches at the two focal points. Mālavikā begins with a monologue which the poet breaks up into three speeches, viz. nos. 32, 43 and 50, each shorter than its predecessor. The first or the longest she speaks as she approaches her goal, the *aśoka tree*. And the poet introduces ten speeches of the king and his friend, between that and the second (43). Her pause after this is filled by five such speeches (for no. 46 in Pandit's edition is only a stage-direction). And after no. 50, there are again four speeches between the king and his companion before Bakulāvalikā enters. All this the poet has arranged with skill. The scene has discharged its introductory function and created the necessary intensity of expectation both in the king and the audience.

As soon as Bakulāvalikā enters we have two dialogues going on alternately, which the poet weaves together so as to keep the eyes and ears of the audience directed equally towards both the focal points. The two maids say little to each other and that little less frequently, for the heroine is depressed by her hopeless passion, the other is performing her task of decorating her feet and is also thinking hard how she is to create an opportunity to deliver her message as *dūtī*, so that it might produce the fullest impression. Speeches 56 to 69 contain therefore only seven by the two maids of which No. 59 is a soliloquy by Mālavikā.

After 69 all four characters remain dumb for the space of the next nineteen speeches (70 to 88), although these do not need as much time as the preceding fourteen just reviewed, which include two verses (in nos. 56 and 69). This is not a flaw in the bi-focal scene. It is a flaw in the general technique of the Sanskrit drama, which does not allow the breaking up of an Act into several scenes by dropping a curtain and for the moment screening from view characters on the stage, in order that others might be suitably brought up there. Kālidāsa has reduced such hold-ups to a minimum in the *Śakuntalā*, but in this

play we have three such breaks, irritating to a modern audience—(see Act I, speeches 85-89 including one verse, Act IV, 141-154, and this one,—Act III, 70-79).[29]

From speech no. 81 (Nipuṇikā's), he scene becomes trifocal. Mālavikā and her friend are the central pair, observed as well as heard by the other four, whose presence in the vicinity they do not even suspect. Neither do Irāvatī and her attendant, nor the king and his companion, suspect that the other pair is also present. I set out the poet's arrangement of these trifocal speeches in a table with three columns, placing Mālavikā and her friend in the centre since they are observed and heard by the pair on either side.

Table I

Focus King	Focus Mālavikā	Focus Irāvatī
		81-88
	89-91	
92	93-94	
95-96	97	(98) only a stage direction
99	100-107 } The king's message	108
	109-115 } is delivered	
116		117-119
	120	121
	122-124	
125-126	(127) only a stage direction	
128	129	
130-131		132-133

As soon as the king and Vidūṣaka reveal themselves to Mālavikā, the scene once more becomes bifocal, until Irāvatī too comes out from behind the creeper, and from no. 151 to the end of the Act no one is concealed from the view of any other character on the stage.

29 Act I 68-69 and Act IV 33-35 not added to the above list as being but brief interruptions they are neither hold-ups nor annoying. And this particular hold-up in Act III is 10 speeches long not nineteen, for No. 80 in Pandit is a stage direction not a speech; and from No. 81 the trifocal scene begins.

Table II

Focus Mālavikā and King	Focus Irāvatī
134-137	138-139
140-144	145
146-150	Irāvatī rushes in.

The longest run of speeches at one focus is presented by speeches 100 to 115, broken by a single speech at the third focus; and that is as it should be, for these are the speeches wherein Bakulāvalikā delivers the king's message of love to Mālavikā, and it is the poet's deliberate choice that this should be overheard by both the king and the favourite queen. In fact it is this choice that compels him to give us a tri-focal scene, a form dramatists use very rarely whether in Eastern literature or Western. It is a form in which it is very hard to maintain the interest of the audience equally at all three focal points. At some stage or other one of the three sets of characters is bound to be neglected a little too long. Kālidāsa has tried to get round this by providing at each focal point an adequate reason for prolonged silence. The king is too absorbed in passionately gazing at Mālavikā to say much. Mālavikā is too depressed by her hopeless passion. Irāvatī, a Mālava beauty of lowly birth and little breeding, has with the idea of enhancing her charm for the king indulged in a drop too much just as she started for her tryst with him at the *dolāgṛha* in the garden, and the wholly unexpected shock she receives there upsets her not a little. Bakulāvalikā, as already noted, is pre-occupied both with her ostensible task of decorating the heroine and her main task of conveying the king's message; and the two remaining characters know their place too well not to fall in with the prevailing mood of their master and mistress. Making due allowances for all this, however, and giving the poet full credit for his skill in arranging the scene and distributing the speeches, the scene is not likely to be as effective on the stage as the intense passions burning in the hearts of the three principal characters might lead us to expect. Is it therefore at all surprising that dramatists have as a rule stopped at the bifocal scene, trifocal scenes being very exceptional, and multifocal almost impossible to discover?

§ 12. *Vikramorvaśī and Mālavikāgnimitra*

It is the general opinion that Kālidāsa wrote the *Mālavikāgnimitra* first and the *Vikramorvaśī* next. The *Śakuntalā* reveals a mature conception both as a whole and in detail, which wins for it universal acceptance as the most felicitous creation of a great poetical and dramatic genius at the height of his powers. The other two plays are earlier and inferior work, produced by the poet before his power reached maturity. In *Mālavikāgnimitra* we have passages marred by repetition, redundancy, verbosity, superficiality, pedantry, and a want of skill in the technique of conducting a dialogue.[30] We might call such flaws and defects verbal infelicities in the lump, and one does not notice so many in the *Vikramorvaśī*. And it is quite clear from his poems as well as his plays that Kālidāsa was a poet like Virgil adding and altering, polishing and refining, colouring and shading his first draft with inexhaustible patience and unerring judgment and taste. It was only when he had time enough that his handiwork mellowed into the perfect *prasāda* that we look upon as his most distinctive stamp. His critical balance and his devoted industry were as much of the essence of his genius as the concreteness of his vision and the broad expanse of his canvas. The exceptional warmth, life and movement in his characters, like that of natural beings in the prime of youth, developed under his patient and sensitive hand. He did not rest until his self-conscious art achieved the magic of concealing itself.[31] Thus comparing the two plays from this point of view, *Vikramorvaśī* was either later than *Mālavikāgnimitra*, or the poet had for some reason not enough time to finish the latter to his taste, before it was staged. But it is clear on a

30 I have drawn up a rough list: see Appendix to my Gujarati commentary in my Gujrati translation (1933).

31 Cf. A. B. Keith, *Sanskrit Drama*, p. 161: "natural taste and constant reworking of what he had written," is according to this scholar "the chief cause" of his perfection of style. The stage then reached by the Sanskrit language by cultivation for several centuries should also be assigned part of the merit. And immediately after began that over-refinement and over-elaboration which we see from Bhavabhūti onwards.

comparison of the two Prastāvanās, that *Mālavikāgnimitra* was the first of his plays to be staged.

Plays, however, are not merely poems. And if in judging even poems, the theme and the way it is handled have to be taken into account, this latter point of view is far more important than that of verbal felicities in judging plays. Demosthenes held appropriate action to be the essential excellence in oratory. And in plays sentimental and poetical qualities are subordinate when compared to structure and characterization, so much so that they are excellences only when employed so as to harmonise with and bring out the latter.

But it is plain at a glance that while the *Vikramorvaśī* is superior in lyrical quality, the *Mālavikāgnimitra* surpasses it as a play.

(1) We have already referred to the passages in our play where the people on the stage have to remain motionless and mute like statues while other characters are approaching (Sec. 11). The examples of this defect in *Vikramorvaśī* are more numerous and worse. In the first three Acts there are four such passages, viz. Act I speeches 28 to 47 including six verses, Act II 55 to 74, and again 141 to 151, and Act III 39 to 48 (Cf. S. P. Pandit's ed. in the B.S. Series). In fact the author does not seem to be at all conscious that such structure of an Act is in itself a defect.

(2) We have seen something of the development of the story in *Mālavikāgnimitra*: how it progresses one stage and necessarily halts there, a fresh move by or on behalf of the king being necessary to start the next stage. We have traced three successive stages and the end of the third brings us to the end of Act IV. Here there is a pause indefinite in duration. And after this point there is no fresh move by or on behalf of the king. Imagine a cane of five sections (*parva*) forming a continuous stick because of the four joints (*granthi*). Each section is an Act in the play. Critics may say that the continuity is almost broken at the fourth joint, the end of the fourth Act. But not so. The *aśoka* tree has put forth blossoms; and Dhāriṇī promised Mālavikā an *abhilāṣa-pūrayitṛkam prasādam* if that happened. Hence the king has nothing further to do or plan. He has merely to wait upon the convenience and good pleasure of Dhāriṇī, and the fourth joint therefore is intact, the cane is continuous. Or, looking

at the matter from another angle, what is the highest the king could promise or attempt independently of Dhāriṇī? Surely he could not possibly go beyond the offer of a Gāndharva marriage; and this he did offer Mālavikā at their second meeting. But she enters our play as a slave girl, that was still her status; she was not a free agent, and while Bakulāvalikā is satisfied with the king's offer, Mālavikā manages to remind him of the facts of the situation by bringing in a reference to Dhāriṇī in their conversation. Much confused thinking prevails on points like this, because, I suppose, Hindu society today is so utterly different from what it was up to the Gupta period, and Gāndharva marriage to us is not a reality at all but a mere phrase. Mere promises of lifelong fidelity do not constitute it. Nothing constitutes the marriage in this play. Mālavikā is married to the king after the play, (we may say immediately after, since she is brought into Act V dressed up as a bride), by Dhāriṇī performing the *kanyādāna*. *Per contra*, there is a Gāndharva marriage in the *Śakuntalā*. But what we have to grasp is that the king's promise to Śakuntalā in Act III which satisfied her friends does not constitute the ceremony. At the end of the Act Śakuntalā herself makes an assignation, so that in that play the Gāndharva marriage takes place that very night when she returns to the bower.

Thus, to take up our comparison again, there is no break in the structure of this play. We cannot however make a similar claim for *Vikramorvaśī*. The main story in that play is completed at the end of Act III. Acts IV and V are merely a continuation or an addendum, so that, to revert to our homely metaphor, the cane here is really broken at the third joint. We shall consider this a little more fully in para (4) below.

(3) We have pointed out that a trifocal scene is not very effective on the stage. The central part of Act III therefore is inferior in that way. The latter half of Act IV would also be felt to be something like a repetition and might not hold the interest of the audience. But the rest of the play would succeed very well as a dramatic performance, assuming an audience who are aware that in all Sanskrit plays the movement is slow. From this point of view *Vikramorvaśī* is inferior throughout, and it is very doubtful if Act IV would not have to be

curtailed to some extent. It is not at all suitable for performance on the stage, whatever its merits be as a lyrical poetry.

(4) We have bifocal scenes in *Vikramorvaśī* also, but they cannot stand comparison with similar scenes in our play. And indeed the whole structure in *Vikramorvaśī* is on a lower level, the plot is extremely simple. The obstacle, Urvaśī being called away to play her part in a dramatic entertainment in heaven, is itself turned into the means by which love gains its fruition. For owing to her love for Purūravas her tongue trips, Bharata Muni the Sūtradhāra curses her for it, but Indra, a friend of the hero, turns the curse itself into an *abhilāṣa-pāragitṛkam prasādam*, a phrase in our play which I deliberately apply to this turn of the events in *Vikramorvaśī*, not only because it fits, but also to stress the similarity of essential structure between the two plays. And events pursue a parallel course on the earth also. The queen carried away by jealousy forgets all propriety, but on reflection repents, and her *prāyaścitta* or penance takes the form of selfrenunciation, granting the king his freedom for the future to love whomsoever he pleased. Urvaśī herself hears this as she returns to the king's palace, and the union of the two lovers follows as a matter of course, there being no question of a marriage ceremony at all, even of the Gāndharva form, between an *apsaras* and a man. Thus, as said above, the play proper ends here at the close of Act III.

Looking at the dramatic structure, therefore, *Mālavikāgnimitra* is a great advance upon *Vikramorvaśī*.

(5) The advance is greater still when we compare the two as regards characterisation. Not only are there more characters in *Mālavikāgnimitra;* Dhāriṇī and Irāvatī are skilfully contrasted; Bakulāvalikā, Gaṇadāsa, Kauśikī, and the heroine are subtly individualized; nor is there in the whole range of Sanskrit drama a Vidūṣaka so much alive as in our play.[32]

To sum up. No critic with a proper sense of what dramatic art implies would believe that an artist capable of creating a play like

32 It is by no means usual to rate so highly the characterization in this play. For the usual estimate of the characters in this play, see A. B. Keith, *Sanskrit Drama*, pp. 155-6.

Mālavikāgnimitra as his first work, would be himself satisfied with so inferior a play as *Vikramorvaśī*, as his second work. On this count, then, the only possible inference is flatly opposed to what appeared probable as long as we confined ourselves to the first count, or literary felicities and infelicities.[33]

PART III

§13 *Readings—Act I*

(1) *Speech 5: Bhāsa-Saumilla-Kaviputrādīnām.*

This speech became corrupt as the works of these authors were forgotten. Manuscripts of the play read instead of Bhāsa, Dhāvaka, Bhāskara, &c.; instead of the second name, Saumaka, Sauminda, &c.; for the third, Karmaputra, Kaviratna, &c. Bhāsa's plays

33 Compare, again, Mālav. Act III, Sts. 4 and 5 with Vikr. Act II, st. 7; Mālav. Act III, the Irāvātī incident with Vikr. Act II, the Queen incident, especially the concluding portions, and the verse placed in Mālav. before the incident (Act III, st. 3) with that in Vikr. placed after (Act II, st. 22). These passages being by the same author, which of the two sets appears to have been written earlier, which later? Had he the Vikr. passages in mind when writing the Mālav. passages, or the latter in mind when writing the former?

The more we study the three plays together, the clearer grows our perception of Kālidāsa's resourcefulness in playing variations upon what in other hands would be merely a stock theme, situation, or motif. And I conclude this paper with a brilliant illustration from that great scholar Hara Prasād Śāstrī, which also reminds us that the Sanskrit drama is not merely character and passion in action; it is also beauty in repose slowly and naturally passing through a tastefully selected series of enchanting tableaux:—

"It is a part of Kālidāsa's dramatic art that he introduces the female character in the very beginning and shows her beauty in three different positions. In *Śakuntalā* the heroine is first shown in the posture of watering the plants, then in the posture of loosening the tightness of her garment, and then in the posture of surprise and dismay when the bee attacks her. In the *Vikr.* Urvaśī is introduced to the audience in a state of swoon. That is one posture. She is returning to her senses. That is the second position. Then she expresses her interest in her saviour by a third position.

Mālavikā is introduced to the audience as dancing. That is the first position. She stands still after a fatiguing dance, which forms the second position. The jester makes her smile..... This is the third position....." *JBORS.*, vol. II (1916), p. 165). For some of the more obvious similarities in the three plays see A. B. Keith, *Sanskrit Drama*, p. 157.

however, have been recently, found; that is to say, some of those published by the late Gaṇapati Śāstri are undoubtedly his, although passages therein might be corrupt and some passages might have dropped out. Ramilla-Saumilla are referred to in Jalhaṇa's *Śākti-muktāvali*, a compilation of the thirteenth century, and earlier by *Yāyāvariya* Rājaśekhara of the tenth. They appear to have written and published jointly like Beaumont and Fletcher, the English dramatists. Two brothers named Kaviputrau are mentioned in Vallabha's *Subhāṣitāvalī*, a collection older than the twelfth century. So it is likely that the passage as given above might not be very different from what Kālidāsa himself wrote; and the last proper name in it is to be read in the dual number; the second too might be an abbreviated mode of referring to both Ramilla and Saumilla.

(2) *Stanza 4 line a: Kāntam or Śāntam?* Some prefer the latter, arguing that the poet shows thus his dislike of the *hiṃsā* inseparable from *yajñas*. I am afraid they are only foisting upon the author their own ideas. That the court poet of emperors who considered it one of their greatest achievements that they revived Vedic yajñas, should be made to express such a view is preposterous. Nor is *atiśayokti* or any other *alaṃkāra* of comparison or contrast to be found in the other three lines of the stanza. Thus even in the first line the words are merely a statement, not a comprison derogatory to Vedic *yajñas*. *Śāntam* then is to be rejected as a later 'emendation' by some paṇḍit devoid of any knowledge about the period of the play.

(3) *Speech 45*, Yajñasena's letter: *Yat tulyā'bhijaneṣu bhūmerīśo*. This is Pandit's reading. He adhered as closely as possible to his own manuscripts and especially to one of them he called G, which was the best; and to the only copy of Kāṭayavema's commentary he had been able to procure. When many years later a second edition became necessary, he does not appear to have had the time for a thorough revision, he treated Bollensen's edition and the readings there with scant respect, just as he had done originally with Tullberg's, which was far inferior; nor did he utilise other copies of Kāṭayavema's commentary which had by then become available, and which gave a number of passages differently.

Here the reading supported by the majority of our authorities, viz.

yat tulyā'bhijanena bhāmidhareṇa rājñāṃ vṛttir idṛśī need not be rejected simply because it is easier, although Pandit's emendation from the reading of his G manuscript is ingenious and he has made it yield practically the same sense.

(4) *Speech 69—purusādhikāram* is Pandit's reading. But the majority of our authorities read *puruṣākāram*. The idiom occurs in the *Mahābhārata* and in Bhāsa, and accords better with the verse following.

(5) *Verse 13.* Tullberg and Bollensen's reading *bhānuḥ parigrahād uḍuḥ* is inferior to Pandit's and Kāṭayavema's, *bhānoḥ p. anaḍuḥ*. The first equating Haradatta with the Sun and Gaṇadāsa with the Moon would imply that the latter was inferior. This goes against the whole tenor of Kauśikī's speech. Besides, the second describes both the *upamānas* in the same set of circumstances i.e. at night, and the allusion to a Purāṇic myth makes it slightly poetical, while the first reading is prosaic.

(6) *Speeches 102-103.* The last four words which Pandit assigns to the king as his speech are in his own best manuscript the conclusion of the *parivrājikā's* speech. Either he followed his copy of Kāṭayavema or this is an 'emendation.' Other copies of Kāṭayavema, however, assign these words to the *parivrājikā;* and if we notice in the scene as a whole how at every step both *parivrājikā* and Gaṇadāsa being servants of the queen, turn to her and for her approval before saying the final word, no doubt remains. See especially speech 134. Pandit has not realized this as we also see further on.

(7) *Speech 115.* Should the person addressed here be *deva*, as Pandit has it, or *devī*, following most of the others? Applying the above key to the meaning, we reject Pandit, and are confirmed by the fact that it is not the king but the queen who replies. Secondly, in this short speech the fourth word *eva* should either be omitted, as Pandit's G does, or it should be *nu*. It is not an emphatic statement; it is either a mere statement of custom, or a question. Possibly some copyist omitted *nu* from here finding the same word at the end of the next speech also.

(8) *Speech 132. apade śaṅkito'smi* (P) or as others read it *apadeśaśa*...Both come to the same thing but the second is stronger, *apadeśa* meaning prohibitive *ādeśa*, an explicit order not to do a particular

thing. And it is likely copyists omitted the first of the two consecutive *'śa's;* less likely that they added one not present in the copy before them.

(9) *Speech 153.* Following this there should be a stage direction that the king starts at once and alone. Otherwise the next speech of the queen becomes unintelligible.

§ 14. *Readings: Acts II and III.*

(10) *Speech 5.* Pandit is right, although he merely suggests that this speech might be printed as an *anuṣṭubh* verse, not venturing to do so himself. We may take it that the *ācārya* gave his statement here the dignity of a verse; that the degradation into mere prose in the mss. is a corruption for which only the intervening centuries are responsible.

(11) *Speech 12.* See speech 20 also. The word *avasthā* in both the places Kālidāsa could hardly have allowed. It is more appropriate at the latter place, so here *sthāna* is better.

(12) *Speech 33, and the stage direction* following it. Pandit is justified in his grave doubts about this speech. There might have been a passage in the speeches immediately preceding, which has dropped out. But this particular speech is almost certainly a later interpolation. Speech 32 makes a fool of Vidūṣaka, and scholars in the intervening centuries thought it impossible that a character like Vidūṣaka should not retort but remain silent. His object, however, was to say something, however silly, that might make Mālavikā's features come to life where she stood, a carved image as it were of wood or stone. She was brought there to show how she had been taught and having discharged that duty, it was not her business to join in the conversation or even to take any notice of it. She was going away as soon as her recitation was over and was still there simply because the resourceful Vidūṣaka had managed to get Gaṇadāsa to order her to remain a little longer. This follows as a further dodge to make that image show some sign that she was a living being. And this he achieves by the silly flaw he finds; even the courtly Parivrājikā bursts out, 'Oh what a duffer!' Every one laughs, even Mālavikā smiles, and that is exactly what Vidūṣaka wanted: in that lies his victory. A retort from him is quite

unnecessary. As the play is printed in our editions, *Parivrājikā's* exclamation produces no effect, it is only after Vidūṣaka's retort that all laugh and Mālavikā smiles. Is this natural? Hence, although it is likely there was something more in the preceding speeches which has been lost, I hold speech 33 to be a later interpolation clumsily made as all admit, and am for omitting it altogether. The way the conversation proceeds and especially speeches 41 to 43 support, I think, my view of why Vidūṣaka here behaves in a way unusual with that character, remaining silent.

(13) *Speech 51.* Good authorities give this sentence also to the preceding speaker, the Vidūṣaka, which is better than giving it to the king, as does Pandit.

(14) *Act III Speech 4.* Whom does Parivrājikā want to call on? A servant of the queen, she sees her almost daily, as Vidūṣaka, a servant of the King, sees him, or even more than once the same day. A 'courtesy offering' from either would be out of place, as from any other servant. But when Vidūṣaka wants to wait upon the queen, or Parivrājikā on the king, even for the purely formal inquiry after health neither can do so 'empty handed.' That appears to have been the etiquette at the Vidiśā court (second century B.C.) or at the courts of Kālidāsa's day. Vidūṣaka later on needs an excuse for having gone to the garden, where he pretends that a cobra has stung him. His excuse is, he has come to inquire how after her accident the strained foot has been progressing; and as it would have been improper to approach her empty handed, he went there to get a bunch of flowers. But a full explanation like this there would take too long, and this little incident here appears to have been intended merely to prepare the audience by showing in advance that such was the court etiquette. Thus Pandit's reading *tatra bhavatī* etc., will not do. The reading of others that Parivrājikā wanted to wait upon the king, is preferable. The skin of the *Bījapūraka*, again, was as much a necessary of life to a nāgaraka or fashionable gentleman as were dice, musical instruments, betel leaves etc. (See in the *Kāmasūtra* the detailed description of a nāgaraka's rooms and habits). The Bījapūraka skin was chewed to remove all traces of the smell of drink, to prevent malodorous belching after a generous meal, to sweeten the breath so that the refined

lady coming to his embrace might not be repelled by it. These being the facts, one might almost infer that to offer Bijapūraka to a lady friend or superior might almost have been construed in those days as an offensive libel on her unlady-like habits!

Where did this nāgaraka type originate, this city refinement and laxity and luxury and art wherein the young gentleman-at-large was the model and the cynosure? In the cities of *gaṇa* states young 'bloods' would have little serious occupation, they would pursue sport, dice, art, amorous dalliance and excitement with all the zest they were capable of ruling, governance, finance, trade, production, and the serious business of life being attended to by their elders and by the 'homely wits' amongst them. It seems quite likely that this type was first thrown up and 'fixed' amongst the Mālavas, and spread from that region as a centre to Pāṭalīputra and Takṣaśilā, Mathurā, Vardhamāna, Ayodhyā, Kāśī, Bhṛgukaccha, Pratiṣṭhāna, Tosalī etc. We have some early passages in which Ujjayinī looks down upon Pāṭaliputra as a mere upstart. And Vāsavadattā, our first heroine so to speak from real life, is an Ujjayinī lady. In Bhāsa's play Udayana first suspects from the viśeṣaka he notices adorning his new queen that Vāsavadattā is not dead, because that artistic decoration, he feels, could not be the handiwork of any but a first rate artiste like his lost queen.

(15) *Speeches 91 to 94.* I suggest the passage should be taken as under. The moment Bakulāvalikā mentions the king as her *guru* in the art of decorating the body (speech 91), Mālavikā blushes so distinctly that her friend cannot fail to notice it, and she remarks to herself, *siddhaṃ me dautyam!* The sentence in 94, therefore, I take first, making it speech 93. Mālavikā's speech becomes 94, and the present 94, i.e. Bakulāvalikā's reply (*minus* the above three words) would become 95. And this very slight almost negligible liberty of mere transposition has the further recommendation of giving a fuller meaning to this last speech: the words *upadeśānurūpau* etc., remain the same, but with the transposition as above they would mean, "now that I have (not only today but later also) the feet of a (future) queen to practise my art upon, I shall indeed be a proud artiste." Previous students have taken the word *rāga* in the stage direction merely in the sense of the colours used in decorating the feet. I take it in the sense

of the heroine's sudden blushes, giving away the secret of her heart which her friend instantly comprehends. This makes all the difference.

(16) *Speech 96.* This passage is corrupt. Nor, in spite of Bollensen, have we any means of restoring it. *Anuśaya* is a word full of meaning and suggestiveness which Kālidāsa has used more than once, every time with precision. He cannot have written *anuśaya* here.

(17) *Speech III.* Pandit reads *bimba.* Others read *vipra* i.e. the Vidūṣaka. Bakulāvalikā has not only no reason whatever to suppress his name, to create the fullest certainty in the heart of her friend, her right course is to mention it.

(18) *Speech 156.* Irāvāti's speech has come down in two versions, a longer one which is also turgid, a shorter one wherein the roughness is moderated. I prefer the longer as better suited to the situation and the character.

§ *15 Readings: Acts IV and V.*

(19) *Act IV, Speech 14.* Pandit reads, 'then she (Irāvāti) said this.' Other authorities add 'getting incensed.' And some such addition appears quite necessary.

(20) *Speech 94.* Pandit omits what our other authorities give and what appears to be necessary viz., the following words of direction at the end of the speech:—'who is to be seen behind on this side.'

(21) *Speech 149.* Pandit reads *Yady anumanyase āryaputram api tava kṛte vijñāpayiṣyāmi.* Others read *'tvayā priyam kartum, tathā karomi.* That is, "now, if you will only take it in the right light, I shall release them. They have had their lesson. The ends of discipline too have been served. And the king will be highly displeased if the imprisonment be prolonged. To release them now is the way to please him, and this I say not only for my own self, but for your sake also. Do agree to my releasing them." An important detail this is in the poet's plot and in his delineation of Dhāriṇī and Irāvāti. Dhāriṇī never intended a long imprisonment. And if Irāvāti too could on second thoughts have been equally tolerant and free from jealousy, Agnimitra would not have continued to be displeased with her. But Irāvati, though she has started for the *Samudragṛha* with a desire for

penance in her heart, is still obstinate where Mālavikā is concerned. She needs a second sight of Agnimitra and Mālavikā together, she needs a proof of the two meeting again and in spite of the two queens. An ocular demonstration it was that the marriage cannot possibly be prevented, and Irāvatī must yield, bending perforce to the logic of events. And it is to make this perfectly clear that the poet has placed the delivery of Dhāriṇī's message to Irāvatī before the latter reaches *Samudragṛha*. Pandit's reading here will not do at all. The *Vijñāpana* intercession by Dhāriṇī on Irāvatī's behalf is appropriate only where the poet places it, i.e. in Act V, not here. To repeat it here also is to fail to grasp in full the contrast Kālidāsa has made so vivid between the two queens.

(22) *Act V Speeches 3 and 5.* Pandit did not take into account the Guptas or Śuṅgas, their policy of Brahmanic revival, their yajñas, their munificence to brāhmaṇas, etc. To the last he clung to the tradition that Kālidāsa flourished in the first century B.C. So it was natural for him to suspect unscrupulous corruption in these speeches. See his Notes. I doubt very much if the amount of *dakṣiṇā* specified here by Kālidāsa needed any augmentation at a later date by pandits however greedy.

(23) *Stanza 7 line b.* Pandit reads *laghubhiḥ* whereas he should have read *bahubhiḥ*, since that is what is plainly required by the preceding speeches as also by the simile in the stanza itself. Nor does he offer any explanation in his Notes.

(24) *Speech 111.* Kālidāsa used here the technical term *dvai-rājyam*. But in course of time the technical terms about polity became unintelligible, and the original word was replaced by *dvayo rājyam*.

(25) *Speech 121*, i.e. the first part of Puṣpamitra's letter. Pandit reads *rājasūya yajña* which cannot be correct. With other authorities we should read *rāja yajña* meaning a great sacrifice, which, with the details about a horse that are also given here, can only be the *Aśvamedha*.

(26) *Speeches 126 to 131.* The passage is corrupt. The context enables us to gather what Kālidāsa might have really written, but it cannot be fully restored as one speech appears to have dropped out between 128 and 129. In 127 Parivrājikā congratulates both the

king and the queen. The first does not immediately answer. The second does. We find good authorities assigning 128 to her, not to Vidūṣaka as does Pandit, and reading *pari'ṇṭa* in the feminine gender. Immediately after there might have been a speech by Vidūṣaka, referring pointedly (we infer from 129) to the king's first great exploit, when he was about the same age as Vasumitra today. The allusion might even have been to the first great battle won by the Maurya Empire, just before Bṛhadratha was murdered, but that we shall never know. Both 128 and this speech being in Prākṛt, the second might have appeared to the superficial reader almost a repetition of the first, and it came to be dropped. The next three speeches follow as in Pandit and other editors. The king first acknowledges all congratulations by showing gratification at the cub's exploit (129), and then after the old kañcukin too has had his say, he orders the release of all prisoners even Yajñasena's brother-in-law, to mark the very exceptional occasion, and to proclaim from the housetops his assurance that now at last the Śuṅga power was indeed firmly established and no precautions whatever were necessary about such petty irreconcilables.

(27) *Stanza 20*, the last verse of the play. This is at first sight very corrupt, but closer examination yields two alternative versions only, that which we find in Pandit, and the following:—

tvaṃ me prasādasumukhī bhava devi nityaṃ
etāvadeva hṛdaye pratipālanīyam|
ājñāyamabhyadhigamaprabhṛtiprajānāṃ
saṃ (as in Pandit).

And there can be little doubt that *caṇḍi* and *mṛgaye pratipakṣathetoḥ* are the better readings to indicate the introduction of a dual control in the harem, as in Vidarbha.

There are many other passages also[34] where the text is not free from doubt, but I think I have here briefly dealt with the more important ones.

B. K. Thakore

34 In my Gujarāti commentary (edition of my Gujarāti translation of the play), I have discussed 85 passages. See Appendix III there, for the list. And a translator need not discuss, what the editor of the Sanskrit and Prākṛt text must also take note of, viz. variants that are merely verbal, involving no change whatever in meaning or tone, although felicity of phrasing or assonance might be affected.

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